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VOLUME XXV

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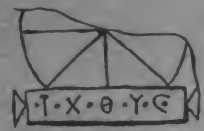
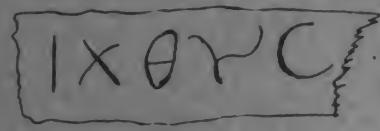
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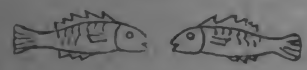
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(See page 38.)

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the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

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MR. THOMAS A. EDISON AND MR. EDWARD C. HEGELER.

BY THE EDITOR.

DISCUSSIONS of Mr. Edison's views of the soul and immortality have been filling the papers lately, both dailies and magazines, and we wish we could take up the subject and enter into it with all our might, but at present we must be satisfied with a few comments and will reserve a detailed exposition of the problem for a later issue.

It is noticeable that Mr. Hegeler compared the human brain to the phonographic record, as Mr. Edison does, but with this difference, that Mr. Hegeler more appropriately identified the soul with the record itself; not with the material on which it is inscribed, but with the line that registers the sound. This line which may represent the voice of a man, can be impressed into the wax or hard rubber, or perhaps into a more enduring material and before it wears out, can be transferred to innumerable records.

Such is the fate of man's soul. What we think and say and write and do, does not die with us; it continues to work. We transfer to others our modes of thinking and acting. Our life is not as if writ in water, but leaves innumerable traces, many of which re-

vidual soul-being is a common superstition of the old psychology. Every person is a multiplicity, and the great thinkers of the past form a considerable portion of the souls of modern men and women.

Mr. Edison says that he expects to live on merely in the ticks and clicks of telegraphs and in telephones and his various other inventions. But no "merely" is needed! That immortality is big enough for any one of us. In addition he will live also in the brain of other inventors who will carry his work to further accomplishment.

Wherever any one of Mr. Edison's inventions is used there is part of his thought, of his mind, of his soul, and that is the true Edison. Will he deny it? Scarcely. Mr. Edison's personal friends and the members of his family may love Mr. Edison himself—his person, his character, the twinkle in his eye and the smile on his lip, the human in him—better than his thoughts; or presumably they love his personality and admire his genius. But the recording angel of history, the destiny of mankind that doles out our rewards in immortality, cares naught for the former and weighs the soul only, and this soul of man, according to its merits, will take part in the life after death, in what is commonly called immortality.

The difference between Mr. Hegeler's view of immortality and Mr. Edison's denial of it does not touch the facts under discussion but is a difference of attitude; and "attitude" depends upon the point of view we feel inclined to take.

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF TOLSTOY.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THEODORE STANTON.

A number of heretofore unpublished letters of Count Leo Tolstoy have recently been placed in my hands for publication. They are addressed to two physicians,—Dr. Makhovitzky, a Hungarian, and Dr. Skarvan, an Austrian. The first left his own country in order to sit at the feet of the Russian philosopher, whose private physician he finally became. The second is a young man, who refused to perform his military service, was punished therefor by the Austrian authorities and thus won the sympathy and then the friendship of Count Tolstoy.

The letters given below are addressed to the first of these gentlemen, except where Dr. Skarvan's name in the opening lines of a letter shows that it is addressed to him.

Dr. Schmitt, who is frequently mentioned in this correspondence, is the advocate in Germany of so-called "passive Christian anarchy." He is known to be a talented and prolific writer.

The Nazarenes, who also receive considerable attention, are a religious sect widely spread throughout Hungary and Servia. Their chief tenets are that they recognize no spiritual authority and are rigidly opposed to military service, which naturally brings down upon them the severities of the Austrian government.

The opening paragraph of the letter of February, 22, 1895, mentions two pamphlets. The first of these, entitled *Tolstoi, Poet and Prophet*, is by a Slovak writer named Hurban Vajansky. The second is in German, *Die Sekte der Nazarener in Ungarn*, and is by the Slovak priest Szebering.

Professor Massarik, whose name appears in the final paragraph of the letter of September 11, 1895, fills the chair of sociology at Prague University and is a very patriotic Tchech. He has often visited Tolstoy.

The article by Dr. Makhovitzky, which is referred to at the opening of the letter of February 22, 1896, is entitled "The Nazarenes in Hungary." The censor will not permit its publication in Russia, where it is known only in its manuscript form.

The Serbian novel, see the letter of October 10, 1896, to Dr. Skarvan.

bounoff, the well-known Moscow publisher of popular editions. In order to study close at hand the Slovaks, who are partizans of Tolstoy's views, he journeyed to Hungary in the summer of 1896.

Mr. Kenworthy, also mentioned in this same letter, is a London merchant who gave up his business in order to devote himself to the spreading of Tolstoy's ideas in England.

M. Tchertkoff, who appears in the last paragraph of the last letter, is Tolstoy's friend and confidential literary agent, who went to Christ Church, England, several years ago and established in that town a printing office where Tolstoy's works are printed regardless of the Russian censor. Tchertkoff now resides in Russia with Tolstoy, but the printing establishment still goes on in England.

THEODORE STANTON.

NEW YORK, September, 1910.

October 5, 1894.

Do you know anything about E. H. Schmitt of Budapest? He belongs to a group that practices the Religion of the Spirit and writes in their review very good articles. I am in correspondence with him. If you don't know anything about this body, try and see what you can learn and send me whatever information you are able to obtain. His articles and his letters please me very much.

I am also expecting you to give me more details concerning the Nazarenes,—not in the form of a private letter to me but in the shape of an article, by means of which the general public can learn something about this sect.

I earnestly hope you will make greater and greater advance in the cause of conscience in which you are engaged and in the accomplishment of truth; and that this good work will give you more and more joy.

I myself continue to go on just as you saw me. I pursue my labors and do so with joy, trusting that it will be useful to men.

* * *

February 22, 1895.

I have received the two pamphlets. The one about me is not good. The author attributes to the artistic sense a false significance. He places it above everything else, and so does not at all understand the rôle of religion in general and of Christianity in particular.

I found very interesting the pamphlet about the Nazarenes. I perceive that in your regular clergy, too, exists that terrible spirit of bad faith, and that they also place human interests, those of the state, before those of God. It is extraordinary, this fear which the

because persecution is disgraceful; public opinion demands that they be liberal. A fair interpretation of the doctrine demonstrates the truth of the Nazarenes and the falsehood of the churches. What is to be done, then? Lying is all that is left, and this is what is done in this vain effort to defend their Establishment. I have now fully grasped the tenets of the Nazarenes and I continue to study this very important religious phenomenon. I still believe that a union with them of all thoughtful people would be a blessing. I beg of you to write me often about them.

* * *

September 11, 1895.

I have heard from you in a round-about way; but I am sorry not to have direct news. We all have the deepest affection for you, and would be glad to have a letter.

Don't lament over the fact that your life is not what you would have wished it to be. That is the condition of all those who aspire to Christian perfection. What is terrible is not *not* to attain what one desires for oneself, for one's soul, but, having attained it, to cease to wish for it,—this is what is terrible.

If you see Massarik, tell him I have not forgotten him, and that he is dear to me. As regards Ruskin, tell him *Unto this Last* and several other things I have known for the past ten years and have even translated them into Russian. Say also that I read with interest this summer Kidd's *Social Evolution*.

* * *

February 22, 1896.

I received a long time ago your article on the Nazarenes. It is already recopied and corrected. We have substituted for the expressions which sounded rather odd here their Russian equivalents, and we are going to try and get it published. The article is very good. We have read it aloud several times and each time it produces a strong and excellent impression.

The same thing must happen among the Nazarenes that happens among our Molokhans, Doukhobors and similar sects, viz., the adult faithful, who have reached their present convictions after much trouble, are inclined to stand up for every article of their faith and

is probable that they will go backwards, that is, throw in their lot with the old beliefs, or rather abandon all religion in order to be able to live in peace.

Schmitt has sent me the latest number of his review. The article entitled "Without a Country" pleased me very much. Tell me all about Schmitt and his periodical. Who are his friends and what is thought of him in your country?

* * *

April, 1906.

What you write me about Schmitt, my dear Skarvan, I felt but did not pay much attention to, though in the letters which I wrote him I made allusions thereto apropos of his "Catechism" of the Religion of the Spirit, and of his articles on this same subject, which I do not approve of. There is in his writings that mixing up of expressions peculiar, it seems to me, to all German writers. They do not perceive it and naively take it for profoundness of thought. In this connection Goethe has said that if the thought is lacking, put a word in its place. This fault is found even among their best thinkers, in Kant, Hegel and the others. Schopenhauer appears to be the only one who is free from it. This lack of clearness becomes still more pronounced when they wish to be eloquent and ornament their speeches with the flowers of rhetoric. This is the weak side of Schmitt. He thinks he has discovered something new, when, in a very muddled and vague fashion, he repeats the fundamental idea of the gospel and especially the teachings of St. John, that in man is the manifestation of God the Father, the Son of Man, who is the same in all men. There is no reason why he should be afraid to speak to the working classes of the true doctrine of Christ and prefer to present in a very bad and vague form Christ's doctrine without calling it Christian. All that he says and can say is but a poor paraphrase of what is so well said by Christ himself.

How do the Nazarenes get on? Our Doukhobors, notwithstanding the persecution of them, or rather because of this persecution, simply grow in the spirit.

A few days ago I received from Stuttgart African Spir's *Denken und Wirklichkeit*. It is one of the best philosophical works I ever read. Do you know the author?

* * *

October, 19, 1896.

The most important portion of your letter is that where you speak of the Nazarenes. It will be interesting to know what impression your book will make on them and what they will say of it.

It would be a good idea to translate and publish the novel of the Servian writer on the life of the Nazarenes. But would the Russian censor authorize it? Anyway, it is useless to send the book here, for no one in my circle knows the Servian tongue.

The trip of Ivan Ivanovitch, his account of you and your friends in general, taken in connection with your letters to me, give me a very exact idea of your country and of the persons there who are very near to me, and awaken in me the agreeable feelings of my intimacy with you all.

At the same time that I sent my article, "The Approach of the End," to Schmitt, I also sent it to Kenworthy and to France. Does Schmitt know this? I always do this way, and I hope the publisher will not be vexed if the article appears before or at the same time as his own does, and in another tongue.

Through Skarvan, I also sent to Schmitt some lines on the subject of the incompatibility between Christianity and the serving of the state; and the "Letter to Liberals," in which the same question is treated.

Thanks for your letters. May God send you all possible good fortune and give you greater firmness. It seems to me that this is what you lack. But it is well known that lack of firmness is always compensated by variety and gentleness in the character.

* * *

May 2, 1900.

I have been very busy of late, dear friend Skarvan. I have written two articles,—“Patriotism and Government” and “The New Slavery.” The latter treats the labor question.

* * *

June, 11, 1900.

Write me how you are and what you are doing; how you are working for yourself, for men and for God,—and for whom besides? Of course, I hope you are serving God the most and yourself the least. Knowing you as I do, I feel sure that such is the case. I embrace you fraternally.

* * *

Moscow, December 28, 1900.

One of the important events of these last few days, dear Skarvan, was the freeing of Pierre Véréguine. He is now in England. He was with me for two days. I am so glad that I took an interest

TOLSTOY'S PHILOSOPHY.¹

BY JOHANNES WENDLAND.

GOETHE spoke of his works as only details of a great general confession. Tolstoy could even more justly have so qualified what he has written. The leading figures of his great novels *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina*, *Resurrection*, always wear the author's

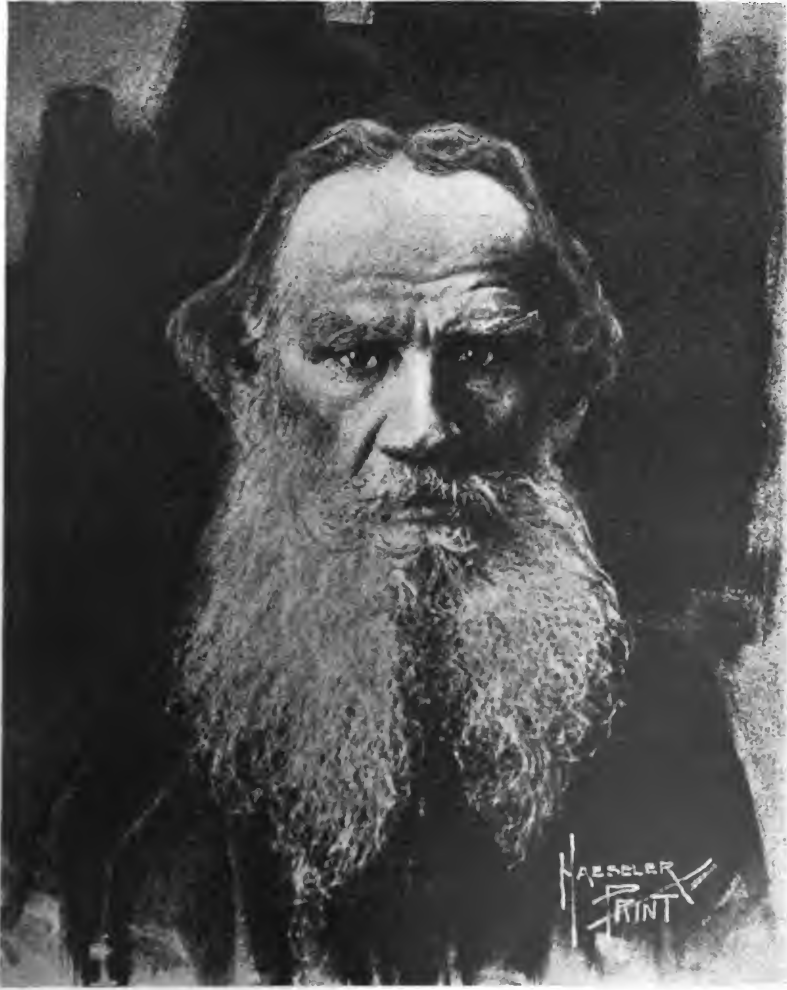


COUNT TOLSTOY AT WORK.

own features. It was in 1879 that the document entitled "My Confession" began the series of his philosophical writings, and these writings are but records of his soul-struggles with the problem: "What is the meaning of life?"

¹A summary of the article "Die Gedankenwelt Leo Tolstois," in *Die Deutsche Rundschau*, Berlin, March, 1910, edited and translated by R. T. House.

Born in 1827 of a noble family, he early grew weary of a life of purposeless ease while the great mass of his countrymen were suffering about him. He undertook the management of his paternal



TOLSTOY IN THE LAST YEAR OF HIS LIFE.

estate; he went systematically to work to help the neighboring peasants in every possible manner; he established schools and himself taught in them. His pedagogical theories were of course his own, as always. There must be no compulsion. The child must

study when and what he pleases. Thus early appears the fundamental assumption of his whole philosophy.

A happy marriage, the care of a promising family, material prosperity and literary fame left him still unsatisfied. The question, "Why am I here on earth?" tormented him till he found the answer. He studied Kant and Schopenhauer, and the latter exercised a powerful influence over him. The conclusion that life is all evil, the relapse into nothingness the only real happiness, took hold of him for a time with terrible vigor. Strange that this healthy, prosperous, popular man should have been troubled with thoughts of suicide.



TOLSTOY WITH HIS HORSE.

For a long time he dared not go hunting with a gun for fear he might be impelled to turn the weapon against himself.

He seemed to see in the determined, satisfied lives of pious men evidence that they had found an answer to his question. But he saw no help in the orthodox church. Here were only formalism, hypocrisy, ignorance. He left the church and renounced its doctrines. He retained a belief in individual and universal progress and perfectibility, but still yearned for something more definite. We are moving; good!—but whither?

Many years later he wrote of his period of illumination: "In the year 1877 I became a new man. I count only the time from then. What lies before is vanity and selfishness." Critics fail to



AT DINNER WITH COUNT TOLSTOY.

"A meal at the Tolstoy table was a memorable experience. . . . There never was a home like it before, nor will be again. Prince and peasant were welcome alike and every guest shared with all the family." Kellogg Durland in *The Independent*.

Tolstoy is easily recognized in this picture, and the Countess is at his left at the end of the table. She is facing Tolstoy's sister, a Carmelite nun, at whose left sits Mme. Iqumnowa. Next to Tolstoy is his literary agent, Count Vladimir Tchertkoff, and then the Princess Obolenskaja, Alexandra Tolstoy, the daughter who shares Tolstoy's views, and at the end Dr. Lugovitsky.

find as definite a break as he himself describes, but at least his peculiar views come out more sharply after the date mentioned.

From his observation of those who professed religion he remained convinced that it contains a profound fundamental truth. He studied Greek and Hebrew, the writings of the old Church Fathers and modern Russian theologians. He cultivated the society of godly peasants, to learn if possible the secret of their unlearned faith. He made pilgrimages, he consulted hermits, monks, bishops, leaders of the smaller fanatic sects,—he even resumed attendance at the services of the orthodox church and observed the prescribed fasts.

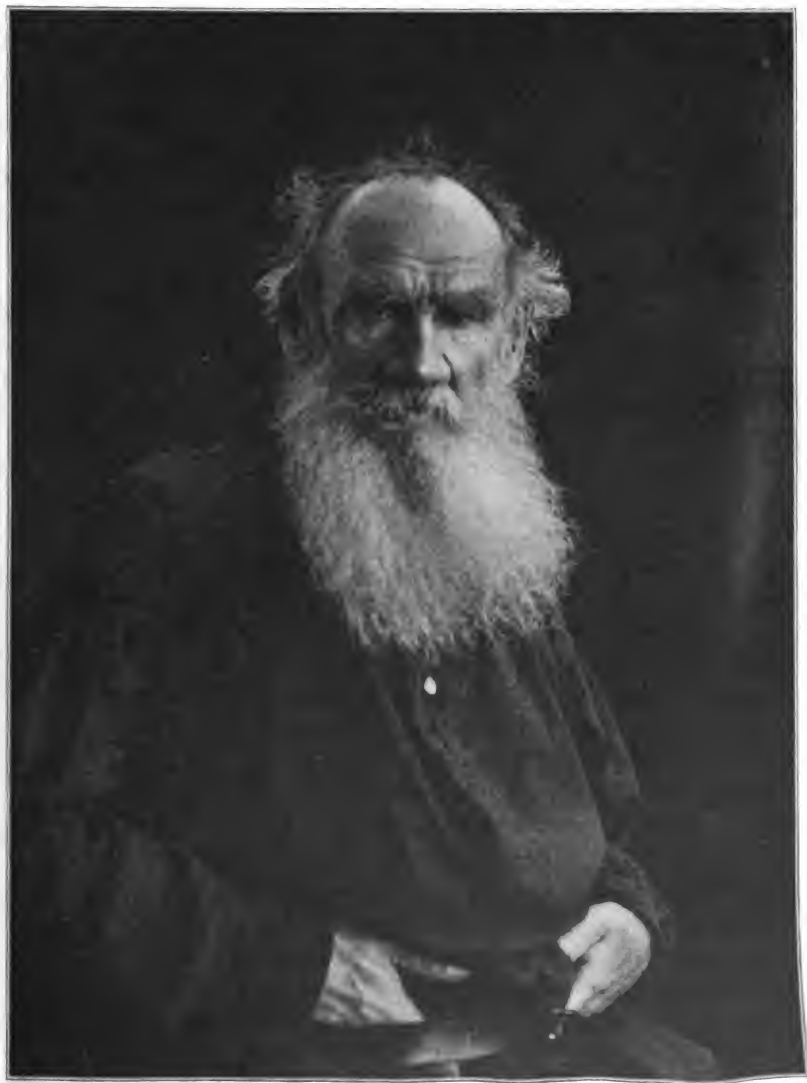
At last the conviction fixed itself—how far it was the result of these religious theories and practices is not clear—"In all my inner struggles and doubts I am overwhelmed by the senselessness of existence and am sunk into despair when I deny God. But the glorious joy of living comes over me as soon as I affirm God." And the thought streamed through him: "Why seek longer? God is life. To know God and to live are one and the same thing."

He was no nearer the church than before. But the Gospels offered him a full and satisfying answer to the question, "What is the meaning of my life?" Self-seeking and the pursuit of pleasure are unreasonable, because they bring warfare and satiety. The reasonable life is a life of love and sacrifice. Confucius, Lao-tze, Buddha, Epictetus, Jesus, all saw the great and necessary truth that the only way to real happiness lies through love to God and man.

There was no mysticism in Tolstoy's religion. He was as insistent that the message be clear and reasonable as were the deists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as were Herbert of Cherbury, Chubb, Reimarius. He had no sympathy with Paul's learned complications, no patience with the miraculous "plan of salvation."

Tolstoy's teaching was a flat contradiction of the proud individualism of Nietzsche. The mid-point of his doctrine was the command, "Resist not evil!" He followed the prohibition to its extremest consequences. If I find a robber in the act of murdering a child, I must offer no violent opposition; for I have no means of knowing what may become of the child if I save its life, or of the robber if I allow him to escape. "Yes, if the Zulus came to roast my children, the only thing I could do would be to endeavor to convince them that such a procedure would be useless or positively harmful to them."

All war, then, is wrong, and all military service of every sort is to be denounced. Tolstoy opposed all acts of violence toward criminals, all imprisonment. The novel *Resurrection* contains a



Leo Tolstoy.

bitter arraignment of judges who condemn their equals or their betters to restraint or suffering. "Judge not that ye be not judged." How can men who know themselves to be full of sin and weakness, presume to punish others who are no worse than they? "I say unto you, Swear not at all." And yet in Russia millions take the oath while a priest holds the Gospels before them, open perhaps at the very page where the oath is forbidden. Here are the principal reasons for his criticism of the church. She sanctions the taking of oaths, she blesses the banners of murderous armies, she persecutes those of a different faith, she refuses to suffer in silence.

More and more radical grew Tolstoy's criticism. "Love your enemies." The command deals a death-blow at what is termed patriotism. The man who has room in his heart for a feeling of animosity toward the citizens of another country is no Christian.

There is no question that Tolstoy meant all he said to the deepest depths of his being. In 1882 Moscow suffered the, for her, unusual experience of a census enumeration. Tolstoy was one of two thousand volunteer enumerators, and his tract, "What shall we do then?" describes his experiences. He distributed large sums of money among the proletariat, and influenced others to do the same. He organized a systematic effort at moral education of the lower orders. But he found a fundamental error in the present constitution of society. It is wrong that a hundred thousand men should suffer in order that one thousand may live in luxury. The reasonable life is that in which each individual labors to supply his own physical needs, and accepts no help from others; and this reasonable life can be lived only in the pure air and unhampered freedom of the country.

"What then of art, science, culture, music, theaters?" Tolstoy evades nothing. Our over-refined culture is in the main unsound. Let all these things go if necessary. We can get along without them.

Then Tolstoy donned the peasant frock. He no longer lived in Moscow. He worked like a peasant, and peasants are his constant associates. But he had his library; he remained a very wealthy man; he carried his theories only half way to their logical outcome. This is due in part to the resistance of his family, who were by no means unqualified converts to his philosophy, and with whom he had been forced to effect a compromise. Still, without their influence, it would have been hard for even this courageous reformer to become absolutely consistent.

Years ago he abandoned the writing of romances. True art, for him, must be "an agency for human progress." In 1883 Turgenev

jeff wrote to him from his death-bed: "Go back to your literary work! How happy I should be if I could think that my entreaty would have an effect on you. My friend, great writer of the Russian people, listen to my prayer!" But Tolstoy could be nothing else than moralist and reformer. "Art for art's sake" was to him blasphemy. Rhymed poetry is folly, because language can have no other purpose than to express thought in the simplest and clearest possible manner, and his application of his literary theory continued to bring forth vigorous and beautiful fruit.

If Tolstoy had a valid message for the old world of convention it is this: Our highly-prized modern culture is not the last word of human accomplishment. We are not yet able to measure values by the ultimate, eternal standards. We must continue our efforts to prove all things, to let unessentials pass and hold fast that which is good.

THE RELIGION OF MOHAMMED.

AS PRESENTED IN EXTRACTS SELECTED BY COUNT LEO N.
TOLSTOY.

ABDULLAH Surawardi, a Hindu Moslem, has compiled a volume of Mohammed's sayings which are not contained in the Koran. This collection has been translated into German by Adolf Hess, and the Berlin *Deutsche Rundschau* of March, 1910, published some of these sayings selected and introduced by Count Leo N. Tolstoy, who finds in them truths common to all religions. After summing up briefly and in the simplest possible language the main facts of Mohammed's life and teachings, Count Tolstoy closes with the following comparison between Mohammedanism on the one hand and Christianity and Buddhism on the other: "The violent propaganda of Mohammed's teachings accounts also for the fierce opposition which it met from the gentle-spirited Buddhists and Christians. In spite of the austerity and pure morality of the Mohammedans which excited universal sympathy and respect, their religion did not spread so extensively as other faiths which preached gentleness and mercy and ascribed to God alone the power over life and death." Some of the most striking of these apocryphal dicta of the founder of Islam read as follows:

SAYINGS OF MOHAMMED.

Mohammed lay asleep under a palm-tree, and when he awoke suddenly, he saw his enemy Diutur standing before him with his sword drawn. "Now, Mohammed, who will save thee from death?" cried Diutur. "God," answered Mohammed. Diutur let the sword sink. Mohammed tore it away from him and cried in his turn: "Now Diutur, who will save *thee* from death?" "No one," answered Diutur. "Let me show thee that the same God will save thee also!" cried Mohammed and gave him his sword back. Thenceforth Diutur became one of the most faithful adherents of the prophet.

God has said: "The man who does good, I will repay tenfold and more; he who does evil will find requital if I do not forgive him; and he who will come a span nearer to me, to him will I come an ell nearer; and he who will come an ell nearer to me, him will I come to meet twelve ells; he who comes to me walking, to him I will run; and he who comes before me full of sin, but believing, I will come before him ready to forgive him."

O Lord, keep me my life long in poverty, and let me die a beggar.

None has ever tasted better drink than he who in the name of God swallows down an angry word.

Angels said: "O God! Is there anything by thee created that is stronger than stone?" God said: "Yes; iron is stronger than stone, for it breaks it in pieces." The angels said: "O Lord, is there any thing by thee created that is stronger than iron?" "Yes," said God, fire is stronger than iron, for it melts it." And the angels said: "O Lord! is there anything by thee created that is stronger than fire?" God said: "Yes, water is stronger fire, for it checks and extinguishes it." Then said the angels: "O Lord! Is any thing by thee created stronger than water?" God said: "Yes, the wind is stronger than water; it stirs it and drives it away." They said: "O Lord, is any thing by thee created stronger than wind?" God said: "Yes; the children of Adam, who give alms; they conquer all whose left hand knoweth not what the right hand doeth."

God said: "I was a treasure which no man knew. I wished to be known; so I made man."

Mohammed said one day to Wabischah: "Is it not true that thou wouldst know of me what is good and what is evil?" "Yes," he answered, "it is for that I am come." Then Mohammed dipped his finger in oil, and touching his breast, made a sign where the heart lies and said: "Ask thy heart." He did this three times and said then: "Good is that which gives thy heart rest and security; evil is what casts thee into doubt, even if others justify thee."

Without modesty and chastity, no faith is possible.

Be stubborn in good works.

An hour of meditation is better than a year of devotion.

Know ye not what undermines our faith and makes it impossible? The errors of the expounders, the disputes of the hypocrites and the comments of the rulers which lead away from the true path.

The time is near when nothing more will remain of our faith but its name; and of the Koran nothing but the outward signs; when there will be no more teaching in the mosques and no service of God there; when the sages will be the worst men of all, from whom quarreling and strife go out and to whom they return.

The striving after knowledge is God's will for every believer; but he who gives knowledge to the unworthy hangs pearls, precious stones and gold about the necks of swine.

There are three kinds of doctrine: that whose truth is certain—follow it; that which leads astray from the true path—avoid it; and that which is not clear—seek light for it from God.

Hope in God, but fasten thy camel securely.

To keep silence as much as possible and to keep cheerful at the same time—can there be anything better?

Shall I tell you what is better than fasting, alms and prayer? A friend making peace with his friend. Enmity and hate rob man of every gift of God.

God himself is gentle and full of humility; he gives the meek what he withholds from the violent.

One day Mohammed fell asleep on a poor mat and rose very dirty. One said to him: "O man of God, if thou wishest it, I will prepare thee a soft bed." Mohammed answered: "What have I to do with this world? I am here as a traveler who has stepped into the shadow of a tree and at once steps out of it again."

When thou seest one who is richer or more beautiful than thou, think of those who are less fortunate than thou art."

One came to Mohammed and said to him: "Truly, I love thee." Mohammed answered him: "Consider what thou sayest." The man said: "I swear to thee, I love thee," and repeated these words three times. Then said Mohammed to him: "If thou art honest, prepare for poverty; for to him who loves me poverty comes more surely than the stream to the sea."

God said: "For him whom I love I am the ears with which he hears, the eyes with which he sees, the hands with which he grasps, and the feet with which he walks."

As rubbing on the earth cleanses iron, so does rubbing on God cleanse the hearts of men.

Every good deed is a work of mercy; is it not a good deed to greet a brother in a friendly manner, and to pour from thy water-skin into his pitcher?

Mohammed asked: "Believe ye that a mother will throw her child into the fire?" The answer come, "No." Then said Mohammed: "But God is yet more merciful to his creatures than a mother to her child."

Pay the workman his wage before his sweat dries.

He honors God most who forgives his enemy when he has him in his hands.

Hell is hidden behind pleasures, paradise behind work and privations.

God gives a great reward to him who suppresses his anger.

Deeds are judged according to their motives.

God loves the men who earn their bread by labor.

He only is a true laborer for truth, who bears up under misery and forgets offences.

True modesty is the source of all virtue.

The grave is the first step towards eternity.

AN EXECUTION IN THE RUSSIAN POLITICAL PRISONS.¹

BY LEONIDE SEMENOF.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY COUNT LEO TOLSTOY.

THE account which follows shows, it seems to me, remarkable literary workmanship. It is full of feeling and artistic imagination. It should be given the widest publicity. This wish of mine recalls a conversation which I once had with Ostrovsky, the dramatist. I had just written a play, "The Contaminated Family," which I read to him, remarking that I should like to see it published as soon as possible. He thereupon replied: "Why, are you afraid people are going to become more intelligent?" These words were quite to the point in this matter of my poor play. But in this other matter, the situation is quite different. To-day nobody can help hoping that men may become more intelligent and that the horrors described below cease, though there is little reason to believe that such will be the case. Hence it is that I esteem most useful every word raised against what is now going on in Russia.

LEO TOLSTOY.

January, 1910.

There was nothing extraordinary about it. It was the same as always,—the same walls, the same barred windows. The day was clear and cold just like a thousand other days here below.

¹ The translation of this article has been communicated by Mr. Theodore Stanton.

In the barracks the soldiers were lolling about, smoking, telling their long crude stories and laughing. The guards sometimes whispered together and then paced up and down the long somber corridors of the prison, their keys jingling, while they were lazily thinking ever the same thing,—their prison duties and their home comforts.

The political prisoners were in a nervous state. Now they would go pacing forward and back in their narrow cells; then, on a sudden, they would tremble, would listen to what was going on, and then begin once more their endless aimless tramp. And all around them was hideous,—the dirty walls of the prison and the awful stench.

The engineer sighed and threw himself down on the boards which served as a bed. He was a tall thin man with high cheek bones and weary sad eyes. His nerves were unstrung and his whole body worn out. One thought never left his head, where it clung most pertinaciously.

During the past few days he had tried with all his strength to put away from him all feeling. He had become quite indifferent to death,—“a slight necessary operation,” he would often say to himself while smoking a cigarette. “And afterwards, what? Nothing.” The whole thing seemed so simple and clear to him that it was not worth a moment’s reflection. The only thing necessary was, in some way or another, to keep occupied and stifle his conscience during the few days that remained to him. Every thing to prevent the inevitable had been done.

So the engineer would read and smoke. Then he would pace his cell to begin reading again. Fortunately he had some books. In spite of the severity of the solitary confinement system, he had been able to get books from the political prisoners confined in another part of the building.

In one of these books he had read a thought that would give him no peace of mind. It pursued him all day, and when he went to bed it was transformed into a nightmare, and this nightmare seemed to become a reality.

of his head, infiltrating into his own veins as does sap into the veins of plants.

Then he would walk and smoke again. Sometimes he would listen to what the other prisoners were doing. In what state of mind were they awaiting the coming of death? Perhaps they had lost courage. But as this appeared bad and was disagreeable to him, he would banish such thoughts. Perhaps the others were more nervous than he was.

* * *

It was a clear winter's day. The director of the prison came and went in the court-yard and gave orders. It was cold and the frost bit one's ears. He turned up the collar of his great-coat. From his apartments came the odor of roasting turkey and this odor irritated him. He wanted to eat.

"Winding-sheets cost two rubles and fifty kopeks each," the prison bookkeeper informed him, a shrewd blond peasant with an obsequious manner.

The director glanced at him for a moment and said impatiently:

"Then that won't go, especially as the municipality has voted us no funds. The price is too high. We need money as it is. Explain the matter to them."

"I have already done so, Sir."

"But you idiot; tell them so again," he growled.

This clerk had long been a source of vexation to him. His thickheadedness, his blue eyes with their innocent look and his fawning ways,—the fellow seemed to be making fun of him. "He thinks me an assassin," the director would say to himself; "that all I am good for is to kill people and nothing else,—this stupid fool!" Then turning once more to his subordinate:

"Well, go and tell them so again or we shall have to get on without winding-sheets."

"I will obey orders."

The director interrupted him:

"Oh, enough of that obeying orders business. There is something else besides. We must have a wig and a beard. The official circular prescribes this. Go to Axenstein's and get them."

"I will obey orders."

So the clerk hastened away and the snow creaked under his feet. The director watched him disappear, then thoughts of his own cursed duties took possession of him once more.

"When will all this stop? It nearly drives me mad. Every day new death sentences, fresh executions. I wish those fellows were in my place!"

And the old dominant hatred of the authorities which had been accumulating in his heart suddenly began to show itself and quickly reached the boiling point.

"And all this comes from those at the head. Well, let them go on with this. But if things take a bad turn, we are not going to be the ones who will suffer. We simply obey orders."

And this thought that it would be the chiefs who would suffer seemed to console the director and he went off to give further orders.

* * *

The President of the military tribunal at a dinner given in his honor by the officers of the regiment of the Imperial Fusileers, was exceedingly contented and freely indulged in laughter. He was a fat general, with red cheeks and long mustaches. He had once studied for a time in a theological seminary and he sometimes spoke like a clergyman. He really believed himself thoroughly upright and good, and he wanted to have everybody else think so too, even to the lawyer who had defended the prisoners, who, during a sitting of the tribunal had referred to him in most flattering terms as "that light of science." This pleased him very much, particularly because it was said in the presence of the Judge Advocate who was of a higher grade than himself and who had once written some sort of a book of which he was very proud. He it was who had said at one of the sittings of the tribunal: "No educated jurist can have a moment's doubt about the guilt of the prisoner now before us."

"And yet we had our doubts," the general said to his hosts at the table, "and we acquitted a most evident terrorist. Ha, ha, ha, 'no educated jurist,' he said. We let him see who runs things at the tribunal. We acquit when we like and we hang if the fancy takes us. There was something very pleasing about that Klemen-kine," he continued, addressing these last words across the table to the lawyer.

"Whom are you speaking of, General?" asked the colonel of the regiment who did not understand to whom he was referring.

undertone: "The Governor General called for seven. We had to find five more. May God receive their souls!"

Thereupon the general cast his eyes around the banquet hall as though he were looking for some holy image, made the sign of the cross over his high stomach, which was beginning to perspire under his unbuttoned uniform, and raised his glass with these words:

"To your health, my legal friend. Don't feel so solemn over the affair. Perhaps we can do better next time."

* * *

One of the officers who was on the tribunal nearly burst into tears during the sitting, so deeply moved was he by the lawyer's speech in defense of a young college boy of eighteen, who, he was convinced, was innocent but who was, nevertheless, condemned to death. Now, at the banquet, this same officer was drinking like a fish, while, through his befogged eyes he saw all around him the good and charming faces of his brother officers, and was surprised, even himself, to find them so sympathetic. And now he was asking himself how he could have been so foolish during the sitting as to think for a moment of resigning from the army for such a thing. If he had done so what would he be now? Why should he have done so? If this boy had been let off another would have been hung in his place. The President had made it very clear to all the judges that it was necessary to hang five. So what difference did it make who the five were? In fact, he got so much comfort out of these reflections that he went on drinking harder than ever.

The lawyer had long been convinced that before a military tribunal neither eloquence, nor erudition, nor even sentiment, counted for anything. The essential thing was to be on good terms with the judges and to habituate them to his person, so that they should not fear him nor look upon him as a terrorist. So now he began to drink too, forcing himself to smile to the right and to the left with the officers in order to show them that he was quite one of them. But at the bottom of his heart, through the mists of the wine, the feeling was ever present, that this is the center where was prepared Port Arthur and Isoushima. And he thought how some day he would write all this in his memoirs.

* * *

The city was full of excitement. A meeting of voters at the Douma and a newly elected deputy were signing a protest against capital punishment. A telegram was sent to St. Petersburg. A large lady with deep-set eyes, but who did not weep, the mother of

one of those condemned to death, a college boy, was hurrying about, first to deputies, then to the Governor General, then to the lawyers and finally to the Judge Advocate. On all of them she produced an impression of terror.

The Governor General had declined to receive her. The others tried to remove her fears, stammered out vague assurances, made promises and hastened to get rid of her. She was accompanied by her daughter, a young lady who was not handsome, who watched over her mother with anguish and anxiety. She put her carefully in the carriage and said to her:

"Mama, mama, be calm. I am sure nothing will happen. Valia is innocent and will be pardoned."

The deputy also called twice on the Governor General, but the second time he was not received. This deputy was a physician, a kindly old man with gray hair and eyebrows, and watery eyes. He was very well known in town and was highly esteemed. The first time he went to the palace of the Governor General, a strange thought came into his head. Before him people were hurrying with a quick step. The snow shone. The cab-drivers were swinging their arms to keep their hands warm. The pale mother of the college lad came back to him, and then suddenly everything seemed a lie, a useless lie. Also a lie was his visit to the Governor General to intercede for the condemned. He spoke to himself, and this was the strange thought which haunted him:

"The Government is always the Government. The very noise being made about this boy's case will hurt our cause. The Government will not yield!"

But it would seem that the meetings, the protests, the general emotion which had spread everywhere, would arouse the country like a victorious wave and sweep everything before it. He was a witness of this historic movement, so grand and so important; so he went up the stairway of the Governor's Palace with a firm step and with the dignity of one of the people's representatives, resolved boldly to state the case.

* * *

The Governor General was a tall soldier, his torso tightly fitted into his uniform, his cheeks rosy, who carried superbly his seventy—

thought and effort were devoted to augment this impression. To him, everything "was as plain as the nose on your face," he would say. It was the Liberals who pushed "them" to the point where they revolted. That was all there was of it. So of course he received the deputy coldly and told him that everything permitted by the law would be done.

The little deputy felt himself almost nothing when he stood before the towering Governor General, whose breast was covered with decorations, and met the steady gaze of those piercing eyes. For a moment, he quite forgot what he had come to say. But finally he tried to touch delicately on the humanitarian side of the affair. He spoke of the grief of the lad's mother. But the reply was always the same.

"All that the law permits will be done," and the Governor General extended mechanically his big hand on whose little finger shone a ring. But when the deputy was gone and the Governor General was back in his own study again, he burst out laughing and exclaimed:

"Why, he himself is a candidate for prison!"

The Governor General prided himself on being able to look men through and through, and he was especially proud of his ability to detect a revolutionist.

So he laid his cigar down on the corner of the table and in a firm hand signed the lad's death warrant. The only thing that troubled him was possible interference from St. Petersburg.

"I am responsible before the Czar and the nation for calm throughout the Empire. St. Petersburg mixes in everything but only makes blunders."

* * *

The night of this same day, when the condemned men were waked up for execution, all the officials who were to take part in the lugubrious affair were seized with a feeling of terror and anguish. The Sub-Director of the prison, a young officer on duty that night, with a very handsome and somewhat effeminate face, while hastening through the prison's somber passage ways, lighted by little petroleum lamps, felt much as he used to feel as a child when alone in the woods, trembling at every sound, at every tree, as though they boded danger. He imagined now that a thousand invisible and terrible eyes were staring at him from every side, surprising him in the act of committing a base and terrible crime. He had just been appointed sub-director, and this was the first time he was to take part in an execution.

There were some eight hundred prisoners in the building, and in spite of themselves the officials had come to look upon them as so many numbers and papers, and the *sang froid* with which the approaching execution was looked upon had communicated itself involuntarily to everybody.

But now that he was going in the middle of the night to announce death to men whose faces even were unknown to him,—this filled the young officer with fear, and he began to ask himself whether he should not blame the Director for having thus assigned to him a duty which was as disagreeable as it was delicate and difficult to perform. Or, on the contrary, should he feel flattered at the confidence thus shown him? This last way of looking at the matter was finally the accepted one. So, downing every fear, he affected in the sight of everybody a free and easy manner which he did not feel and kept nervously twisting his budding mustaches.

* * *

The awakened prisoners rose from their bunks pale and tired and looked dazedly around them. They were ordered to make haste; everybody wanted the terrible business over as rapidly as possible. At the same time, strangely enough, a sort of angry feeling against them suddenly took possession of officers and soldiers alike, at the sight of these faces half asleep and half frozen. This ill-feeling seemed to spring from the fact that it was these poor creatures who had forced them to rout out in the middle of the night and perform an awful duty that filled them all with horror.

"Make haste, you," yelled a soldier into one cell, forgetting the presence of his superior officer; "there is no use in wasting time now."

And the poor victims silently obeyed, all understanding what the brutal soldier meant.

* * *

The engineer had just fallen asleep when they came to get him. He had had much trouble that night in quieting his throbbing temples. He had smoked so much during the day that his nerves were over-excited. His enfeebled head was peopled with thoughts and images which became nightmares, and again he saw humanity take

through his hair, and stretched himself out as though he would enjoy his uncomfortable bed for the last time and thus prolong the final moments remaining to him. Then suddenly everything disappeared, everything vanished into nothingness,—the revolution, its actors, the tribunal, all. All things seemed to him so useless, so indifferent, and he said to himself:

“Only death remains and then all is ended;” and he again repeated: “A little operation, that is all.”

But this time no smile accompanied the thought. It only ran through his brain, simply, tranquilly, for an extraordinary calmness had suddenly spread through his whole being. Now everything seemed so mean, so small in the presence of that immense nothingness which was about to open to him and into which he was sure to disappear within the next few minutes. He would have liked to tarry for a few moments longer in the spell of this feeling which he had never experienced before. But the officer was in haste.

“There is no time to waste, none to waste. Get ready. Hurry.”

There was something cowardly in this order. The officer appeared to be trying to give himself courage and to stir up his own brutality. Such was the thought that flashed on the engineer’s mind as he started up. For a moment he felt offended at this indecent haste at such a time. But this feeling quickly faded away, for he could see that the officer was deathly pale and that his eyes were weak and haggard. He could not look the prisoner in the face.

“He is some libertine,” thought the engineer mechanically. But now all this seemed to him so small and insignificant, mere dust in the presence of the immense future nothingness, that he simply smiled and got up. He had to obey.

* * *

In the corridor, the victims were crowded against one another; all was disorder, one pushing the other, while the chains clinked and the heavy footfalls echoed. The soldiers were watchful. They appeared to fear that even now some of their prisoners might escape. Now and then they urged them forward. There was a slight delay as they all crowded through a door-way, when a loud voice exclaimed:

“Comrades, we are being led to the judgment seat of heaven.”

This was said by the son of a deacon, with pale cheeks and poor teeth. He did not seem to know just what he was saying, and his jaws were clattering together as though he had a fever.

“That’s all right; that’s the very road you ought to follow,”

replied angrily the soldier at his side, the same who had a few minutes before hustled him out of his cell.

* * *

At the prison registry office the minutes seemed an eternity. But this eternity advanced without pity, advanced and disappeared.

While they had been hastening through the corridors, the whole life of each prisoner appeared to rise up before him and pass through his mind as images which were extraordinarily wonderful. This terrible work of the imagination absorbed all of their attention, turned their minds away from everything else. They quite forgot to ask themselves if even yet something might not be done to save them. They walked like somnambulists. But this momentary and unexpected stop at the prison office broke the spell and made vanish all these more tender feelings.

The Registrar and the Director were busy finding the names in the prison books, and when found the names were called out. It looked as though they were scratched out. But all this passed before the prisoners' eyes as in a dream, like pale lifeless visions,—the books, the lamps, the bald head of the Director, the bayonets of the soldiers.

These soldiers still clung close to their prisoners. Their caps and often their bodies rubbed up against the bodies of their victims. Still they feared escape, and looked at them with an expression which seemed to say:

"We are not to blame for this, but we will be held responsible for anything that goes wrong."

A nervous young soldier with a slight black mustache just beginning to show itself was clearly much moved and strove not to look at the prisoners. The strange thought that he was there living and well, while these other men, that tall prisoner, unshaven, his gray eyes so sunken like the eyes of all of them, would in a few minutes more be no longer among the living,—this sent a shudder through him, made his heart beat faster and caused him to grow deadly pale.

Among the prisoners was Klemenkine, a man of southern type, sturdy, with a fine face and thick hair. It was difficult for him to keep still. He sat down on a bench, took his head in his hands, his

his cold hands in his prison cap. Then wild thoughts of escape came into his head, and then he spoke again:

"Comrades, what does all this mean, anyway? I am innocent. I swear it. I was condemned without being heard. What does all this mean then?"

But the most terrified member of the unfortunate group was the young college boy. This tender lad, with his plump body and downy cheeks, contracted his eyebrows, bit his lips, and was plainly making every effort in his power not to break down, and yet sobbing in spite of it all. Suddenly, he hastily made the sign of the cross; his face grew so red that the veins of his temples stood out; his chin trembled, and, for a moment, his lips moved without uttering a sound. It was plain that he wished to say something, but his emotion was such that he could not do so.

At this moment, the engineer happened to be looking at him. He feared that the rush of blood to the throat might smother the boy. "This, added to his other suffering, would be too much," the engineer said to himself. But finally the lad got better control of his organs of speech and said in a whisper:

"I—I—I want a priest."

Then he looked frightened at the sound of his own voice, and, terrified, gazed wildly about. But nobody had heard him except the soldier who was near the engineer, and who, pale as ever, was still striving not to look at the prisoners. Trembling with emotion, he hastened to his superior officer in order to tell him of the boy's wish. But the officer's head was buried in the books.

"I want a priest," the youth now repeated in a louder voice, which, this time, was heard by everybody.

Thereupon, the son of the deacon exclaimed with an oath:

"And I, I want a cigarette."

The officer looked up from his registers and shouted at the frightened boy:

"You shall have one. But what are you blubbering about?"

But when he saw that young face so red and so terribly drawn, the eyes inflamed with emotion, he felt embarrassed and added in a more kindly tone:

"You will have one; you will have all that the law permits."

The boy, confused, looked about him again and replied:

"Oh it's nothing; I simply wanted to say something."

And the old thought suddenly came back to the engineer. All this seemed so little, so mean, in the presence of that eternal calm where all were soon to be annihilated, that he felt like trying to ex-

plain to the lad, in order that he should not break down and could smile with him, that all this was useless and that, even at such a moment one could be happy.

But at the same moment, a feeling of pity for the Director came into the engineer's heart,—this Director who, at such a time, was placed in such a terrible position; and when he saw in his face an expression of tenderness for the suffering of the lad, he felt that he too was a man. So he now thought of going, not to the lad, but to the Director and saying to him:

"Would it not be best to hang the boy first? I am ready to wait. It will be easier for the child."

It seemed to the engineer that this could be brought about, "for," he said to himself, "all here are men,—himself, the Director and the soldiers. These officers are not criminals. Each will understand this humane and natural sentiment in so important and general an act as death."

But while mechanically he was asking himself how he was going to set to work to do this, for he saw that he could not say these things aloud, that the matter had to be explained with tact and prudence, for it to be understood,—in the midst of these plans the terrible business at the registry office was finished, and all was commotion again.

The deacon's son had noticed by the clock that they had been there only five minutes. "But it seemed like an age," he said as they moved on.

It was now seven minutes to three a. m. All went crowding through the doors into the courtyard. The prisoners passed between two rows of soldiers. At their head marched the same young officer, while behind walked the group of witnesses required by the law to be present at the execution.

* * *

While the last formalities were being carried out at the office, the priest, in the greatest agitation, paced up and down the adjoining room, the private bureau of the Director. "All that seems unnecessary," he thought to himself; it could surely be avoided in some way. The prisoners could be treated in a more Christian spirit and pardoned. But was his conclusion, we are small fry, and the offi-

"Father, one of the prisoners wants you."

All the others had declined the consolation of religion.

The priest hastened into the office, when it suddenly occurred to him to ask where the confession should take place. "Here or out in the court-yard?" It was decided that it should occur in the office.

"I shall now bring comfort to at least one of them, and I will pray for the others," said the priest, whose heart was throbbing.

* * *

The Judge Advocate was nervous and was striving not to notice what was going on. He was thinking of his wife whom he had left in his warm and comfortable bed. She liked decadent poetry, and, in a general way, held advanced ideas. He too sympathized with the movement and understood the whole subject. He felt that it was time to abolish the old régime; but yet it was plain to him that so long as the law existed, it must be carried out. "When they get the power," he said to himself, "then they will make other laws and live according to their own ideas." He too was angry with these men because they were not jurists and could not grasp such simple truths, though from a humanitarian standpoint, he admitted they were to be pitied. And while he was indulging in these rather philosophical reflections, he would now and again fumble the sentence which was in his pocket and which he would soon have to read to the condemned. He was now mustering up all his strength for this terrible task.

The doctor was drunk, smoked, and was complaining to the Director of some imaginary affront, while the young officer in command kept looking at his watch.

* * *

Out in the court-yard, within sight of the scaffolds, the college lad was sobbing and then suddenly burst into a flood of tears. He could not speak. He could only weep. All his strength and determination to bear up like a man had disappeared during the confession. He did not believe in God, he did not understand the conception. But thoughts of his mother were ever present with him, and he felt that the presence of this priest during his last moments would console her. He had begged the priest to tell her that he had died bravely, believing in immortality, with love for her in his heart and trusting that she would not be too sad. He was ready to lie to accomplish this end.

But in the hurry of the confession, he had forgotten to speak to the priest of his sister, and he was deeply pained by the thought that he had never been just towards this puny scrofulous child, who now would always think that in his last moments he had forgotten her and did not love her. But it was now too late to repair this oversight, and he wept, and sobbed, and shook throughout his whole young body.

It was a terrible scene. Tears were in all eyes. All felt that it should be ended. So the hangman seized the lad the first, who then became suddenly silent and swooned.

While entering the court-yard, the engineer had urged that everything possible should be done for the boy, and when he saw that there were five scaffolds, he grew still calmer. Again the old feeling of the littleness of everything took still stronger hold upon him so that the sobs of the boy no longer touched him. He knew that they were all going to die, that in a moment all would be over, both tears and what produced them. Twice he looked up at the starry heavens, and the stars seemed to tell him the same thing. For the last time he drew into his lungs a long draught of the cold fresh air and then he himself kicked away the stool on which he was standing.

Klemenkine, enervated and deeply effected by this scene of the college boy, yelled at the top of his voice and shouted out that this act would never be pardoned these "villains and brutes."

At this imprecation, the Judge Advocate and all the others trembled. But they said nothing, knowing that the hour for discussion had ended.

The workman shook with cold, and the son of the deacon tried to say something, but his eyes were haggard and no words would come.

Twenty minutes later, twenty long minutes, during which the Judge Advocate and the others stamped about impatiently in the snow, turning away from the hanging men and freezing with cold. The young officer and the Director looked at their watches. The doctor, wrapped in his cloak, moved from one corpse to the other

THE FISH IN FOLK-LORE.

BY THE EDITOR.

BASED upon old folk traditions, fairy tales reflect the religious views of distant prehistoric ages, and this, we make bold to say, is most probably true of a story related of a fish and preserved in a Low German dialect. As it now reads it is simply funny and teaches the moral of contentment, but incidentally also it throws light upon the significance of the fish in the imagination of primitive mankind.

One day, so the story begins, a fisherman caught a wonderfully fine fish, and the fish said to the fisherman, "If you will let me go, I will grant you a wish." The fisherman was so astonished to hear a fish talk that without asking any favor he let him go; whereupon the fish said to him, "Whenever you need me, call upon me, and I will come."

In old Saxon days a fish was called a "but," and this term is still preserved in the German word *Butte* and in the modern English word "halibut," i. e., holy fish, the fish which is eaten as a holiday dish on feast days. The story before us preserves this old Saxon word and speaks of this wonderful fish as a "but."

At home the fisherman told his wife about his encounter with the but, and she said, "What a fool you are! Why didn't you wish that our hovel should change into a snug little house with all that goes with a decent homestead?" He answered, "Oh, our old hovel is good enough," but she made it so unpleasant for him at home that he hurried back to the beach and shouted loudly:

"Mankin, mankin,¹ timpe te,
Butkin, butkin in the sea,
'Tis my wife, my Ilsebill,
Wills not so as I would will."

¹ The original reads *Manntje* and appears to mean "*mankin*," i. e., little man, probably denoting the mysterious magician hidden in the fish. "Timpe te" may be a mere jingle.

At once the but made his appearance and said, "What does she want?" Then the fisherman explained that she was anxious to have in place of the wretched old hovel a snug little house and all that goes with a decent homestead. Thereupon the but said, "Be it so!" and when the fisherman came home he rubbed his eyes, for the hovel had disappeared and a snug little house was in its place.

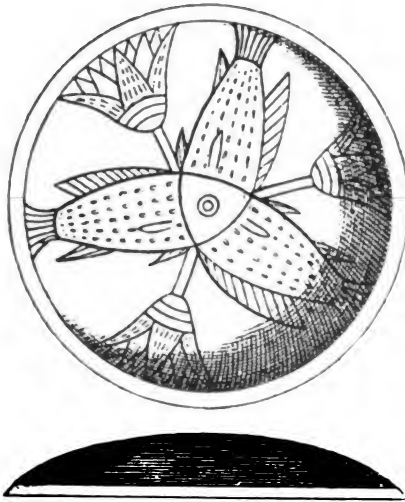
The story continues by representing the fisherman as always pleased with his condition while his wife is never satisfied. She is soon disgusted with the snug little house because it is too small, and sends her husband out again to ask for a comfortable mansion, then for a palace,—and every wish is granted.

Madame Ilsebill's contentment never lasted long. She was greatly displeased that there were rich barons living in the neighborhood, and she wanted to belong to the aristocracy too. So she charged her husband to ask the but to make him a count; but even that was not enough. She sent him to the beach again to become king, then emperor, and finally pope. Yet even when basking in the glory of her power, having all Christendom at her feet, she remained dissatisfied because there were things in this world over which she had no command. She ordered her husband to appear before her and said: "Every sunrise and sunset makes me fret because I can not make the sun move as I please. Therefore go down to the beach again and request the but to make me the Good Lord, who has command over the sun and bids him rise and set." The modest fisherman who always objected to asking too many bounties of the but, finally yielded to the demand of his wife though not without great reluctance—in fact with more reluctance than ever. When he came down to the beach he saw a storm rising along the horizon. Again he expressed disapproval of his wife's wishes, saying:

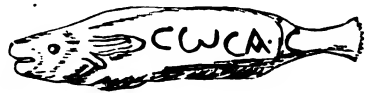
"Mankin, mankin, timpe te,
Butkin, butkin in the sea,
'Tis my wife, my Ilsebill,
Wills not so as I would will."

The but appeared and said, "What does she want?" He answered, "She wants to be the Good Lord who controls the sun and bids it rise and set." Thereupon a terrific thunder clan made the

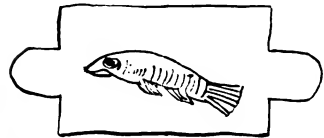
The story has been recorded by the Grimm brothers and its present form will have to be dated back to the Middle Ages when the papacy was at its zenith. The nucleus of this tale, however, as



A LATE EGYPTIAN BOWL
(CHRISTIAN).
From Münster.

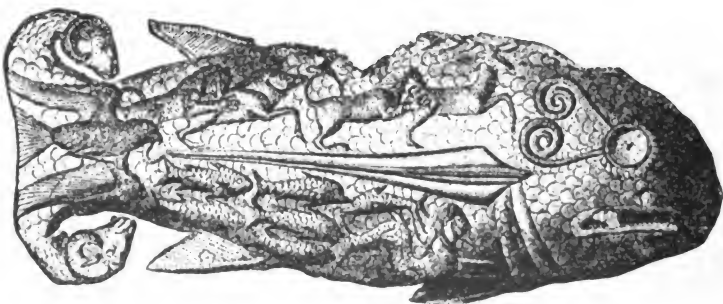


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INSCRIPTIONS IN THE
CATACOMBS.
From Becker.

well as other genuine folk-tales, is much older, and we can not doubt that it is prehistoric and pre-Christian. It characterizes a religious faith in which the fish was looked up to as the representative of a



A VOTIVE FISH DECORATED WITH MANY SYMBOLS.
From Ohnefalsch-Richter.

most mysterious power. The fish grants wishes, transforms and transfigures the lives of mankind, and is a source of all possible blessings; but at the same time it has power to take away what it

has given, and may dissolve the whole fabric of its bounties into the original chaotic state.

Folklore, and in general any notion, has an interest for us proportional to its similarity, or kinship, or historical connection with our own ideas, and so pagan religions claim our attention mainly if they somehow or other elicit comparison with Christianity. Thus a devout reverence for the fish among primitive peoples would simply be a curiosity were it not for the fact that the fish was a religious symbol of profound significance among the early Christians. During the second and third centuries, the fish was identified with Christ, and the idea of salvation became somehow closely associated with this mysterious emblem.

Origen says: "Christ is figuratively called 'fish,' " (in Matt. iii., p. 584, ed. B). Tertullian is more elaborate when saying, "We small fish are like unto *Ichthys*,² our Jesus Christ, born in the water, and are saved only by remaining in the water." (*De Bapt.* 5). Sev-



COINS OF CONSTANTINE.

erianus of Gabala in Spain solemnly declares that "if Christ were not a fish, he would never have risen from the dead."

The fish has been sacred among almost all nations of the world, in Asia not less than in Europe. On the other hand we find that traditions and beliefs are more persistent than at first sight would appear, and when a new religion replaces an old worn-out faith, many of the old institutions, rituals, customs, practices, festivals and symbols remain. People are so accustomed to them that they unconsciously cling to them and when they try to account for them, invent new interpretations.

Such has been the fate of the symbol of two intersecting lines, (+) the thwart, which was used as an auspicious omen and a mark of protection among pagans all over the world. When Christianity

² *ΙΧΘΥΣ*, the Greek word for fish.

preached the gospel of Jesus the crucified, the thwart was interpreted to mean a cross and still bears that name. Such, furthermore, has been the fate of the labarum, the *signum salutis* of the Celtic soldiers of Emperor Constantine. After the emperor's conversion its pagan significance with the exception of its obscure name was forgotten and it came to denote the initials of the word Christ, being now called the Christogram. Constantine used the labarum before he became a Christian, which is proved by the fact that this emblem appears on his pagan coins. The fish symbol has encountered a similar fate as that of the cross and the labarum.

The sea had a peculiar meaning of its own. It served to symbolize the great gulf between life and death, and anything that could cross the sea (a ship, a dolphin, a bird of passage such as the crane, the swan or the wild goose, and more than all the fish,) represented



CHRIST AS A FISH ON THE ROOD.
In the Catacombs.

the being which could reach the shore of the other world. The sea is salt, and salt has a preserving power. So salt too became a symbol of sanctity and even to-day holy water is salted.

Sometimes the dividing tide was regarded as a stream (called in Greece the Styx) and presumably it was not merely thought of as a means of separation but also the source of the renewed life hereafter; and the fish, the inhabitant of the deep, as its genius, its spirit, and representative, partakes of the reverence cherished for the sacred element, the source of life, the water.

We shall see in later articles that the fish remained a sacred symbol in the Christian church, but it received a new interpretation as the symbol of Christ which found its final expression in the famous acrostic

ΙΧΘΥΣ

which means

Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ
"Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour."

This interpretation sanctified the old pagan symbol, innumerable pictures of which we find in the catacombs.

THE NEW TESTAMENT AS A TEXT-BOOK IN THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL.

BY RABBI A. P. DRUCKER.

THE purpose of this paper is not to enter upon a technical or scientific analysis of the New Testament and the teachings of Jesus; neither is it to discuss them from an historical or religious point of view: the intention is simply to study the New Testament from a pedagogical standpoint and see whether it is good material for a text-book for the Sunday-school pupil. The present paper follows the same lines with respect to the New Testament along which my paper in the April *Open Court*, 1910, on the Old Testament was planned, attempting to show its influence on the child.

The New, like the Old Testament, contains many noble ethical conceptions, some sublime ideas and precepts. Particularly is this true of Jesus's sayings about children; his own democratic spirit, shown by his readiness to associate with the poor and outcast; and the glorious oration known as the Sermon on the Mount. But when we have mentioned these few particulars, we have also compassed all the commendable ethics of the New Testament. In most other instances, we find the same unethical teachings as in the Old Testament; the same unmerciful laws as those of YHVH; and in addition, a confusion in the sequence of events, a contradictoriness in the events themselves, and an inconsistency in the several characterizations of the exalted subject of the Gospel narratives, which, by blurring the childish conception of Jesus and confusing the childish notion of right and wrong, truth and falsehood, the real and the fictitious, brand the New Testament *as it stands* as unfit material to be put into the hands of young people as a Sunday-school text-book.

When we study the New Testament carefully, we find that the Gospels among themselves are not in accord as to some vital events in the life of Jesus. Thus, Luke recounts that Joseph and Mary,

the parents of Jesus, lived in Nazareth;¹ but because of a tax imposed upon the people, they were forced to go to Bethlehem.² Matthew, on the other hand, says that the parents of Jesus lived first in Bethlehem, but on the advice of an angel, in order to escape the persecution of Herod, went to Egypt, going after Herod's death to Nazareth in Galilee.³ It may here be apropos to note a flagrant contradiction in the genealogy of Joseph, the reputed father of Jesus, as recorded respectively by Matthew and Luke. The former makes Joseph a direct descendant of the kings of Judah, up to Solomon;⁴ while Luke, on the other hand, gives him an entirely different pedigree, tracing his descent from Nathan, the brother of Solomon.⁵

In the testimony of John the Baptist there are likewise curious contradictions. According to Luke's narrative, John the Baptist was not certain whether or not Jesus was the promised Messiah; for when the former was in prison he sent two of his disciples to Jesus to ask, "Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?"⁶ But in John, the revelation comes to the Baptist as soon as he sees Jesus. The heavens opened and he, John "saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him (Jesus)";⁷ and John called out, "This is the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world."⁸

Another such conflict exists regarding the discipleship of Peter. The Synoptics relate that Jesus, passing the Jordan, beheld Simon and his brother fishing. He invited them to follow him, and they complied.⁹ But in the Johannine account we read that Peter's brother was a disciple of John the Baptist, and that one day, as Jesus was passing by, the disciple overheard John, his master, murmuring, "This is the Lamb of God." And straightway the brother of Peter followed Jesus. Reporting to his brother, Simon, "We have found the Messiah," he brought Simon also to Jesus, both thenceforth being disciples.¹⁰

Again, the Lazarus fable, which in Luke is told only as a parable,¹¹ is in John narrated as an actual happening.¹²

So too, many of the acts of Jesus are contradictorily reported in the several accounts. For instance, the ceremony of the institu-

¹ Luke i. 26.

² Luke ii. 3-5.

³ Matt. ii. 1-23.

⁴ Matt. i.

⁵ Luke iii. 31.

⁶ Luke vii. 19.

⁷ John i. 23.

⁸ John i. 29.

⁹ Matthew iv. 19-20; Mark i. 20; Luke v. 10-11.

¹⁰ John i. 41.

¹¹ Luke xvi. 19-26.

¹² John xi. 1-44.

tion of the sacrament, according to John, took place a year before the time specified in the Synoptics.¹³ Furthermore, the time of Jesus's ministry differs in the Johannine version from that assigned by the Synoptics. John intimates that it comprised three years,¹⁴ but the Synoptics give it as only one year.¹⁵ Even as to the day of the crucifixion there is no accord, John giving it as the day before Passover, and the Synoptics placing it as the first day of the festival.¹⁶

The accounts of the trial of Jesus also are mutually contradictory. If we are to believe John, he was brought first before Annas, and then sent by the latter before his son-in-law, Caiaphas.¹⁷ But the Synoptics know no such person as Annas. Nor is there a uniform record of the dying words of Jesus. According to John, he expired saying, "It is finished." In Matthew, he cries out, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Luke puts into his mouth the words, "Father into thine hands I commend my spirit;" while Mark merely states that he "cried with a loud voice and gave up the ghost."

Similar conflicting accounts exist of the final command of Jesus, before his ascension. Matthew¹⁸ quotes him as bidding those to whom he revealed himself, "Go, tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me." But according to Luke¹⁹ he bids his disciples: "Tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem until ye shall be endued with power from on high."

* * *

The characterization of Jesus, as given in the Synoptics, differs widely from that of John. The former make him a severe inexorable judge, who insists upon faith as the only means of salvation,²⁰ while John surrounds him with a halo of kindness, love, and compassion. According to the Synoptics again, he merely insisted upon faith in God as the condition of salvation, so that when he was called good, he said there was no one good but the one, God who is in heaven;²¹ but John claims that Jesus insisted upon belief in himself as the Son of God, saying, "I and the Father are one."²² So too, on the one hand, the preaching of Jesus, in the Synoptics, is grounded upon the speedy coming of the kingdom of God,²³ whereas

¹³ See John vi. 33; 53-56.

¹⁴ John iii. 24.

¹⁵ Mark i. 14; Matt. iv. 12; Luke iv. 1.

¹⁶ Cf. John xviii. 28; Mark xiv. 12.

¹⁷ John xviii. 13, 24.

¹⁸ Matt. xxviii. 10.

¹⁹ Luke xxiv. 49.

²⁰ Matt. ix. 28; Mark v. 34; ix. 23; Luke viii. 48.

²¹ Matt. xix. 17.

²² John x. 30.

²³ Matt. xxiv. 34; xxvi. 29; Mark xiii. 30; Luke xxi. 32.

in John it is the idea of the glory of the Son of God that is everywhere emphasized.²⁴ In John, again, Jesus is eager to demonstrate his divine powers. He explains to his disciples that the blindness of the man they had met was in order that "the works of God should be made manifest in him,"²⁵ but in the Synoptics, he is always warning the people not to tell of the wonders he had performed.²⁶

As to the personality of Jesus, one would suppose that if any one had been expected to know about his birth and divinity, it would surely have been his mother, for it was to her that the angel appeared announcing the advent and future glory of Jesus.²⁷ Nevertheless, we find later that his own mother knew very little about his divinity. When the shepherds saw the angelic hosts and "came with haste and found Mary and Joseph, and the babe lying in the manger; and when they had seen it, they made known abroad the same which was told them concerning this child"; we are told²⁸ that Mary "kept all these things and pondered them in her heart." Also, when the aged Simeon beheld the infant Jesus and pronounced him "to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people, Israel," "Joseph and his mother marveled at those things which were spoken of him."²⁹ Moreover, when Jesus remained in the Temple, and his parents, after a weary search, found him seated amid the doctors, they are said to have been amazed, "And his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee, sorrowing. And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" Of this obvious answer, we read that "They understood not the saying which he spake unto them."³⁰ Contradictions such as these confuse the mind of the child and blur what should have been a definite conception of a consistent personality.

* * *

The teachings of Jesus in themselves are in some instances contradictory, in others, vague. At one time, he is made to say that "It is not meet to take the bread of the children and give it to the dogs."³¹ And again³² he says, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs; neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample

he maintains that the Gospel must be published among all nations. Further, in Matthew³⁴ Jesus enjoins upon his disciples, "Go ye not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not," while in John³⁵ we read of Jesus himself going on a missionary journey into Samaria, and Luke on several occasions takes pains to exalt the Samaritans as believers in and friends of Jesus.³⁶ It is Luke also who tells of the *good Samaritan*.³⁷

Matthew³⁸ in one instance quotes Jesus as saying, "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Luke,³⁹ however, quotes Jesus in the words, "And he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one." Later, when the disciples tell Jesus that they have two swords, he is much gratified.⁴⁰

In Mark ii. 17, when speaking of his mission, Jesus says that "They that are whole have no need of the physician: but they that are sick;" adding, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Yet the scribes and Pharisees, whom he always denounced as the worst of sinners, when they asked him for a sign in order that they might believe in him, met with a refusal and were called harsh names by him; he preferred to let them perish rather than convince them of the saving truth he had come to bring to men.⁴¹ But in this respect he seems to have followed the example of John the Baptist, who, when the Pharisees and Sadducees came to him to be baptized, cried out, "O ye generation of vipers, who hath warned ye to flee from the wrath to come?"⁴² Thus, even when they were ready and eager to comply with the condition for salvation, both John and Jesus denied them the chance.

And what his harshness did not accomplish, his vagueness did, in turning away people who would fain have followed him.⁴³ Always in addressing the scribes and Pharisees, he spoke in parables and cryptic utterances, so that often even his disciples failed to understand him. But when asked wherefore he spoke in this vague way, he made answer,⁴⁴ "Because it is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given." Thus, purposely, he repulsed all overtures of the Pharisees. From these illustrations we see that even the teachings of Jesus are not

anxious to implant charity, pity, and love for its fellow-men in its soul.

* * *

The promises of Jesus which were never fulfilled are many indeed. Thus in Matthew⁴⁵ he bids the people "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." "For verily, I say unto you," he continues the same promise,⁴⁶ "ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come." This promise is repeated in Mark.⁴⁷ Again, in Matthew,⁴⁸ he says to his disciples, "There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom." This could, of course, not have referred to his own death and resurrection, since all his disciples were alive at the times of these events. He therefore must have meant something else which was never fulfilled. Then, after telling of the miracles, earthquake and eclipse of the sun, that were to befall, he concludes⁴⁹ with, "Verily I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation." So too, in Mark,⁵⁰ he declares, "Verily I say unto you, that this generation shall not pass until all these things be done." Further he asserts,⁵¹ "I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God." And in Mark xiv. 62 he tells the high priest Caiaphas, "Ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven." It is needless to say that Caiaphas never saw this vision. Then again, according to Luke,^{51a} he promises his disciples that "There shall not an hair of your head perish." Yet many died in defence of his teachings. In John xi. 26, he makes this startling assertion: "And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." In John xii. 32 he says, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me," but there were many that were not drawn unto him. Another singular statement occurs in John v. 25, where he assures the people that "The hour is coming, *and now is*, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live." This he follows in the twenty-eighth verse of the same chapter with, "Marvel not at

all the powers of heaven at his bidding, he cannot know the present: for he is obliged to ask his disciples⁵² what people say about him. Can the child who is given such material be otherwise than bewildered and confused? And later, is there any choice left it but to grow up either in credulous submission and fanaticism, or a mocker and reviler of faith and religion?

* * *

The God-idea of the New Testament on the whole is not more sublime than that of the Old. The ministers of the Christian churches are wont to emphasize on every occasion that the God of the Old Testament is a severe judge, meting out justice without mercy, whereas the New Testament God is a clement, merciful one, full of love and kindness; that YHVH is harsh, unbending, inexorable, while Jesus, the New Testament God is tender and full of compassion and gentleness. Yet the ideal of God presented in the Synoptics is on the same level as the God of the Patriarchs. For example, we are told, that on account of the sin of the first, helpless man, God was offended to such a degree that nothing but blood atonement would appease him. Therefore his only begotten Son was sent to earth, to give his blood for the salvation of men, to satisfy the vengeful thirst of God "the Father." But far worse than this is the sequel. To save men, the Son of God assumes humanity and dies for men. But the "Father" can devise no other way but that his Son should die by the instrumentality of the very nation who should have been especially saved; and because this nation, the Jews, cannot evade the divine foreordination, that they should be the executors of Jesus, therefore must they be accursed forevermore! A very questionable ideal of God this, to set before our children. Instead of receiving from this God their ideal of divine love and goodness, they come to regard him as harsh, inexorable, nay, even blood-thirsty and grossly unjust, and pitifully limited in his methods.

In several instances, God is even represented as absolutely unethical. Thus, when for some reason the three wise men, led by his star, come to Jerusalem, and Herod, terrified lest by this newborn, long-foretold King of the Jews he lose his throne and scepter, issues a decree for the massacre of all the children under two years, God the "Father" does not take the trouble to save the little ones. He

flood the town, anxious only to place his own family in safety, but regardless of all the other inhabitants.

Again, the New Testament goes a step farther down the ladder in comparison with the Old concerning God's anxiety that the wicked should die. In the Old Testament we read⁵³ that God desires not the death of the sinner, but rather wishes him to repent and live. But here in the New Testament we read how God hardened the hearts of the scribes and Pharisees that they might not believe in Jesus, on whom their salvation depended,—just as in the Old Testament he hardened the heart of Pharaoh, to show later his divine power. Indeed, this was even more than blinding them to the truth. First it was ordained in heaven that the Son of God must be born on earth and be sacrificed, in order to save the world from sin. The executioners were appointed. Everything was foreordained. No one could change it. And then the Jews, who believed in God and had waited thousands of years for their promised Messiah, were selected to be the unfortunate murderers of God, and then were to be damned for ever for this terrible but unavoidable act. But the worst of it is, that Jesus was himself a participant in this divine conspiracy against the Jews. For when the latter tried their utmost to be reconciled with Jesus, and, remembering that Isaiah had enjoined on the people to ask a sign from God,⁵⁴ they came to Jesus also asking for a sign, he refused to give it to them,^{54a} because that Isaiah said again, 'Lest their eyes might be opened and their heart purified, and they repent.' More, he even gloats over this plight of the Pharisees, boasting that "If I had not come and spoken to them, they had not had sin."⁵⁵

In fact, in numerous instances, Jesus is represented as more harsh and inexorable than YHVH;—as in the statement recorded in Matthew,⁵⁶ "I come not to send peace but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law." In Luke again he says,⁵⁷ "I am come to send fire upon the earth. Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you: Nay, but rather strife." Another strong statement of his is the following:⁵⁸ "If a man come to me and hate not his father, his mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters: nay and his own life also: he cannot be my disciple." His treatment of his

⁵³ Ezek. xviii. 32.

⁵⁴ Is. vii. 11, 14.

^{54a} John xii. 39, 40.

⁵⁶ John xv. 22.

⁵⁶ Matt. x. 34-35.

⁵⁷ Luke xii. 49, 51.

⁵⁸ Luke xiv. 26.

own mother shows that he lived up to a strange conception of the fifth commandment: When he was told that she was waiting without and wished to come in to see him, he exclaimed oratorically, "Who is my mother?"—thus denying her admission.⁵⁹ And this idea is further emphasized in Matthew viii. 21, where one of Jesus's followers tells him that his father has died, and therefore asks him, "Suffer me first to go and bury my father;" and Jesus cries out, "Let the dead bury the dead. Follow me." Such is the example of filial piety which we hold up to the eyes of our Sunday-school children!

Even of the attribute Christianity bespeaks most insistently for Jesus, he falls woefully short. For Jesus appears unforgiving in the Gospel records. He never forgot a wrong. Because Capernaum did not treat him rightly, he cried out, "Thou Capernaum, which art exalted to heaven, shalt be thrust down to hell."⁶⁰ Even to his disciples he was frequently harsh. When they were unable to cast out an evil spirit, he cried out,⁶¹ "O ye faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you?" Yet later he himself had to admit that there was need of special power against that particular spirit (verse 21). At another time he spoke in this wise to one of his followers:⁶² "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot enter the kingdom of God." And again he cries out,⁶³ "He that believeth not, he is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God."

Nor are his sayings alone calculated to give the child a wrong impression of God. His own rash actions likewise, do not afford very wholesome examples for the young child, as for instance the episode with the fig-tree, as recounted in Mark xi. 13. On his road to Jerusalem, Jesus saw a fig-tree. Coming to it and finding on it nothing but leaves,—it not being the season of the fruit,—he in his anger and disappointment exclaimed, "Let no fruit grow upon thee henceforward forever," and the fig-tree withered. Thus in his fit of anger he destroyed a useful tree. So again when he came to the Temple and beheld the money-changers he cast them all out, overthrowing their tables and the seats of them that sold doves.⁶⁴ Now, these people were there in accordance with certain laws and regulations of the Temple. If Jesus had any objection to them, he should

to young people reading the story, to applaud the conduct of any demagogue. Indeed, it is a well-known fact that every lynching in the South is justified on this very plea, that Jesus also took the law into his own hands. The child, whose religious training has for one of its motives the making of a good citizen, is led to infer that it is a noble act to trample upon the rights of others and act on the impulse of the moment, regardless of the law of the land.

Some of the methods and devices of Jesus as reported by the Evangelists are not at all in keeping with dignity and sacredness of character. Mark reports, for example, that whenever Jesus cured or healed some afflicted person, he would bid him not to tell it to any one. Yet every man who experienced such a cure is reported to have told every one he met of the wonderful event—the miracle that had happened to him. Now then we must ask ourselves: Did Jesus really think that these people would obey him? If so, he did not know human nature. Just because they were commanded not to divulge the story of their cure, they were sure to talk about it. Besides, they could not help themselves. They were obliged to account in some way to their friends for the wonderful change that had come to them, how their blindness, deafness, lameness, was cured. If, on the other hand, Jesus did know that they would disobey him in the matter and merely ordered them to keep the secret to impress the people with his modesty, then he was employing a cheap device of playing to the gallery.

At another time, he is reported to have overcome the Pharisees and chief priests in debate by a trick. According to Luke xx. 2-7, when the Pharisees and priests asked him in the presence of the people by whose authority he spoke, he evaded a direct answer by an ingenious device. Dramatically he turned on them and asked: "Tell me, by whose authority did John baptize?" And as he foresaw, they were placed in a dilemma, as they could not safely answer this question. For, "they reasoned among themselves, if we shall say, of Heaven, he will say to us: Why then, believed ye him not? But if we say, of men, all the people will stone us, for they be persuaded that John was a prophet." Thus Jesus took an unfair advantage of them relying on the mob, and when his antagonists refused to commit themselves, he said to them, "Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things." This was an excellent lawyer's expedient, but not the direct, illuminating reply one would expect of a brave prophet.

A further instance of the unfair advantages Jesus took of his audience, if we are to trust his chroniclers, was the parable of the

good Samaritan. We all know the story, but only a few of us are familiar with the conditions in Judea at that time. In order to appreciate thoroughly this parable of the good Samaritan, we must bear in mind the following data: First, there were three castes in Israel, the priests, the Levites, and the laymen (called Israelites). Second, the same division of castes prevailed in Samaria also. Third, the priests and Levites were by the law forbidden to touch dead and dying persons.⁶⁵ Now, having these facts in mind, we will see at once that Jesus himself could never have employed that parable as we have it, for it is manifestly unfair and unjust. Suppose one were to make a comparison between the Americans and the French, asserting that the latter were better mathematicians than the former; because, having propounded a problem to an illiterate American and found him incapable of solving it, he had later given it to a French professor of mathematics, who, of course, found its solution immediately. The very same unfair comparison is made in the parable in discussion. Jesus takes hold of a priest and a Levite of Israel, who are forbidden to touch a dying body, and hence would of course not have transgressed the law of God; while the Samaritan whom he next introduces, being a merchant, and hence a layman, had no such scruple to consider and could therefore easily aid the dying man. We see therefore that the Evangelists were not always careful how they reported the acts and sayings of Jesus,—unless we assume that Jesus did actually originate this unfair comparison.

It was, perhaps, the influence of this example of subterfuge which prompted Matthew to act similarly on his own account.^{66a} In his genealogy of Jesus, he attempts to prove that every fourteenth generation in Jewish history chronicles an epoch-making event (fourteen being a multiple of the old sacred number, seven). In order to make Jesus such an epoch-making person, he says,⁶⁶ "So all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations. And from David until the carrying away into Babylon are fourteen generations: and from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ are fourteen generations." But in order to make the number of generations between David and the carrying into captivity the requisite number of generations, he drops out three generations between

ness of Jesus. One may here well pause again, to ask if this is fit material to give the child for its spiritual elevation and growth!

* * *

Other confusing ideas in the New Testament are the following:

a. The relation between God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. It is all very easy to say that three are one and one is three. Yet even grown persons can hardly settle it in their minds. If you ask a minister of the Christian church how these three can act harmoniously together, he will answer that the three persons are really one, as Christianity is a monotheistic religion. But when you confront him with the New Testament teaching,—that God the Father was so severe with the world that he craved for a vicarious atonement, and that his only begotten Son offered himself as a voluntary sacrifice,—he will be at a loss to tell you how one and the same God can wish for a sacrifice and give himself as that sacrifice.

b. The same vagueness confronts the student in regard to the dual nature of Jesus,—the human and the divine. How could a Son of God, we may ask, feel physical pain, and his agony cause him to sweat blood? How could he await death with terror ("The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak")? How could he, the Son of God, be tempted by Satan and informed if he bowed down before and worshiped the tempter, all the kingdoms of earth should be his? Here we are seriously informed that Jesus was human. But when we ask how a human being could assert, "I and the Father are one"? "I am the way, the truth, the life," "Jesus was divine," we are given for reply.

c. Nor has the status of Mary been clearly explained. To leave all theological discussion out of the question,—it was ordained for one reason or another that she should become the mother of God's son. If she was the only one considered by the heavenly hosts as worthy of this honor, she should have been worthy of being informed of the honor in time, so that she might not have become engaged to Joseph until after Jesus was born. That would have saved her from suspicion and Joseph from jealousy.

It was all this vagueness that forced the Catholic church, and in a measure the Protestant also, to oppose all scientific study of the Bible. It was feared that the student might discover that the church ranged itself against reason and knowledge. The myth of the Garden of Eden was artfully utilized to impress on the faithful that God himself favored humanity's remaining in ignorance and darkness. Knowledge is the special property of God. Yet man, made in God's image and bidden to strive to become as nearly like God

as he can,—man is forbidden to seek knowledge. Urged to ascend to the regions of light, his soul is fettered to the prison of ignorance by the pseudo-divine command.

* * *

From what we have seen, we may at once conclude that the character of Jesus as presented in the New Testament is really weak and insignificant. Yet in our ordinary conception of him, he appeared colossal and awe-inspiring. We are therefore at a loss to explain how from these narratives we could have derived our wonderful, exalted ideal of him. The reason, to my thinking, is the fact that the narrators employed a dramatic device. In order to strengthen the personality of the hero of the New Testament, the writers introduced a villain as a foil to the hero. This villain was the Jewish people. By contrasting Jesus with the Jewish people, the former grew to wonderful proportions—on the principle that the blacker the villain, the whiter the hero. The custom up to the present time has been to lead Christian young people to a love of Jesus through the medium of hatred toward the Jews. This, of course, is at once an admission that Jesus by himself really appeared weak to the teachers. But this device of resorting to hatred as a means for implanting love is certainly a questionable one.

This device is clearly discernible in the stories of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus. The account given by all the writers places the whole burden of the death of Jesus on the shoulders of the Jews. It was the Jews, they tell us, who captured Jesus; who tried him by night; who delivered him over to Pilate; insisted upon his condemnation; and when Pilate inquired if he should release Jesus, it was the Jews who cried out, "Crucify him! Crucify him!"

The account of Pilate's wife is rather a questionable story to bring into the Sunday-school. Claudia, the lawful wife of Pilate, was at Rome at the time of Jesus's death, basking in the sunshine of the Emperor's favor;⁶⁷ to whom, then, does the chronicler refer, when he tells us that the Governor's wife interceded for Jesus?

Again, aside from the fact that crucifixion was not a Jewish mode of execution, it was even considered a disgrace to all the people, that one of their number should be put to death in this way. For even the Romans inflicted this form of death only on thieves and slaves. And by using it in the case of a Jew, they would have

stigmatized the whole Jewish nation as slaves of Rome. But for the Jews themselves to have asked this form of death for one of themselves, would have been like inviting a blow in the face. This version, therefore, is hard to believe, even for a child, for the following reasons: (a) We know that Jesus had many friends among the people. We know, for instance, that the chief priests and Pharisees were afraid to attack him in the Temple for fear of the multitude. Matthew states the matter plainly:⁶⁸ "When they sought to lay hands on him, they feared the multitude, because they took him for a prophet." And Mark also testifies to the fact that the scribes and Pharisees feared to offend him because of the people.⁶⁹ Even after he was condemned to death and led to the place of execution, Luke tells us,⁷⁰ "There followed him a great company of people, and women, which also bewailed and lamented him." Yet when the crucial moment came, when Pilate asked whether they wished him to free Jesus, there was not a man, according to the story of the New Testament, to speak a word in his defense. Furthermore, any child would be struck by the incongruity of Pilate's position. Pilate asked Jesus during the trial, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" And Jesus answered and said, "Thou sayest it." Then Pilate, the representative of Cæsar and the one delegated to watch over the interests of Cæsar, the only rightful King of the Jews, turned around and said, "I see no fault in him."⁷¹

And the same method of shifting the ground and endeavoring to divert the attention of the student, is found in the story of the resurrection. Here was a chance for Jesus to assert himself and convince the people, especially the scribes and Pharisees, that they had made a mistake,—by appearing after the resurrection, openly and boldly in the Temple. The miracles,—the earthquake, the eclipse of the sun, and the opening of the graves of the saints, who entered the city, as told by Matthew—if witnessed by only a few others, would have afforded convincing proof that Jesus was the real Son of God. It seems, however, that no other record of these wonderful things chronicled by Matthew is to be found; hence doubt of their having occurred at all is justified. The story that a large sum of money was given to the guard in order that they should give out that the disciples had stolen the body while they were asleep, is rather amusing, to say the least,—because, first it would be almost an impossibility to buy a man who had witnessed such a wonderful event as the resurrection of a dead person; this sign

⁶⁸ Matt. xxi. 46.

⁶⁹ Mark xi. 18.

⁷⁰ Luke xxiii. 27.

⁷¹ Mark xv. 2.

would have converted the most hardened sinner. Second, by admitting that they had slept at their post, the guard would have put themselves in danger, inasmuch as the penalty for sleeping at the post was death. It would scarcely have been possible that they would put their lives in jeopardy for the sake of money, especially when there were so many opportunities for safer bribes. Here again, many extraneous matters were introduced, to divert the attention of the reader from a dangerous conjecture. Some one might suspect that Jesus was saved from death by Pilate and Joseph of Arimathea, after he had been crucified. The mind of the young reader would revert to the trial, where the Governor is represented as the friend of Jesus, anxious to save him, but afraid of the Jews. It was upon the Roman soldiers that the task devolved of crucifying Jesus. It being a holiday, the Jews durst not contaminate themselves by attending the execution of a criminal; or, if they witnessed it at all, would have stood at a great distance. It was therefore easy for Pilate to give orders to the soldiers that Jesus should not be killed by crucifixion, and that his legs should not be broken, as were those of the thieves. In agreement with Joseph the Arimathean, who was in the plot for saving the life of Jesus, the ostensible corpse was delivered into Joseph's hands, and laid away in the new sepulcher until it was dark, when by connivance of the guard, Jesus was allowed to escape. It was for this reason that he was able to show Thomas the nail marks in his hands, because he was still alive. So might the child reason. In order therefore to divert attention from this possibility, the distracting details were inserted into the story and the reader's feelings are played upon by inciting his hatred toward the Jews.

Hence the final impression after perusing the New Testament is not so much love for Jesus as hatred for the Jews. It is perhaps due to this influence of the New Testament that the Christian church is the most intolerant in the world. The Buddhists of Japan and the Confucianists of China are proverbial for their tolerance. If now and then they cry out against Christian missionaries, it is simply due to their previous experience, according to which the missionaries were too often merely the vanguard of the invading

in the American Constitution, "That all men are created free and equal," was derived, not from the pronouncements of the clergy, but from the influence of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*. Even to-day, if the Jews may be the criterion for Christian tolerance, we find the Christian church their most relentless foe, the most enthusiastic exponent of Anti-Semitism and its concomitant horrors. All the Anti-Semitic organizations of Austria, France and Germany are supported by the clericals. And even in our enlightened country, one has but to take up a denominational paper to learn who are in the vanguard of Jew-hatred.

Podbenotzoff, the former Procurator of the Holy Russian Synod, was one day upbraided by an English clergyman for not stopping the massacres and oppression of the Jews in Russia. "As a good Christian you should have acted in the true Christian spirit," the Englishman asserted. "We, the *pravoslavna* (the followers of the true word) are the only ones who have preserved the true Christian spirit," retorted Podbenotzoff. "The true spirit of Christianity is, to exterminate all infidels and unbelievers. Wherever the church had the power to destroy all God-forsaking people, she did it with full vigor. Look at the history of the church from its inception, and you will see that we, the Russians, are the only ones who preserved the traditional spirit of Christianity. It is the radicals and the half-Christians among the nations who have allowed the Satan of tolerance to control their conduct."

Such is the lesson the nations derive from the New Testament. Time and again the sword which Christ is vaunted to have brought into the world has been put into requisition in inquisitions and massacres,—to say nothing of the persecutions within the church, when Christian brother turned against Christian brother. Shall we infer then that the individual child will draw a better spiritual nurture from this book; or that it will not utilize the many existing contradictions in the same to justify any action it feels moved to?

THE INDISPENSABILITY OF BIBLE STUDY.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN a former number Dr. Aaron P. Drucker surprised our readers by the boldness with which he, a rabbi, criticised the Old Testament, declaring it unfit to serve as a text-book in Sunday-schools.¹ The present number contains an article by him on the New Testament in which he applies the same standard and comes to the conclusion that it would be equally inadvisable to use the New Testament for educational purposes.

Rabbi Drucker is the author of a pamphlet, *The Trial of Jesus*, which he claims is negative and critical only in the beginning. He calls attention to the fact that the Jewish judges of Jesus under the leadership of Caiphas, the high priest, can not have been the Sanhedrin as is generally assumed, and he is unquestionably right on this point, because the Sanhedrin had been abolished by Herod in 40 B. C. and was only reinstalled by Agrippa I in 42 A. D. The rabbi also enumerates the several points which prove that the proceedings of the meeting stand in contradiction to all the rules of Jewish law so that if it ever took place it ought to be regarded as illegal, its decision ought to have been annulled and under no condition could the Jewish nation as such be held responsible for its verdict. According to Lev. x. 6 and xxi. 10 it was even forbidden that high priests (in the quoted passages, Aaron, Eleazar and Ithamar) should even rend their clothes.

In spite of the facts which militate against the tradition that the

censed at Jesus because the latter had driven the money changers from the temple, and he convened a council on his own account.

The rest of his pamphlet is rather a sketch for a novel and contains the materials for a drama in the style of Mary Magdalen, the tendency being to prove that Jesus was the victim of an intrigue which the villainous high priest Caiphias spun against the beloved leader of the common people of Israel. Rabbi Drucker makes out that Jesus was a well-known preacher who traveled from place to place and whose fame had spread to Jerusalem for healing the sick and preaching the gospel of non-resistance. The people became so weak that even Pilate gave up his plan of driving them into rebellion. He came to Jerusalem to meet this gentle leader and to come to an agreement with him as to his own policy in Judea, but Caiphias, a treacherous Jew who had bought his office for money and served as a Roman spy, intrigued against Pilate as well as Jesus and by infamous cunning thwarted the plans of both Pilate and Jesus. Not Judas but Caiphias is the villain of the play according to Rabbi Drucker. All blame is laid on him—even the presence of the money changers in the temple is due to his greed and to his greed alone.

Rabbi Drucker offers a peculiar motive for Jesus withdrawing from Jerusalem and hiding on the Mount of Olives. It is stated in the following passage (p. 49):

"In his heart, Caiphias was harboring evil designs against the favorite and leader of the people. He strongly suspected that one of Jesus's demands upon Pilate would be the removal of the High Priest. Accordingly, he felt himself called upon to act in his own defence and thwart the plans of Jesus, even if this course should bring misery upon the entire Jewish nation. He sent word to Pilate to come quickly to Jerusalem with a strong force and arrest Jesus in the temple. The people, he said, would not allow the soldiers to arrest their favorite, and a riot would ensue. This would give him the opportunity of reporting to the Emperor that the Jews were a rebellious people, and that their leader, Jesus, had caused a riot in the Temple. If this plan succeeded, Pilate would have no cause to fear a Jewish embassy, for the Emperor would refuse to receive complaints from a rebellious nation.

"Jesus learned of this dastardly plan and determined to avert riot and bloodshed at any cost. He, therefore, quietly left the Holy City late at night after the Paschal Supper, and went to the Mount of Olives, only his disciples accompanying him; and even they knew not the cause of this extraordinary measure."

The burden of Rabbi Drucker's *Trial of Jesus*, which could as

easily have been written by a Christian, is to point out the injustice of "the monstrous accusation of the crucifixion of their beloved leader" (p. 63).

It goes without saying that Rabbi Drucker's assumption that Pilate had heard of Jesus before the trial is pure invention and has no warrant in either the gospel story or in history, but it would serve well as a motive in fiction which would respect all the statements of the canon and be nowhere offensive to either Jews or Christians.

A story as outlined by Rabbi Drucker would certainly be so much in keeping with the traditional views that it would be impossible to tell whether or not the author was a believing Christian, in fact it would rather imply that he appears to be a Christian.

It is certainly interesting to read what the author of *The Trial of Jesus* has to say on the New Testament as a text-book.

It is worth while to listen to the advice of men who tell the truth as they see it and fear not to run counter to their own sacred traditions, as Rabbi Drucker has done in his criticism of the Old Testament as well as in *The Trial of Jesus*, and our readers will not fail to read his article on the New Testament with deep interest even though they may not agree with him.

Rabbi Drucker is not always consistent. In his pamphlet he blames Caiphas and him alone for the presence of the money changers in the Temple, while in this article he states that "these people were there in accordance with certain regulations of the Temple." Here he blames Jesus for his "highhanded impulsive way." He also in the heat of argument carries points to extremes. That the Moham-medan church should be "more tolerant than the Christian as recent events in Turkey prove" is far fetched when we consider that the statement is based only on the fact that the mosque aided the Young Turkish reform, while it is contradicted by the innumerable massacres of Jews and Christians in Armenia and other countries. His attempt to illustrate Christian intolerance by a conversation between an English and a Russian clergyman is not forcible because the question is whether his readers will agree with him in recognizing the Russian form of Christianity as the only genuine one.

The writer of these lines does not think that the Bible is ab-

breathe in our intellectual life. For this reason we deem it necessary that the biblical books continue to be read, and what ought to be criticised is not so much that both Old and New Testaments are read in Sunday-schools as the method with which they are treated.

The main trouble in the reading of religious literature lies probably in the change that has come upon our standards of literary reliability. We ought openly to acknowledge that at the beginning of the Christian era the demands of truthfulness and critical exactness in the circles of primitive Christianity were different from those now commonly recognized. The biblical books were not written by scientific men, and we ought not to measure them by the requirements made of writers nowadays, or even of the scholars of the time in which they were written, as for instance, Josephus, Philo or other authors of the Augustan age. The gospel writers belonged to and wrote for a class of people without any scientific training. They are obviously uncritical, and the looseness of their very style, their solecisms, grammatical blunders and lack of logical coherence prove that it would be unfair to judge them according to the standards of the best profane literature of classical antiquity, still less of our own age.

Moreover, the purpose of these canonical writings is not scientific nor historical, but devotional, and only if we consider the religious awe which pervades their story, the zeal, the enthusiasm, the devotion and the piety of their authors can we understand how these books made such a deep impression upon the world in spite of their glaring shortcomings.

We must bear in mind that classical antiquity is a period of aristocratic predominance. The old republics were not democracies in our sense, for even in Athens the real citizens constituted a minority, and everywhere the strangers, the slaves and other disfranchised residents were without political rights, and yet their existence could not be absolutely ignored. The mass of slaves and freedmen grew in number and importance until they actually became a vast majority and the decisive factor in the Roman empire. They reached the height of their influence under Constantine, and it is historically well recognized that in these lower strata Christianity had taken a firm root.

At this juncture of history mankind turned over a new leaf. The old culture had favored the few with privileges and the masses had no voice, but their influence grew and had to be reckoned with. To be sure they were not organized, but the emperors needed their sympathy and sought it more and more until Constantine learned

to control them by making their faith the official religion of the empire. Thereby the literature of Christianity was at once assigned a rank above all other books. When having the Gospel story read in any Sunday-school, in order to correctly understand the situation we must bear in mind that, while recognizing the awe in which the canonical writings were held, we cannot measure them by the common standards of literary excellence.

During the last century, or even during the last decade, new standards have arisen, and our sense of religious honesty has decidedly changed. By the side of our old emotional conscience which is purely sentimental, there has arisen a new demand. We may call it the conscience of scientific truthfulness, and until a most recent time even this has mainly remained limited to the narrow circle of scholars for it has not as yet taken deep root among the broad masses of even the thoughtful religious people who otherwise are well-intentioned, honest and fair-minded.

The first result of this new conscience is a careful scrutiny of the scriptures which has become commonly known as biblical research or higher criticism, and biblical research has brought to the surface many facts which make it necessary for us not only to revise the traditional doctrine of inspiration, but also our trust in the reliability of many scriptural statements.

Rabbi Drucker presents us with a fairly well chosen summary of the most important of these results of the higher criticism, almost all of which have been commonly accepted by New Testament scholars. Sometimes Mr. Drucker might even have presented his case more strongly. The parallel of the lamb to Marduk's ram of ancient Babylonia is more close than might be judged from Mr. Drucker's statements because the original reads, *ἀρνίον*, "young ram," and not "lamb" as the English has it. That Jesus was a Jew whose horizon was limited to Judea, appears from the passages quoted by Mr. Drucker, and he might have added that according to Matt. v. 18, he believed in the literal inspiration of the Mosaic law including even the diacritical points of the script. It is well understood that by "dogs" and "swine" (Matt. vii. 6; xv. 21-29; Mark vii. 24-30) Jesus means the Gentiles, and only a very twisted interpretation can take out the sting of the contempt he shows for them in these passages.

The responsibility for the crucifixion should certainly not be

dition among the Gentiles. The Jewish mode of execution was stoning. Stephen (Acts vii) was executed by the Jews, but Jesus to all appearance by the Romans.

While we would not advocate the suppression of the New Testament from the education of our children, we would most decidedly propose not to have it read in the traditional spirit of devotion, but for the information of the growing generation.

In the brief editorial comment on Rabbi Drucker's former article we insisted on the fact that the Bible is and will after all remain the most important book not only of the past but of the present and future, for the simple reason that it has been incorporated into the history of mankind. The Bible is a collection of religious documents which mark the path of progress. It contains not one but several conceptions of God characterizing the various successive stages. Though it is wrong to look upon the Bible as dictated by the Holy Ghost it remains a truly sacred book because it is a record of our religious development. Our duty is to discriminate and study the historical origin and the philosophical significance back of the different conceptions. Not all passages in the Bible are of equal value, but even those that express morally low conceptions remain significant, if only for the purpose of teaching the historian and the student of the history of religion how often mankind erred while groping after truth.

The Bible has been taken out of the public schools but we would insist that it should be read and taught just as much as profane literature and secular history, or even more. A knowledge of the development of Christianity and of its sacred books is indispensable for general culture, and the difficulty in teaching it originates solely from the inveterate and, let us hope, soon antiquated conception of religion, that for the sake of dogma the facts of history should, whenever necessary, be twisted; that ecclesiastical doctrines are more sacred than truth; and that whatever the result of our search for truth might be, our first duty is allegiance to traditional dogma. The spread of a scientific spirit, however, which is taking place at the present time, will by and by render it possible to teach the facts with impartiality, and the time is coming when the Bible will be admitted again into our schools unopposed alike by Jew and Gentile.

While the Bible is sacred we must not forget that there are more religious books than those of our own tradition. They are the sacred books of the Parsis, of the Brahmans, of the Buddhists, of the Chinese, and all of them make the claim and possess the

character of sacredness; all of these books, each in its own way, are revelations which characterize the development of man's comprehension of the divinity that shapes our ends.

The New Testament writings are documents in the history of religion and our present religious views do not suffer when we recognize that they originated in circles of an absolutely uncritical character. There is a good deal of the poetical spirit in them, and therefore their statements partake of the nature of religious romance and need not be regarded as historical. Further we must bear in mind that the crude ideal of God as well as of Christ was naturally naive and had to be as faulty as the horizon of the gospel writers was narrow. For truth's sake we must recognize this, but in spite of it, these narratives contain the seed from which Christian civilization has developed.

The reader will perhaps ask how that was possible, and we answer because in a prescientific age poetry is more powerful than science.

While the picture of Jesus in the Gospels is of a temporary significance, the Christ ideal has grown and has changed with the ages according to the needs of mankind, and the duty of the present is not to become despondent because the scriptures deemed so perfect by former generations are sorely lacking in reliability and even in true spirituality, but to look ahead and work out the ideals that in the future shall serve us as our guides in life.

Every age has its needs, and while early Christianity could be satisfied with the formulation of the faith as it then existed we have new demands and new duties and it is best for us to build upon the past, and to respect the work done by our predecessors without allowing ourselves to be enslaved by the letter of the confessions of faith as formulated in former times. But with all conservatism, with all reverence for what was sacred to our ancestors, we must bear in mind that the highest and most indispensable duty of religion is allegiance to truth.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A STATEMENT FROM RABBI DRUCKER.

In both my articles on the Bible as a text-book I have endeavored to make it plain that I was not criticising either the Old Testament or the New. I merely wished to point out the mistake we make in using the Bible *as it stands* as a text-book in our Sunday-schools. I have shown that some of its stories are not suitable for children. But that the Bible has still a great mission to fulfil and that its educational value is great, I never wished to deny. I simply maintain that we should apply the same scientific method in the religious school as we use in the secular school.

In teaching chemistry or physics, we change text-books to suit new conditions and ideas. A book on chemistry becomes antiquated a few years after it has been introduced. We would consider it wrong to use an old text-book on physics, even of the greatest ancient master. Nevertheless many even of our liberal ministers consider it quite in order to use without comment or revision a book two thousand years old as a religious text-book. It is this inconsistency alone that I wished to point out in my articles.

However, when the Editor taxes me with inconsistency, owing to certain statements in one of these articles which contradict statements in my pamphlet on *The Trial of Jesus*, he applies the same method in my case which I have criticised in connection with our Sunday-schools. If my later assertions in some instances contradict my pamphlet, I feel that I am justified on the same grounds which justify the authors of recent books on chemistry or physics to contradict their own findings of some years earlier.

I may also add here that the pamphlet *The Trial of Jesus* was written on this basis: Supposing that the main facts narrated in the New Testament *are* true; by putting them alongside facts attested by Jewish historians,—namely Josephus and Philo, and Talmudic authorities, we need not conclude that the ones or the others are false. Up to the present time this was the usual deduction of students; the Christians maintained that the Jewish traditions were wrong, while the Jews returned the compliment and claimed that the New Testament accounts were fictitious. The task I set for myself in this pamphlet, therefore, was to point out that after eliminating certain admitted interpolations in the New Testament, the remaining portions to a great extent corroborate Jewish traditions and historical accounts. Hence the pamphlet has no special Jewish or Christian stamp upon it.

A. P. D.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

LEADING AMERICAN ESSAYISTS. By *William Morton Payne, LL. D.* New York: Holt, 1910. Pp. 395. Price \$1.75 net.

This volume belongs to W. P. Trent's series of Biographies of Leading Americans, and at the first glance the reader feels a sense of surprise to note

that besides the Introduction the book consists of but four chapters dealing respectively with Irving, Emerson, Thoreau and Curtis. In order to make his selection it was necessary for the author to define the limits of the term "essay," and this he does as follows: "To this category we may assign all the prose compositions that exhibit the mark of style, that give pleasure by virtue of the form of their expression irrespective of its content, and that have, in consequence, a clearly recognized place in the history of literature. Our definition must be classic enough to include almost all prose that is not cast in the mold of fiction or the drama, and that does not find a place in the solid literature of some special subject, as history, science, politics, or theology."

Many of our essayists are known primarily for literary work in other fields and in this series have been treated in other groups. For instance, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes and Poe are naturally to be found among the poets although it is hard to make a distinction in the case of the last two. Hawthorne, Howells and Henry James are classed among novelists. The "Bibliographical Introduction" is really a very important integral part of the work as it gives brief biographies and critiques of all the other essayists from Benjamin Franklin and the beginnings of our literature to Hamilton W. Mabie and Lafcadio Hearn, including such well-known names as Nathaniel P. Willis, Ik Marvel, Margaret Fuller, Charles Dudley Warner, and concluding with a list of those literary people of to-day who can come under the head of essayists, such as, for instance, Brander Matthews, Henry Van Dyke, Agnes Repplier and Bliss Perry.

MODERNISM ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF SENSUAL IMPRESSION AND HISTORICAL INSPIRATION. By *Arius Luther Wright*. Albany: Joseph McDonough. Pp. 155.

The contents of this book seem to vary greatly in value. On the one hand they prove that the author is a great student of ecclesiastical history and well informed even in minor details, but on the other hand much of the book is crude and fantastic. Suffice it to say that even Atlantis plays an important part in it. The book is prefaced by an introduction consisting of a poem which in spite of many metrical infirmities betrays poetical ambitions and a certain talent. It seems to us that the author would be wise if he would recognize his limitations and concentrate himself on subjects where he could easily accomplish something above the ordinary. His note on Constantine would suggest the idea that he would be the right man to write a life of Constantine in novel form in which however we would advise him not to let his fancy go farther than absolutely necessary, and to let the main facts rest on historical ground. How interesting would be a chapter on Christian persecutions under Diocletian, a description of Constantine's relation to his Christian mother, the growth of Constantine's dream into the story of that supernatural vision, a description of the twelve bishops of Cirta and their examination by Secundus, which proved that all had been traitors at the time of the persecution, Secundus not excepted, etc. Incidentally we will add that prob-

It is difficult to understand why the book was called *Modernism*. At least it has nothing to do with the new movement in the Roman Catholic church, and we would say that it is interesting in spite of the author's theory of the law of sensual impression and historical interpretation. So far as it goes this theory is all right, but the way in which the author weaves Plato's story into the text detracts from the value of his more important ideas.

MYSTICISM IN HEATHENDOM AND CHRISTENDOM. By *Dr. E. Lehmann*. Translated by *G. M. G. Hunt*. London: Luzac, 1910. Pp. 293. Price 5s. net.

This book presents us with a concise and comprehensive account of the history of mysticism, passing in review, first, primitive mysticism and then in turn Chinese, Indian, Persian and Greek mysticism. Then comes the mysticism of New Testament Christianity, of the Greek and Roman churches, the early German mysticism, Luther's mysticism, quietism, and finally "Outcrops and After Effects," under which title is discussed the effect of mystical tendencies on literature and life: The translation is excellent. With the possible exception of the noun "Outcrops," (and we would hesitate to offer a substitute) the book has that best merit of a translator's style, that it reads thoroughly like an original English work. This is especially evident in the poetical language of the Introduction in which the author defines a mystic and sets forth the significance of his mission: "For this is the true mission of mysticism, that it announces the approach of dawn, and evil is the day which is not preceded by this dawn. The tragedy of mysticism—and it requires all human energy to prevent its taking place—is that it may just as easily degenerate into the dusk of evening, enveloping the soul in impenetrable twilight."

THE FOURTH GOSPEL IN RESEARCH AND DEBATE. By *Benjamin Wisner Bacon*, D. D., LL. D. New York: Moffat, Yard, 1910. Pp. 544. Price \$4.00 net.

This volume comprises a series of essays on problems concerning the origin and value of the anonymous writings attributed to the Apostle John. A group of four of these essays appeared a few years ago in the *Hibbert Journal*, and their purpose was to bring before the lay public the issues of the great critical debate on the question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. In these the cause of the opponents of the traditional position was frankly espoused. Others of the essays of the volume appeared during the same time and afterwards in various theological journals in the interest of research pure and simple. After an introductory statement of "The Issues Involved," the chapters are gathered into four parts treating respectively the External Evidence, Direct Internal Evidence, Indirect Internal Evidence and Latest Phases of Debate and Research.

The Putnams are to bring out in the spring a work to be entitled *The Letters of Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An Epistolary Autobiography*. The editors are to be Mrs. Stanton Blatch and Mr. Theodore Stanton. Anybody having letters of Mrs. Stanton would confer a favor on the editors by sending copies, or the originals, to Mr. Stanton, Rue Raynouard, Paris, France.

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ON THE FOUNDATION AND TECHNIC OF ARITHMETIC.

BY GEORGE BRUCE HALSTED.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the French Revolution, when called before the tribunal and asked what useful thing he could do to deserve life, Lagrange answered: "I will teach arithmetic."

Almost invariably now arithmetic is taught by those whose knowledge of mathematics is most meager. No wonder it and the children suffer. In this day of the arithmetization of mathematics and later its logicization, are the beauty, the elegance of arithmetical procedures to still remain unexplained? Is the singular, the lonely precision of this science and art to remain unheralded, unpounded?

In arithmetic a child may taste the joy of the genius, the joy of creative activity.

Arithmetic is for man an integrant part of his world construction. Thus do his fellows make their world, and so must he. Now this is not by passive apprehension of something presenting itself, but by permeating vitalization spreading life and its substance through what the ignorant teacher would present as the dead mechanism of mechanical computation.

More than in any other science, there has been in mathematics an outburst of most unexpected, most deep-reaching progress. Its results, if made available for the teacher, will revivify this first, most precious of educational organisms; the more so since mathematics is seen to possess of all things the most essential, most fundamental objective reality.

THE PREHUMAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO ARITHMETIC.

Properly to understand or to teach arithmetic, one should have a glimpse of its origin, foundation, meaning, aim.

Arithmetic is the science of number, but for the ordinary school-teacher it is to be chiefly the doctrine of primary natural number, the decimal and later the fraction, and the art of reckoning with them.

Numbers are of human make, creations of man's mind ; but they are first created upon and influenced by a basis which comes from the prehuman.

The Natural Individual.

Before our ancestors were men, they represented to themselves, as do some animals now, the world as consisting of or containing individuals, definite objects of thought, things. They exercised an individuating creative power. In now understanding by *thing* a definite object of thought, conceived as individual, we are using a method of world presentation which served animals before there were any men to serve.

The child's consciousness certainly begins with a sense-blur into which specification is only gradually introduced. At what stage of animal development the vague and fluctuating fusion, which was the world, begins to be broken up into persistently separate entities would be an interesting comparative biologico-psychologic investigation. However that might turn out, yet things, separate objective things, are a gift to man from the prehuman. Yet simple multiplicity of objects present to perception or even to consciousness does not give number. The duck does not count its young. The crow, wise old bird, has no real counting power to help its cunning. The animals' senses may be keener than ours, yet they never give number.

A babe sees nothing numeric. Even an older child may attend to diverse objects with no suggestion from them of number. Sense-perception may be said to have to do with natural individuals, but never, unaided by other mind-act, does it give number.

The Artificial Individual.

To the animal habit of postulating entities as separate must be added, before cardinal number comes, the human unification of certain of them into one whole, one totality, one assemblage or group or set, one discrete aggregate or artificial individual man-made.

This artificial whole, this discrete aggregate it is to which cardinal number pertains. Thus number rests upon a prehuman basis, yet is not number itself prehuman. Cardinal number involves more than the animal or natural individuals or things. It comes only with a human creation, the creation of artificial individuals, discrete aggregates taken each as an individual, an individual of human make, fleeting perhaps as our thought, transient, yet the necessary substratum for cardinal number. Unification is necessary. The mind must make of the distinct things a whole, a totality. Else no cardinal number.

Now to an educated man a number concept is suggested when a specific simple aggregate of objects is attended to. Not so to any animal, though just the same individual objects be recognized and attended to. The animal has the unity of the natural object or individual, but that unity is not enough. There is needed the new, the artificial, the man-made individuality of the total aggregate. To this artificial individual it is that cardinal number pertains. There is thus a unity, man-made, of the aggregate of natural individuals, of the set of constituent units. To this unity made of units cardinal number belongs.

Going for quite different articles, or to accomplish entirely different things, may we not help and check memory by fixing in our mind that we are to get *three* things, or that we are to do three things? How man-made, arbitrary, and artificial, this conjoining of acts most diverse into a fleeting unified whole!

Each finger of the left hand is different. A dog might be taught to recognize each as a separate and distinct individual. Only a man can make of all at once an individual which, conceived as a whole is yet multiple, multiplex, a manifold, fivefold, a five of fingers, a product of rational creation beyond the dog.

Primary Number.

A primary cardinal number is a character or attribute of an artificial unit made of natural units. It needs this single individuality and this multiplicity of individuals. The fingered hand has five-ness only if taken as an individual made of individuals.

Number is a quality of a construct. If three things are com-

plete in their distinctness, have no numeric suggestion. The creative synthesis of a manifold must precede the conscious perception of its numeric quality. It is only to man-made conceptual unities that the numeric quality pertains. This "number of natural individuals" in an artificial individual is called its *cardinal number* or *cardinal*.

Primary number would seem in some sense a normal creation of man's mind. No primitive language has ever been investigated without therein finding records of the number idea, unmistakable though perhaps slight, limited, meager, it may be not going beyond our baby stage, one, two, many.

There is a baby stage when no *many* is specialized but *two*. One, two, many, then baby waits how long before that many called *three* is specialized? Numeric *one* as cardinal only comes into existence in contrast with *many*. Number comes when we make a vague *many* specific.

The number of a particular totality represents the particular multiplicity of its individual elements and nothing more. So far as represented in a number, each natural individual loses everything but its distinctness; all are alike, indistinguishably equivalent. The idea of unity is doubly involved in number, which applies to a unity of a plurality of units. The units are arithmetically identical; not so the complex unities man-made out of collections of the units. To these pertain the differing cardinal numbers.

Our Base Ten.

In our developed number systems certain *manys* take on a peculiar prominence, are of basal character. Of these ten has now permanently the upper hand.

What is the origin of this preeminence?

Its origin is prehuman. Our system is decimal, not because ten is scientifically, arithmetically a good base, a superior number, but solely because our prehuman ancestors gave us five fingers on each of two hands.

THE GENESIS OF NUMBER.

Cardinals.

In nature, distinct things are made and perceived as individual. Each distinct thing is a whole by itself, a qualitative whole. The individual thing is the only whole or distinct object in nature. But the human mind takes individuals together and makes of them a single whole of a new kind, and names it. Thus we have made

the concept a flock, a herd, a bevy, a covey, a genus, a species, a bunch, a gang, a host, a class, a family, a group, an array, a crowd, a party, an assemblage, an aggregate, a throw, a set, etc. These are artificial units, discrete magnitudes; the unity is wholly in the concept, not in nature; it is artificial. We constitute of certain things an artificial individual when we distinguish them collectively from the rest of the world, making out of subsidiary individuals a single thing. From the contemplation of the natural individual or element in relation to the artificial individual, the group, spring the related ideas "many" and "one." We must have numeric many before we can have cardinal one. A natural qualitative unit thought of in contrast to "many" as *not-many* gives the idea "one" as cardinal. A unity, a "many" composed of "one" and another "one" is characterized as *two*.

The unity, the "many" composed of "one" and the special many "two" is characterized as *three*.

Among the primitive ideas of cardinal number, the idea of "two" is the first to be formed definitely. There are ever present things which can be grasped in pairs. This two is the very simplest many. It is incalculably simpler than three, as witness whole savage tribes whose spoken number system is "one, two, many"; as witness the mind-wasting primitive stupidities of the dual number in Greek grammar.

The special many, a one made of three, a trinity, a trio, triplets, here is an advance. When to the grasp of the pair, the dominance over the trio is added, when the three is created, then after-progress is rapid.

With a couple of pairs goes four; with a couple of threes, six. A hand represents five coming in between four and six. A pair of hands says ten. A pair of tens is twenty, a score. A pair of fours is eight. A trio of threes is nine. A pair of sixes or a trio of fours is twelve, a dozen.

Arithmetic flowers like a rocket. That seven is left out, is missed, makes it the sacred, the mystic number of superstition. To numbers, however complicated their genesis, is finally ascribed a certain objective reality. In our mind the number concepts finally become simple things, objectively real.

respondence between things or thought creations is fundamental, essential, necessary.

The operation of establishing such a correspondence between two sets that every thing or element of each set is mated with, paired with, just one particular thing or element of the other, is called establishing a one-to-one correspondence between the sets. Two sets which can be so mated are said to be *equivalent*, or to have the same *potency*. Two sets equivalent to the same are equivalent to each other, their elements correlated to the same element being thereby mated.

A set's cardinal number is what is common to the set and every equivalent set. Thus a set's cardinal is independent of every characteristic or quality of any element beyond its distinctness. To find the cardinal of a set, we count the set.

Counting is the establishing of a one-to-one correspondence of two aggregates, one of which belongs to a well-known series of aggregates. If a group of things have this correspondence with this standard group, then those properties of this standard group which are carried over by the correspondence will belong to the new group. They are the properties of the group's cardinal number.

To Count.

To count an aggregate, an artificial individual, is to identify it as to numeric quality with a familiar assemblage by setting up a one-to-one correspondence between the elements of the two groups. Thus counting consists in assigning to each natural individual of an aggregate one distinct individual in a familiar set, originally a group of fingers, now usually a set of words or marks. So counting is essentially the numeric identification, by setting up a one-to-one correspondence, of an unfamiliar with a familiar group. Thus it ascertains, it fixes the nature of the less familiar through the preceding knowledge of the more familiar.

The Primitive Standard Sets.

Primitively the known groups were the groups of fingers. The fingers gave the first set of standard groups and formed the original apparatus for counting, and served for the symbolic transmission of the concepts, the number ideas generated. More than that, this finger counting gave the names of the numbers, the numeric words so helpful in the further development of numeric creation. The name of a number, when referring to an artificial unit, as of sheep, denoted that a certain group of fingers would touch successively the

natural units in the discrete magnitude indicated, or a certain finger would stand as a symbol for the numerical characteristic of that group of natural units.

Our word "five" is cognate with the Latin *quinque*, Greek *pente*, Sanskrit *pankan*, Persian *pendji*; now in Persian *penjeh* or *pentcha* means an outspread hand.

In Eskimo "hand me" is *tamuche*; "shake hands" is *tallalue*; "bracelet" is *talegowruk*; "five" is *talema*.

In the language of the Tamanocs of the Orinoco, five means "whole hand"; six is "one of the other hand"; and so on up to ten or "both hands."

Philology confirms that the original counting series or outfit was the series of sets of fingers, and this primitive method preceded the formation of numeral words. In very many languages the counting words come directly and recognizably from the finger procedure.

But of the fingers there are only a few distinct aggregates, only ten. Developing man needs more, needs to enlarge and extend his standards.

The Abacus.

The Chinese, even at the present day, extend the series of primary groups, the finger-groups, by substituting groups of counters movably strung on rods fixed in an oblong frame. With this *abacus* they count and perform their arithmetical calculations.

The Word-Numeral System.

In many languages there are not even words for the first ten groups. Higher races have not only named these groups, but have extended indefinitely this system of names. They no longer count directly with their fingers, but use a series of names, so that the operation of counting an assemblage of things consists in assigning to each of them one of these numeral words, the words being always taken in order, and none skipped, each word being thus capable of representing not merely the individual with which it is associated, but the entire named group of which this individual is the last named.

a light notational equipment, the perfectly definite expression of any number, however advanced.

So for us to count is to assign the numerals one, two, three, etc., successively and in order, to all the individual objects of a collection, one to each. The collection is said to be given in number, the number of things in it, by the cardinal number signified by the numeral assigned to the last natural unit or component of the collection in the operation of counting it. Numerals are also called numbers. The numeral and a word specifying the kind of objects counted make what is called a concrete number. In distinction from this, a number is called an abstract number.

When children are to count, the things should be sufficiently distinct to be clearly and easily recognizable as individual, yet not so disparate as to hinder the human power to make from them an artificial individual. The objects should not be such as to individually distract the attention from the assemblage of them.

A Partitioned Unit.

In counting, an artificial individual may take the place of a natural individual. Children enjoy counting by fives. Inversely, a unit may be thought of as an artificial individual, composed of subsidiary individuals, as a dollar of 100 cents.

Recognition of Number Without Counting.

An interesting exercise is the instantaneous recognition of the cardinal, the particular numeric quality of the collection, its specification without counting. But this power to picture all the separate individuals and to recognize the specific given picture is very limited. If it be attempted to facilitate this recognition by arrangement, the recognition may easily become that of form instead of number. It is then simply recognizing a shape which we know should have just so many elements.

Decimal Word-Numerals.

In the making of numeral words it is necessary to fix upon one after which repetition is to begin. Otherwise there would be no end to the number of different words required. We have noted

eleven as "one and ten" and twelve as "two and ten," *teen* as "and ten," *ty* as "tens," then English, until it took "million," ("great thousand," Latin *mille*, a thousand), bodily from the Italian, used only a dozen words in naming numbers, in making a series of word-numerals with fixed order.

The systematic formation of numerical words is called *numeration*.

Invariance of the Cardinal Number.

The cardinal number of any finite set of things is the same in whatever order we count them.

This is so fundamental a theorem of arithmetic, it may be well to make its realization more intuitive.

That the number of any finite group of distinct things is independent of the order in which they are taken, that beginning with the little finger of the left hand and going from left to right, a group of distinct things comes ultimately to the same finger in whatever order they are counted, follows simply from the hypothesis that they are distinct things. If a group of distinct things comes to, say, five when counted in a certain order, it will come to five when counted in any other order.

For a general proof of this, take as objects the letters in the word "triangle," and assign to each a finger, beginning with the little finger of the left hand and ending with the middle finger of the right hand. Each of these fingers has its own letter, and the group of fingers thus exactly adequate is always necessary and sufficient for counting this group of letters in this order.

That the same fingers are exactly adequate to touch this same group of letters in any other order, say the alphabetical, follows because, being distinct, any pair attached to two of my fingers in a certain order can also be attached to the same two fingers in the other order.

In the new order I want *a* to be first. Now the letters *t* and *a* are by hypothesis distinct. I can therefore interchange the fingers to which they are assigned, so that each finger goes to the object previously touched by the other, without using any new fingers or setting free any previously employed. The same is true of *r* and *e*, of *i* and *g*, etc.

As I go to each one, I can substitute by this process the new one

group of fingers used in counting, that is without altering the cardinal number, in this case 8.

The group of fingers exactly adequate to touch a group of objects in any one definite order is thus exactly adequate for every order. But when touching in one definite order each finger has its own particular object and each object its own particular finger, so that the group of fingers exactly adequate for one peculiar order is always necessary and sufficient for that one order. But we have shown it then exactly adequate for every order; therefore it is necessary and sufficient for every order.

GENESIS OF OUR NUMBER NOTATION.

Positional System of Counting.

The systematic decimal system in accordance with which, even in the times of our prehistoric ancestors, a few number names were used to build all numeral words, is paralleled by the procedure, even at the present day, of those Africans who in counting use a row of men as follows: The first begins with the little finger of the left hand, and indicates, by raising it and pointing or touching, the assignment of this finger as representative of a certain individual from the group to be counted; his next finger he assigns to another individual; and so on until all his fingers are raised. And now the second man raises the little finger of his left hand as representative of this whole ten, and the first man, thus relieved, closes his fingers and begins over again. When this has been repeated ten times, the second man has all his fingers up, and is then relieved by one finger of the third man, which finger therefore represents a hundred; and so on to a finger of the fourth man, which represents a thousand, and to a finger of the fifth man, which represents a myriad (ten thousand).

The Abacus.

An advance on this actual use of fingers with a positional value depending only on the man's place in the row, is seen in the widely occurring *abacus*, a rough instance of which is just a row of grooves in which pebbles can slide. With most races, as with the Egyptians, Greeks, Japanese, the grooves or columns are vertical, like a row of men. The counters in the right-most column correspond to the fingers of the man who actually touches or checks off the individuals counted; it is the units column.

But in the abacus a simplification occurs. One finger of the second man is raised to picture the whole ten fingers of the first

man, so that he may lower them and begin again to use them in representing individuals. Thus there are two designations for ten, either all the fingers of the first man or one finger of the second man. The abacus omits the first of these equivalents, and so each column contains only nine counters.

Recorded Symbols.

For purposes of counting, a group of objects can be represented by a graphic picture so simple that it can be produced whenever wanted by just making a mark for each distinct object. Thus the marks I, II, III, IIII, picture the simplest groups with a permanence beyond gesture or word; and for many important purposes, one of these stroke-diagrams, though composed of individuals all alike, is an absolutely perfect picture, as accurate as the latest photograph, of any group of real things no matter how unlike.

The ancient Egyptians denoted all numbers under ten by the corresponding number of strokes; but with ten a new symbol was introduced. The Romans regularly used strokes for numbers under five, using V for five. The ancient Greeks and Romans both however indicated numbers by simple strokes as high as ten. The Aztecs carried this system as high as twenty, but they used a small circle in place of the straight stroke. I have seen the same thing done in Japan.

Each stroke of such a picture-group may be called a unit. Each group of such units will correspond always to the same group of fingers, to the same numeral word.

The Hindu Numerals.

Though to this primitive graphic system of number-pictures there is no limit, yet it soon becomes cumbrous. Abbreviations naturally arise. Those the world now uses, the Hindu numerals, have been traced back to inscriptions in India probably dating from the early part of the third century B. C.

The Zero.

But a whole millennium was yet to pass before the creation of the most useful symbol in the world, the naught, the zero, a sign for

moting our kindergarten babies at once to an equality with Cæsar, Plato or Paul in matters arithmetical.

The user of an abacus might instead rule columns on paper and write in them the number of pebbles or counters. But zero, 0, shows an empty column and so at once relieves us of the need of ruling the columns, or using the abacus. Modern arithmetic comes from ancient counting on the columns of the abacus, immeasurably improved by the creation of a symbol for an empty column.

The importance of the creation of the zero mark can never be exaggerated. This giving to airy nothing not merely a local habitation and a name, but a picture, a symbol, is characteristic of the Hindu race whence it sprang. It is like coining the Nirvana into dynamos. No single mathematical creation has been more potent for the general on-go of intelligence and power. From the second half of the eighth century Hindu writings were current at Bagdad. After that the Arabs knew positional numeration. They called the zero *çifr*. The Arab word, a substantive use of the adjective *çifr* ("empty"), was simply a translation of the Sanskrit name *śūnya*, literally "empty." It gave birth to the low-Latin *zefrum* (used by Leonard of Pisa), whence the Italian form *zefiro*, contracted to *zefro* then *zero*, whose introduction goes back to the 15th century.

In the oldest known French treatise on algorithm (author unknown, of the thirteenth century) we read, "iusca le darraïne ki est appellee *cifre* o." In the thirteenth century in Latin the word *cifra* for "naught" is met in Jordan Nemorarius and in Sacrobosco who wrote at Paris about 1240. Maximus Planudes (14th century) uses *tziphra*. Euler used (1783) in Latin the word *cyphra*. We still say "cipher" or "cypher." In German *Ziffer* has taken a more general meaning, as has the equivalent French word *chiffre*, the most important numeral coming to mean any. The oldest coin positionally dated is of 1458.

Zero may be looked upon as indicating that a class is void, containing no object whatever. But though it is thus one of the answers to the question, "How many?", it is not given a place in the series of natural numbers, though chief in the series of algebraic numbers. Only after the seventeenth century does naught appear as common symbol for all differences in which minuend and subtrahend are equal.

So to-day we use nine digits and have no digit corresponding to the Roman X, for X is all the fingers of the first man, while we, like the abacus, use 10, which is one finger of the second man. Thus

the ten, hundred, thousand are only expressed by the position of the number which multiplies them.

In the written numeral 1111, we still see in the symbol the units of which the fourfold unit four is composed. Later abbreviation veils the constituent units, but their independence and all-alike-ness remain fundamental, giving to cardinal number its independence of the order in which the things are enumerated.

Our Present Notation.

The use of the digits (Latin, *digitus*, "a finger"), the substitution of a single symbol for each of the first nine picture-groups, and that splendid creation of the Hindus, the zero, o, nought, cypher, made possible our present notation for number. This still has a bad base, ten, in which the sins of our fathers, the mammals, are visited on their children. Its perfection is in its use of position, a positional notation for number, which the decimal point (or unital point) empowers to run down below the units, giving the indispensable *decimals*.

Calculus, (Latin, "a pebble"), cyphering, which thus by the aid of zero attains an ease and facility which would have astounded the antique world, consists in combining given numbers according to fixed laws to find certain resulting numbers.

Teaching is to enable the ordinary child to do what the genius has done untaught.

A Hindu genius created the zero. The common, even the stupid, child is now to be taught to understand and use this wonderful creation just as it is taught to use the telephone. So the teacher incites, provokes the self-activity of the child's mind and guides it and confirms it, stopping this kaleidoscope at a certain turn, when the evershifting picture is near enough for life to the picture in the teacher's mind.

Without theory, no practice, yet need not the theory be conscious. There is a logic of it, yet the child need not necessarily know, had perhaps better not know, that logic. The teacher should know, the child practise.

Though language so long precedes writing, nevertheless it is striking to realize the centuries that passed after the present system of number-naming, numeration, had been developed, before it had analogous adequate symbolization, adequate written notation.

giving us a written system which, except for its bad base ten, seems to be final and for all time. That prehuman parasite, the ten, is fixed on us like an Old Man of the Sea, else we could take the easily superior system with base twelve.

In each case the prebasal figures, by help of the zero, always express as written in succession to left or to right of the units place (fixed by the unital point) ascending and descending powers of the base. But while the two and six of twelve are like the two and five of ten, yet twelve has three and four besides as divisors, as sub-multiples, for which tremendous advantage ten offers no equivalent whatsoever. The prehuman imposition of ten as base, disbarring twelve, is thus a permanent clog on human arithmetic.

The mere numerals, 1, 2, 3,—or the numeral words “one,” “two,” “three,”—are signs for what are called “natural numbers,” or positive integers. Integer with us shall always mean positive integer. If pure numbers, integers, have an intrinsic order, so do these, their symbols.

The unending series, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, . . . or one, two, three, four, five, . . . is called the “natural scale,” or the scale of the natural numbers, or the number series. Each symbol in it, besides its ordinal, positional significance in the sequence of symbols, is used also to indicate the cardinal number of the symbols in the piece of the scale it ends, and so of any group correlated to that piece.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

ANIMAL SYMBOLISM.

BY THE EDITOR.

COMPARATIVE theology has collected many strange facts concerning the religious development of mankind. We are confronted in Egypt with a religion that worships animals or gods with animal heads. In India Ganesha, the god of wisdom, has an elephant's head and trunk, and Vishnu in his successive avatars passed through the forms of a fish, a tortoise, a boar and a lion before he became human, and then in the fifth he became only a dwarf. In the sixth avatar he was incorporated in Rama with the battle-ax, and in the seventh he appeared as Rama Chandra, the hero of the Mahabharata epic; then follow the avatars as Krishna, as Buddha and finally the avatar to come is the white horse, the tenth and last. The key to many of these strange notions we have found in the religion of the American Indians which preserves a most important stage of arrested development and proves that these animal avatars as well as animal symbols of the deity are remnants of a most primitive age when the world was mirrored strangely in the mind of man.

We know that primitive man was by no means conscious from the start of his superiority over the animal world. He entered life on this planet rather timidly, because in the days of savagery lower animals seemed to him his own superiors in many respects. Bears and other wild animals were of greater strength, wolves and foxes more nimble, the wild cat could better climb the trees and hide in ambush, the wild ass was swifter, the birds could fly and the fishes swim. His own superiority on account of his intellect dawned on man only gradually and very slowly with the acquisition of civilization. For this reason it was natural that he ordinarily thought

erty, he naturally pictured them in the shape of animals. The animals uppermost in his mind were those that were most important factors of his destiny at certain periods of his development, partly by furnishing him with food, partly as being his most dangerous enemies, and perhaps for some other reasons.

We can trace a certain succession in this development through three periods: first, the period of wild animals, the age of savagery; then the period of flocks, the age of nomad life; and finally the period of domesticated animals, the age of agriculture. The first is represented by such creatures as the bear, the wolf, the dog, the snake, the mouse, birds, and fish. A transition to the second period is constituted by the boar and the wild ass; and then came the camel, the goat and the sheep, and finally the cow. In the stage of agriculture, the gods assume human form and only domesticated animals are offered as sacrifices, especially sheep, goats, bullocks and heifers.

The fish belongs to the first class. It is one of the oldest emblems, if not the very oldest, of a divine power regarded with awe by primitive man.

When mankind progressed from the savage state to the civilization of the nomad, and from the nomad state to agriculture, the older forms of religion were sometimes scorned and abandoned with ostentation, but sometimes the old ideas continued to slumber and occasionally broke out with renewed force. For in truth the old way of thinking is never absolutely abandoned but only superseded (in the literal sense of the word) by a new mode of worship. New ideas are grafted upon the old ones. The old ideas lie dormant; they remain in a latent condition and when the new ideas weaken or lose their hold on the people in times of trouble, the old religious ritual breaks forth with renewed vigor.

Instances of this kind are preserved in the Old Testament in writings dating from the time of the Exile when the reform ritual which had supplanted the older and more savage mode of sacrifice, had become weakened. Then the old worship came to the front again. The national misfortune may have aroused the conscience of that part of the population which had its misgivings concerning the innovations of the reform ritual, and now they abandoned the new sacrifices of goats, heifers and other domesticated animals, and

every form of creeping things. and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, pourtrayed upon the wall round about. Then there stood before them seventy men of the ancients of the house of Israel, and in the midst of them stood Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan, with every man his censer in his hand; and a thick cloud of incense went up. Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery? for they say, The Lord seeth us not; the Lord hath forsaken the earth." The same religious reaction is described in Is. lxxv. 3-5: "A people that provoketh me to anger continually to my face; that sacrificeth in gardens, and burneth incense upon altars of brick; which remain among the graves, and lodge in the monuments, which eat swine's flesh, and broth of abominable things is in their vessels; which say, Stand by thyself, come not near to me; for I am holier than thou. These are a smoke in my nose, a fire that burneth all the day." The same practice is referred to in Isaiah lxxvi. 17:¹ "They that sanctify themselves, and purify themselves in the gardens behind one tree in the midst, eating swine's flesh, and the abominations, and the mouse, shall be consumed together, saith the Lord."

Sometimes old ideas reappear with new force and remain victorious without being mere recapitulations of former ages. Though they are symptoms of a reactionary spirit, they may finally lead to a religious progress. This has been the case with several Christian institutions and dogmas, among them the reverence for the fish which by its very nature could not become an object of sacrifice. The religious notions attached to the fish were more spiritual and consisted more in interpretations involving perhaps also a reminiscence of sacrificial meals.

It is strange that Christianity, though upon the whole a progress, falls back upon many notions which were thought to have been absolutely abandoned. We have in it a revival of the primitive custom of the god-eating, of the need of human sacrifice, and the belief in the dying god who rises from the tomb to new life. These beliefs had been done away in the circles of philosophers and among the educated classes of the people, but large multitudes still clung to



A SARCOPHAGUS FROM MILETUS.

After Reinach.

efficacious. The many statues erected in his honor bear testimony to the prevalence of these beliefs paving the way for the spread of Christianity. We must remember that during the civil wars the higher culture of classical antiquity broke down and so the beliefs of the older and lower strata made their reappearance.

We know that during the classical period of ancient Greece the fish did not hold a significant place in the established religion, and as a sacred symbol it is conspicuously absent in the several centers of Greek civilization, especially in Athens. This is not so in the pre-Hellenic civilization of antiquity, and we may boldly state that fish totemism was not unknown to the Achæans.

In both Thessaly and the island of Crete, Itonia was worshiped as the great goddess, identified either with Athena or Artemis or Demeter. The center of her cult seems to have been Larissa, but Homer (*Iliad*, II, 696) mentions her temple in Phylake, the city of Protesilaos. The Achæans of Thessaly named the month "Itonios" after Itonia, and gave her the cognomen "mother of apples."² Her Palladium, an ancient Bethel or monolith, was said to have fallen from heaven, but the main thing about her of interest to us in this connection is the fact that her emblem was the fish. Her cult differed from the pantheon of classical Greece as we know it from Homer and Hesiod, and was older. So we need not be surprised to find the older forms of worship preserved here, especially the stone pillar and the totemism of the fish. According to A. J. Reinach the fish cult was combined with a cult of the two-lobed shield and we here reproduce from his article, "Les survivances du fétichisme dans les cultes populaires de la Grèce ancienne,"³ an ancient sarcophagus found in Miletus which shows a winged divinity with a two-lobed shield and a fish.

While the fish disappeared from the official worship of ancient Greece it is found again in the new movement of the Greek mysteries in which Dionysus, Orpheus and other divinities of a mystic character played a prominent part. These mysteries, we must remember, were introduced into Hellas from the East, and the burden of their message was communicated through dramatic performances representing the fate of the dying and risen God. It prescribed

takes wing and crosses the ocean accompanied by dolphins and fishes. A very beautiful piece of sculpture of modern workmanship repre-



FURTHER REPRESENTATIONS OF CHRIST AS ORPHEUS.
In the Catacombs.

senting Eros setting sail for a new country has been erected on the Campo Santo in Genoa. It is well known as one of the most artistic

monuments of any cemetery and a photograph of it was reproduced as a frontispiece to *The Open Court* for April, 1907.

Marduk in ancient Babylonia and Dionysus in Athens enter in festive procession in a ship called the "ship of plenty," and even to-day its modern successor Prince Carnival sits on a float in the carnival parade. We have evidence that even the established cult of Zeus in primitive Greece was once connected with the same notions of crossing the ocean either on a fish or in an ark or ship. The Greek Noah, called Deucalion, is no one else than a specialized figure of Zeus or rather Dzeus,⁴ for the name Deucalion, as Usener has pointed out, means simply "the little Zeus" or "Zeus the child." The god is starting out after death on a new career in the same way as the



THE ENTRY OF DIONYSUS ON A SHIP IN FESTIVE PROCESSION.

sun is reborn with every new year, yea every new morning. Man follows the sun in his career and from the analogy of the rebirth of the sun he takes assurance that he too will come to life again.

Among the Teutonic nations it was customary during certain periods to bury the dead in a hollow tree like that in use for navigating the rivers. That this is the oldest form of sailing the water among the Germans is testified to by the name they give to a ship,

the purpose of crossing from island to island. Burials in hollow trees indicate the belief that the dead had to cross some body of water, either the river Styx, or the western ocean. In southern countries, the tombs contain funeral ships.



DIONYSUS RIDING ON A FISH.



COIN OF APAMEIA-KIBOTOS,
PHRYGIA.

With pictures of the deluge in
relief.



TYRIAN COIN, MELKARTH
ON THE SEAHORSE.

Below the waves a dolphin.



EROS ON THE DOLPHIN.
Relief of a Tarentine Coin.

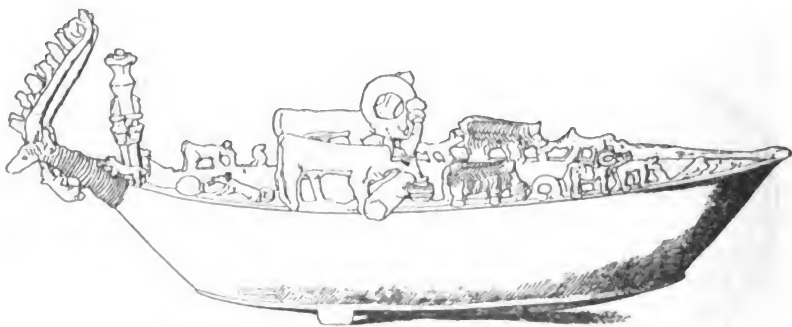
The same idea was also known to the Phœnicians, as is proved

We read in the Babylonian epic that Gilgamesh is ferried over by Arad-Ea to the Isles of the Blest, and this scene is portrayed on an ancient cylinder. The ferryman who carries souls from this world to the next is called Charon by the Greeks, a name which Wiedemann compares to the Egyptian word *kare*, meaning driver or ferryman. (See Budge, *Mummy*, p. 155, footnote.)



GILGAMESH AND ARAD-EA.
From a Babylonian cylinder.

The story of Noah, Deucalion, Paranaipistin, Manu, or whatever name the hero of the deluge may have had, must have been much more common in primitive times than we might think, judging from its obliteration in Greek literature and its disappearance in Italy.



BRONZE SHIP OF VETULONIA.

We have good evidence that the story of the Etruscan Noah had some reference to the idea of the soul's migration after death into another country.

A prehistoric bronze ship found in a grave of Vetulonia, in Etruria, proves that the story was known to the primitive Etruscans,

and there we find even the animals on board ship and we may be assured that the presence of this funeral ship in a grave indicates



EROS AND THE FISH.

Mosaic recently discovered in Aquileia.

also that in primitive times the meaning of the legend was well understood to be a promise of immortality.

That the story of Noah was well known in Asia Minor is evidenced by the fact that Kelainai, a city of Phrygia, was supposed to be the place where the ark touched land when the waters subsided. In the days of Augustus this city was called Kibotos, which means "ark," and coins were struck in the times of Septimus Severus and other Roman emperors exhibiting on their reverse a memorial of the deluge. In these cases the hero of the flood is not called Deu-



APOLLO FLYING OVER THE OCEAN.

calion but Noë, and it is not impossible that this same name was current among other Semites besides the Jews. In Palestine an absolutely unwarranted tradition localizes the place where Noah died, and his tomb can be seen there even to this day.

* * *

When paganism broke down and Christianity spread rapidly over the Mediterranean countries the ancient beliefs had become untenable; but the ideas underlying them, and the customs, especially

funerary rites, continued. So we need not be surprised when we find the old symbols reappearing imbued with new meaning. Here again the fish and the dove play the most prominent part, and if the fish is interpreted to be Christ himself the popular interpretation of the



NOAH'S TOMB.

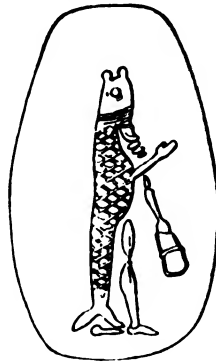
Reproduced from Ebers, *Palästina*.

symbol has certainly not missed the mark, for in pagan times the fish conveyed a similar idea and represented to primitive mankind that divinity which comes to him as the Saviour and promises him life everlasting.

Fish deities were certainly worshiped in Palestine and Phœnicia.



FISH-GOD ON GEMS



ASSYRIAN FISH PRIEST.

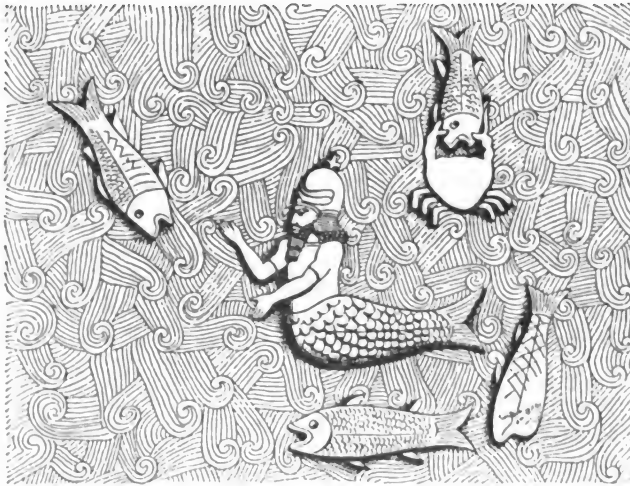
for Lucian saw with his own eyes a Syrian goddess whom he calls Derketo, and he tells us that her image ended in a fish's tail. Her temple near Ascalon was provided with a sacred pond like that of the temple of the Assyrian Juno at Hierapolis, and in the pond were kept sacred fishes.

Whether Derketo is the feminine counterpart of the ancient Semitic god Dagon is more doubtful than it would appear at first sight. The name Dagon is commonly derived from the Hebrew



ASSYRIAN FISH DEITIES.

dag which means "fish," and if that derivation were assured we might safely infer that the traditional view is correct. But accord-



A BABYLONIAN FISH GOD.
Wrongly identified with Dagon.

ing to Professors A. H. Sayce and G. F. Moore, the name *Dagon* ought to be derived from the ancient Canaanitic word *dagan*, "wheat," in which case *Dagon* would be the deity of agriculture

worshiped by the Philistines, the Aryan colonists who had settled as farmers among the nomadic Semites of Palestine.⁵

Whether or not Dagon was a fish deity, we may be sure that fish deities were known and worshiped both in Phoenicia and Palestine. In fact the main deity of Hither Asia is the fish god whom Berosus calls Oannes.

The classical passage to which we owe our information on this



A FISH DEITY.

subject and which is preserved by Eusebius who quotes Berosus, reads as follows:

"In the first year (of the world) there appeared rising up from

of a man; an image of him is preserved to this day. This being passed the day among men, but without taking any food, teaching them letters, sciences, and the first principles of every art, how to found cities, to construct temples, to measure and assign limits to land, how to sow and reap; in short everything that can soften manners and constitute civilization, so that from that time forward no one has invented anything new. Then at sunset this monster Oannes descended again into the sea and spent the night among the waves, for he was amphibious. Afterwards there appeared several other similar creatures. . . . Oannes wrote a book on the origin of things and the rules of civilization, which he delivered to mankind."

Oannes is a Sumerian deity, and the Sumerians are the oldest civilized people we know of. They were not of Semitic blood, nor were they Aryans, but they belonged to the large Turanian family whose kin are the Turks, the Magyars, the Mongols, the Manchus, the Tartars and the Chinese. They came down to the Gulf of Persia at the mouth of the Tigris from the mountains of Elam, and their first settlement was the city of Eridu. They brought with them a certain amount of civilization and even the beginning of writing. Some of the most common characters indicate that the inventors of Sumerian script were inhabitants of a mountainous region; for instance, land is characterized by three mountains, the same sign which in Chinese means hills.

The Sumerians were comparatively a small nation. When they dwelt at the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates they seem to have lived mainly on fishing. One of their oldest legends speaks of the first man as having acquired mortality, and calls him Adapa, a reading which according to Professor Sayce is now discredited and ought to be replaced by Adama or Adamu, practically the same word as the Hebrew Adam. The story of Adapa or Adama bears a great resemblance to the story of Adam and Eve in Paradise, because it too describes how man fell from his immortal state and became subject to death. The Sumerian legend tells the story as follows:

Adapa, the son of Ea, was fishing and the South Wind came and upset his boat. Then Adapa broke the wings of the South Wind and the South Wind could no longer blow. When Anu in heaven noticed that the South Wind no longer blew he inquired into the cause, and when he learned what had happened he summoned Adapa before his tribunal. Adapa was warned by his father Ea that when he came up to Anu he should not eat the food offered to him nor drink of the cup handed him because he would be given food and drink of death. He further enjoined him to arouse the compassion

of Anu by putting on garments of mourning. Adapa did as required and Anu so took compassion on him that instead of offering him the food and drink of death he offered him food and drink of life. which Adapa, mindful of his father's warning, refused, thus forfeiting his immortality and becoming henceforth a mortal.

This ancient myth accounting for the mortality of man, describes him as a fisherman, and we may very well look upon the legend as a genuine reminiscence of primitive mankind, for the first settlements, so far as anthropology has investigated, are the so-called culinary deposits or kitchen remains which have been found on the shores of the Baltic and along the rivers of northern Europe. It appears that the Sumerians also started civilized life with fishing, and thus the god of civilization who brought to them all the treasures of their intellectual accomplishments, writing, and the arts and sciences, was supposed to have had the shape of a fish. Yea, we may assume that the sun himself was conceived to have been a fish rising from the ocean and staying with mankind during the day to return to the ocean and remain in the deep over night emerging therefrom the next morning.

As devotees dress themselves in the shape of their god, so it appears that the priests of the mythical Oannes donned fish skins, for we see frequent representations of fish-clad priests on the ancient Babylonian monuments, especially in the ritual of conjuration which was supposed in ancient times to be the quintessence of all science, the purpose and aim of all knowledge, and its occult significance.

RELIGIOUS SACRIFICES.

BY JAMES B. SMILEY.

IN primitive minds the belief developed that after death the human spirit had all the needs of the physical body before that change. A similar belief has been found in recent times among many savages. Thus we are told that the Araucanians think "the soul, when separated from the body, exercises in another life the same functions it performed in this, with no other difference except that they are unaccompanied with fatigue or satiety."¹ It has been a wide-spread belief that after death the spirit, instead of floating away to some distant place—a heaven or hell—continued to reside in the body. Hence arose the desire to mummify the corpse, so that it might long continue to serve as a home for the spirit. If the body was destroyed it was imagined that the spirit would be homeless and suffer.

Many savages have believed that it was necessary after the death of their relatives to supply the wants of their spirits in order to enable them to live happily, and also to avoid incurring their displeasure. The Arru Islanders, after a man dies, try to make him eat, "and when they find that he does not partake of it, the mouth is filled with eatables, siri and arrack." And among the Tahitians, "if the deceased was a chief of rank or fame, a priest or other person was appointed to attend the corpse, and present food to its mouth at different periods during the day."² Similar customs have been found elsewhere. In other cases food would be placed near the body for the spirit to eat, as among the Karens, by whom "meat is set before the body for

meat, thinking he lies in bed,"⁴ and that he will need food the same as before death.

In some regions, where the bodies were exposed or buried, food was placed near them, or on or in the grave. Thus it is said that the "Tahitians and Sandwich Islanders, who expose their dead on stages, place fruits and water beside them; and the New Zealanders, who similarly furnish provisions, aver that 'at night the spirit comes and feasts out of the sacred calabashes.' . . . The Sherbro people, in Africa, 'are in the habit of carrying rice and other eatables to the graves of their departed friends;' the Loango people deposit provisions at the tomb; and the Island Negroes put food and wine on the graves." The Caribs, in America, "put the corpse in a cavern or sepulcher, with water and eatables,"⁵ for the spirit to consume.

In many parts of the world holes have been left in coffins and graves to enable spirits to pass in and out, and through which they might be fed. Thus we are told that in America "the Ohio tribes bored holes in the coffin to let the spirit pass in and out,"⁶ and the Iroquois left small holes in the grave for the same purpose. "In upper Egypt at present a hole is left at the top of the tomb chamber; and I have seen a woman remove the covering of the hole, and talk down to her deceased husband. Also funeral offerings of food and drink, and even beds, are still placed in the tombs. A similar feeling . . . doubtless prompted the earlier forms of provision for the dead."⁷ Here the spirit was thought to reside in the dead body in the tomb or grave, and it was provided with food, drink, etc.

"In Bonny the dead are buried under the doorstep, a funnel communicates with the mouth of the deceased, and libations of blood are poured down the funnel by the negro every time he leaves the house. . . . In the Tenger Mountains [in Java] a hollow bamboo is inserted in the grave at burial, in order that offerings of drink and food may be poured down it. . . . In ancient Mycenæ an altar over one of the shaft-graves has been discovered, with a tube leading into the grave," through which food could be poured to reach the spirit. In Peru "the relatives of the deceased used to pour some of the liquor named *chicha* into the grave, of which a portion was conveyed by some hollow canes into the mouth of the dead person"⁸

fice are "so killed that the blood shall trickle into the grave. At the offering the dead are called by name to come and partake."⁹ In the above cases food was fed to the buried spirit, residing underground, where the body had been placed. Similar customs were practiced by the Timmanis and other tribes of Africa,¹⁰ by the ancient Babylonians,¹¹ and Greeks,¹² and they have been found in other parts of the world. "Amongst savages generally the belief is that the dead stand in actual need of the food that is offered them."¹³

As burials increased there would in time be many spirits, thus living with the bodies underground. Thus would arise the belief that the home of the spirits was underground, where bodies had been placed. And so gradually an *underworld* would develop, the home of the spirits of the dead. It was probably in this way that the belief in an "underworld" arose among the Greeks and in other parts of the world, for this belief has been wide-spread. It is often mentioned in ancient literature. This home of the spirits was at times called the "lower regions" and the "region below," i. e., below the ground. So, also, in time, stories would spring up, giving imaginary tales about what the spirits did in this underworld where they had gone to live, for regarding this unknown region the imagination could have free play.

The need of the spirits for food, drink, etc., would continue indefinitely, and to supply their wants festivals and ceremonies would develop. The following examples, which are a few selected from many, are intended to show how common and wide-spread these customs have been, in both ancient and modern times. In ancient Babylonia it is said that "animal sacrifices at the grave appear to be very old. Offerings of food and water were made to the dead not only at the time of the burial, but afterwards by surviving relatives."¹⁴ The ancient Egyptian belief was that "the dead lived, therefore they must of necessity eat and drink, for without these processes the continuation of life was inconceivable; if the dead were without food they would be starved. The inscription of the sepulchral pyramid of Unas, an Egyptian king of the fifth dynasty, gives expression to this fear. 'Evil is it for Unas,' says the text, 'to be hungry and have nothing to eat; evil is it for Unas to be thirsty and

⁹ Keane. *Man Past and Present*. p. 96.

have nothing to drink.'"¹⁵ Although this inscription was written on the tomb of king Unas over 5000 years ago (B. C. 3300) it is almost identical with the belief found among savages in modern times. In ancient Egypt "the rich founded endowments whose revenues were to be expended to all time in providing their *Kas* [spirits] with food offerings, and bequeathed certain sums for the maintenance of priests to attend to this; large staffs of officials were kept up to provide the necessities of life for the personalities [i. e., spirits] of the dead."¹⁶

In ancient India "the Hindu believed that at the moment when he offered his funeral repast, the *manes* [spirits] of his ancestors came to seat themselves beside him and took the nourishment which was offered them. He also believed that this repast afforded the dead great enjoyment. . . . The Hindu, like the Greek, regarded the dead as divine beings, who enjoyed a happy existence; but their happiness depended on the condition that the offerings [sacrifices] made by the living should be carried to them regularly."¹⁷ The Hindu desire was, "May there be successively born of our line sons who, in all coming time, may offer us rice, boiled in milk, honey, and clarified butter,"¹⁸ [i. e., as sacrifices to feed their spirits].

"The [ancient] Greeks and Romans had exactly the same belief. If the funeral repast ceased to be offered to the dead, they immediately left their tombs, and became wandering shades, that were heard in the silence of the night. They reproached the living with their neglect; or they sought to punish them by afflicting them with diseases, or cursing their soil with sterility. In a word, they left the living no rest till the funeral feasts were re-established. The sacrifice, the offering of nourishment, and the libation, restored them to the tomb, and gave them back their rest and their divine attributes. Man was then at peace with them."¹⁹

Acosta, a Spanish writer who visited America 1571 to 1586, said that in the New World it was general "to set meate and drinke upon the grave of the dead, imagining they did feede thereon," while another writer found that a similar custom was observed in the West

¹⁵ Wiedemann, *Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, p. 60.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 20. Similarly the Incas of Peru left all their "treasure and re-

Indies,²⁰ and we are told that by the savages of Africa food was, "occasionally taken to the place of burial for months or years afterwards,"²¹ i. e., for the spirit to eat.

"The Esquimeaux of St. Michael and the lower Yukon River hold a festival of the dead every year at the end of November or the beginning of December. . . . On these occasions food, drink and clothes are provided for the returning ghosts in the *Kashim* or clubhouse of the village, which is illuminated with lamps. . . . When all is ready, the ghosts gather in the fire-pit under the clubhouse, and ascending through the floor at the proper moment, take possession of the bodies of their namesakes, to whom the offerings of food, drink and clothes are made for the benefit of the dead. Thus each shade obtains the supplies he needs for the other world. The dead who have none to make offerings to them are believed to suffer great destitution. Hence the Esquimaux fear to die without leaving behind some one who will sacrifice to their spirits, and childless people generally adopt children lest their shades should be forgotten at the festivals." "The Miztics of Mexico believed that the souls of the dead came back in the twelfth month of every year, which corresponds to our November. . . . Jars of food and drink were set on a table in the principal room, and the family went out with torches to meet the ghosts and invite them to enter. Then returning themselves to the house they knelt around the table, and with eyes bent on the ground prayed the souls to accept the offerings and to procure the blessings of the gods upon the family."²²

Thus far I have principally described methods employed for supplying the needs of the spirits of the dead. But the *gods* were also believed to have desires similar to those of men, and in order to retain their good will it was necessary to keep these wants well supplied. Thus we are told that "the gods were also supposed to share in a life like that of men, not only in Egypt but in most ancient lands. Offerings of food and drink were constantly supplied to them, in Egypt laid upon the altars, in other lands burnt for a sweet savor."²³ Another writer says that in ancient Egypt the "gods enjoyed a precarious immortality, for they were liable to destruction and dependent on necessities. According to a very primitive concep-

tion that always remained alive, they had to be fed, clothed and refreshed every day or else perish," while Professor Wiedemann says that they "required bodily sustenance, and were sorely put to it if offerings failed them and their food and drink were unsupplied."²⁴ In the *Iliad* it is stated that the reason why Zeus favored Troy was because there "never did mine altar lack the seemly feast, even drink offering and burnt offering, the worship that is our due,"²⁵ i. e., the worship consisted in keeping the god well supplied with food and drink.

Similarly it is said that in ancient Babylonia "the blood was regarded at all times as the special property of the gods, and was poured on the altar. The two kinds of sacrifice—animal and vegetable—date from the earliest period of Babylonian religion of which we have any knowledge."²⁶ The Chinese worship "their ancestors and the spirits of the departed great. . . . The departed are supposed to be able to help the living. They are prayed and sacrificed to as spiritual powers, from whom protection and favors may be obtained."²⁷ "The public services of religion in China are principally sacrifices,"²⁸ i. e., of food, etc., to supply the wants of the spirits. By the Taoists in China, after death, "offerings must be presented at the grave, before the spirit tablet [i. e., a tablet in which a spirit was believed to dwell] and in the temple of the tutelary deity of the city."²⁹

The Japanese also worship ancestral spirits. In worshipping their clan-gods, "the offerings submitted on the occasion of festivals consisted usually of food, drink and clothing."³⁰ Another writer says that in Japan "the original and most important form of offering [sacrifice] was food and drink of various kinds."³¹ In Japan the Buddhist "offerings usually consist of tea, rice, fruits, cakes and flowers, either artificial or natural, the most usual being the lotus."³² The Buddhists offer no meat in their sacrifices. Sacrificial offerings have been found in all parts of the world, and everywhere the object

²⁴ Cumont, "The Religion of Egypt," in *The Open Court*, Vol. XXIV, 568; Wiedemann, *Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, p. 19.

²⁵ *Iliad*, Lang, Book V, p. 65.

²⁶ Tastrow. *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*. p. 60.

of the sacrifice was the same. It was intended to supply the wants of the spirits or gods. "To the ancients, as to the aboriginal Americans, a religion without sacrifice appeared to involve a contradiction of terms, and to be in substance mere atheism."³³

But how were the spirits believed to consume the offerings made to them? In various ways. The ancient Peruvians worshiped the sun. To it offerings of the drink *chicha* were made. "When such offerings had been visibly diminished by evaporation, it was said that the sun had drunk of them."³⁴ In Madagascar it was believed that the Angatra [spirit] drinks "of the arrack left for him in the leaf-cup. Do they not see it diminish day by day?" [i. e., evaporate].³⁵ "In the . . . Odyssey the ghosts drink greedily of the sacrificial blood, and libations of gore form a special feature in Greek offerings to heroes. Among the Arabs, too, the dead are thirsty rather than hungry; water and wine are poured upon the graves."³⁶ Knowing nothing of the laws of evaporation, when any liquid was offered to a spirit and then vanished primitive men would naturally think the spirit had drunk it. This was the readiest way for them to account for its disappearance. Here the belief was an outgrowth of and was based on a misunderstanding of natural phenomena.

"In North America, Algonquin Indians considered that the shadow-like souls of the dead can still eat and drink, often even telling Father Le Jeune that they had found in the morning meat knawed in the night by the souls. More recently we read that some Potawatomis will leave off providing the supply of food at the grave if it lies long untouched, it being concluded that the dead no longer wants it, but has found a rich hunting ground in the other world. In Africa, again, Father Cavazzi records of the Congo people furnishing their dead with supplies of provisions, that they could not be persuaded that souls did not consume material food. In Europe the Esths, offering food for the dead on All Souls', are said to have rejoiced if they found in the morning that any of it was gone."

"A less gross conception is that the soul consumes the steam or savor of the food, or its essence or spirit. . . . This idea is well displayed in Mexican districts, where the souls who come to the annual feasts are described as hovering over and smelling the food set out for them, or sucking out its nutritive quality. The Hindu entreats the *manes* to quaff the sweet essence of the offered food. . . .

³³ Payne, *New World*, p. xii.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 570.

³⁵ Ellis, *Madagascar*, I, p. 421.

³⁶ Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 217.

At the old Slavonic meals for the dead, we read of the survivors sitting in silence and throwing morsels under the table, fancying they could hear the spirits rustle, and see them feed on the smell and steam of the viands. . . . Many travelers have described the imagination with which the Chinese make such offerings. It is said that the spirits of the dead consume the impalpable essence of the food, leaving behind its coarse material substance."³⁷

The Hindus made an intoxicating beverage from the juice of the soma plant which they both drank themselves and offered to their gods. Thus it is said, "not only the rishis are inspired by Soma, but also their deities. 'The gods drink the offered beverage' and are 'thrown into joyous intoxication.' Indra 'performs his great deeds under its influence.'"³⁸

An ancient Peruvian legend represents Marco Capac "ordering the sacrifice of the most beautiful of his sons, cutting off his head, and sprinkling the blood over the fire, that the smoke might reach the maker of heaven and earth. . . . In Chinese sacrifice to sun and moon and stars and constellations. . . . beasts and even silks and precious stones are burned, that their vapor may ascend to the heavenly spirits. No less significant. . . . is the Siamese offering to the household deity, incense and arrack and rice steaming hot; he does not eat it all. . . . it is the fragrant steam which he loves to inhale."³⁹ The Greeks in Porphyry's time (about 233-306 A. D.) knew "how the demons who desire to be gods rejoice in the libations and fumes of sacrifice, whereby their spiritual and bodily substance fattens, for this lives on the steam and vapors and is strengthened by the fumes of the blood and flesh."⁴⁰ Similarly the burning of the sacrifices common among the early Hebrews, and often mentioned in the Old Testament, will occur to the reader. They believed the god they worshiped could thus absorb the vapor and fumes. In general it may be said that libations poured on the ground, or offerings inserted below the surface, were intended for spirits in the underworld, while the fumes and vapors of burnt offerings, which probably were a later development, were believed to reach spirits in the upper air.

Among some of the lower races the belief arose that inanimate objects of all kinds as well as men and animals have souls. Thus

etc., have in them a similar essence. In the same district Father Le Jeune had described, in the seventeenth century, the belief that the souls, not only of men and animals, but of hatchets, and kettles, had to cross the water to the Great Village, out where the sun sets."⁴¹ So, also, Im Thum says the Indians he met believed "animals other than men, and even inanimate objects have spirits which differ not at all in kind from those of men."⁴²

A further development of thought would apportion the souls of objects to the service of the gods. Some African tribes believe that "in the spirit world they require the same food as when on earth, but consume only the essence, the visible substance remains,"⁴³ and in New Zealand "spirits and gods are supposed to require food as well as man, but they only consume the spirit or essence of it, the gross substance being left for the priests,"⁴⁴ while the Malay "deity is not supposed to touch the solid or material part of the offering, but only the essential part, whether it be life, savor, essence, quality or even the soul."⁴⁵ In India "the Karen demon devours not the body but the *la*, spirit or vital principle," and among the Polynesians "the spiritual part of the sacrifice is eaten by the spirit of the idol" (i. e., the deity dwelling in the idol) "before whom it is presented." Of the Fijians "it is observed that of the great offerings of food native belief apportions merely the soul to the gods, who are described as great eaters."⁴⁶ So also in West Africa an offering was made to a fetish of "daily bread kneaded with palm-oil of which, as of all gifts of this kind, the *wong* [spirit] eats the invisible soul."⁴⁷

As ghosts were believed to retain in the spirit world all the bodily wants they had before death, they would not only desire food, clothes, etc., but they would also want wives, servants and slaves. And this would lead to human sacrifice. Thus it is stated that in Africa "human sacrifices to provide attendants for the dead, take place at the decease of kings or chiefs, or whenever their living descendants think it desirable to increase their retinues, or to inform them of some occurrence which seems important. Sacrifices made with these motives are the direct outcome of the 'continuance' theory, for a man who has been accustomed to be served by a number of

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 386.

⁴² Im Thum, *Indians of Guiana*, p. 350.

followers and wives in this world, will equally require such attendance to enable him to support his position in Dead-land.”⁴⁸ Regarding human sacrifice in Africa Miss Kingsley says: “In West Africa a human sacrifice is the most persuasive one to the fetishes. It is just with them as with a chief, and if you wish to get some favor from him you must give him a present. A fowl or a goat or a basket of vegetables, or any thing like that, is quite enough for most favors, but if you want a big thing and want it badly, you had better give him a slave, because a slave is alike more intrinsically valuable and also more useful. So far as I know all human sacrifices pass into the service of the fetish [spirit] they are sacrificed to. They are not merely killed that he may have their blood, but that he may have their assistance,”⁴⁹ i. e., that their spirits may serve him. Of this custom Wilson says: “At the time of the death of a king a number of his principal wives and favorite slaves are put to death, not so much, however, as sacrifices to appease his wrath, as to be companions and attendants in another world.”⁵⁰

Of such sacrifices to the *gods* in Africa Ellis says: “Human sacrifices to the gods are ordinarily only made in times of war, pestilence or great calamity; in fact when the emergency for the need of divine assistance prompts the worshipers to offer the highest form of offering.”⁵¹ As this custom of human sacrifice has been world-wide, a few examples may be given. In Melanesia, Bera, a local chief, had a grandson, Kikolo, who was very sick. “Finding that every thing they had done was of no avail, the last dread experiment was tried—a human sacrifice.”⁵² But in spite of the sacrifice the child died. “A New Zealand mother whose child had been drowned, insisted that a female slave should be put to death, so that she might accompany and take care of her little one, on his voyage to the country beyond the grave.”⁵³ It is said that all the great Khans and Princes of the blood of Zingis were carried to the mountain of Altai to be buried. Those who carried the corpse to the burial place killed all with whom they met, commanding them to go and serve the king in another life. When the body of one of the great Khans was carried to the mountain ten thousand people were slain by the

⁴⁸ Ellis, *Ewe-speaking People*, p. 118.

⁴⁹ Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 176.

soldiers on the occasion, to furnish the king an army in the other world.⁵⁴

In India human sacrifice "has always been common....as a last resort for appeasing divine wrath, when manifested in a strange and inexplicable way."⁵⁵ It is said that "the Tipperahs of Bengal are supposed to have sacrificed as many as a thousand human beings a year"⁵⁶ to Siva. In India for thousands of years a wife was burnt on the funeral pile with her husband's body, in order that her spirit might accompany him to the other world. A woman thus burnt was called *sati*, or good woman, and this word was corrupted by the English to *Suttee*. This was the origin of that ceremony. "When the rite was suppressed under modern British rule, the priesthood resisted to the uttermost, appealing to the Veda as sanctioning the ordinance."⁵⁷

"The Phœnicians sacrificed the dearest children to propitiate the angry gods; they enhanced their value by choosing those of noble families."⁵⁸ For the Biblical story of the Moabite king thus sacrificing his son in time of great distress, see 2 Kings, iii. 26, 27. In ancient Peru when the Inca died "they did put to death the woman he had loved best, his servants and officers, that they might serve him in the other life. When Huayna Capac died....they put to death about a thousand persons of all ages and conditions for his service to accompany him in the other life." The Carthaginians erected monuments and offered human sacrifices in various places to their general Hamilkar. A monument was erected to him on the battle-field of Himera. "On that monument, seventy years afterwards, his victorious grandson, fresh from the plunder of this same city of Himera, offered the bloody sacrifice of 3000 Grecian prisoners."⁵⁹ One of the most horrible sacrificial ceremonies on record

⁵⁴ Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, Bohn Ed., p. 448.

⁵⁵ Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, p. 19.

⁵⁶ Recluse, *Primitive Folk*, p. 318.

⁵⁷ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, p. 465. For the custom in ancient Peru see Rivero, *Peruvian Antiquities*, p. 186. So, also, in China sutteeism was practiced for centuries, even until modern times, and met with public applause. See De Groot, *Religious System of China*. Vol. II. Book I. 728: I. Ball. *Things*

parted.”⁶³ Here we find a great underlying motive for this horrible custom. The head of the victim served as a trophy to show that a slave had been sent to serve the spirit in Dead-land. Many heads meant many slaves, presented to the spirit.

In order that an earthly king, or a wealthy man having a large retinue, might keep up his establishment great quantities of commodities were needed. So, also, in Dead-land, a noble, king or god with a large retinue would require a great quantity of supplies to meet their requirements. The vast amount of the sacrifices sometimes offered is surprising, and they were probably made to supply this want. This and the desire to win the good will of the spirits by a profusion of gifts are the probable reasons for large offerings.

The power of a belief to control the conduct, or even to take the life, of men, is well known. The fact that men willingly lay down their lives for a belief is no evidence whatever of its truth. It makes no difference whether it is true or false. Its power rests solely on the sincerity with which it is entertained. This is well illustrated in the case of the Thracians. Herodotus says that “those above the Crestonœans do as follows: each man has several wives; when, therefore, any of them dies, a great contest arises among the wives, and violent disputes among their friends, on this point, which of them was most loved by the husband. She who is adjudged to have been so, and is so honored, having been extolled both by men and women, is slain on the tomb by her own nearest relatives, and when slain is buried with her husband; the others deem this a great misfortune, for this is the utmost disgrace to them.”⁶⁴ A similar belief existed in Peru, where in the worship of the sun women were sacrificed to serve as wives to this god. Many often chose to die in this way. “Sometimes these voluntary candidates for sacrifice were rejected on account of some physical defect: a woman who had been thus rejected as a victim to the sun was living near La Paz in 1611. She was known as *la desdichada*, or the unfortunate one, because the happiness of dying as a wife of the sun had been denied her.”⁶⁵

In some parts of the world a custom arose of sending messages to the dead or to the gods. Thus we are told that in West Africa “it is a common thing for the living to send messages to the spirits of their deceased friends by some one who is on the point of dying,

⁶³ Letourneau, *Sociology*, p. 238.

informing them of their circumstances in life, and asking their advice and assistance in certain emergencies.”⁶⁶ In the case of kings this custom led to great sacrifice of life. Thus it is stated that in Dahomey, “whatever action, however trivial, is performed by the king it must be dutifully reported to his sire in the shadowy realm. A victim, almost always a war-captive, is chosen: the message is delivered to him, an intoxicating draught of rum follows it, and he is dispatched to Hades in the best of humors.”⁶⁷ As this custom is very ancient it appears to have been quite an early form of “wireless message.” Mr. Ellis says that in one region alone of Africa it has “been estimated that five hundred persons are slain in ordinary years to carry messages to the dead. The number seems enormous, but it has become the custom to report the most trivial occurrences, such as a change of residence from one place to another, and the estimate is probably within the mark.”⁶⁸ On one occasion an antelope and a monkey were also killed to carry messages to spirit antelopes and monkeys in Dead-land.⁶⁹ In ancient Mexico men were similarly killed to carry messages to their gods.⁷⁰

As human sacrifice has existed in all parts of the world, and for unknown thousands of years, probably hundreds of millions of human beings have been killed as sacrifices to the spirits or gods, and the loss of life thus caused has been absolutely appalling, but cannot be estimated in figures.

The early Hebrew sacrifices do not appear to have differed essentially from those found in other parts of the world. “All sacrifices laid upon the altars were taken by the ancients as being literally the food of the gods. . . . Among the Hebrews the conception that Jehovah eats the flesh of bulls and drinks the blood of goats, against which the author of Psalm l. protests so strongly, was never eliminated from the ancient technical language of the priestly ritual, in which the sacrifices are called. . . . ‘the food of the deity.’ ”⁷¹ Among these people, as elsewhere in early times, “all worship took the form of sacrifice.”

“Though the ritual of Jerusalem as described in the Book of

⁶⁶ Wilson, *West Africa*, pp. 220, 394, 395. See also Nassau, *Fetichism in*

Leviticus is undoubtedly based on very ancient tradition, going back to a time when there was no substantial difference, in point of form, between Hebrew sacrifices and those of the surrounding nations, the system as we have it dates from a time when sacrifice was no longer the sum and substance of worship. In the long years of Babylonian exile the Israelites who remained true to the faith of Jehovah had learned to draw nigh to their God without the aid of sacrifice and offering, and, when they returned to Canaan, they did not return to the old type of religion. They built an altar indeed, and restored the ritual on the lines of old tradition, so far as these could be reconciled with the teaching of the prophets and the Deuteronomic law—especially with the principle that there was but one sanctuary at which sacrifice could be acceptably offered. But this principle itself was entirely destructive of the old importance of sacrifice as the stated means of converse between God and man. In the old time every town had its altar, and a visit to the local sanctuary was the easy and obvious way of consecrating every important act of life.”⁷²

Professor Smith also says that the Semitic word “Baal is primarily the title of a god as inhabitant or owner of a place.”⁷³ A Semitic “Baal was specially connected with subterranean waters.”⁷⁴ “When we find that in later times all Semitic deities were usually conceived as heavenly or astral, we must conclude that the connection of the Baalim with underground waters dates from an earlier stage of religion.”⁷⁵ “That the Baalim, as gods of the subterranean waters from which springs are fed, have a certain chthonic [i. e., underground or subterranean] character, appears also from the frequent occurrence, especially beside sacred streams, of tombs of the god; for a buried god is one who has his seat underground. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to conjecture that caverns and clefts in the earth may not seldom have been . . . chosen as places of worship because through them the god ascended and descended to and from the outer world, and through them the gifts of the worshiper could be brought nearer his subterranean abode.”⁷⁶

sanctuaries. . . . In other parts of the world, as for example in Greece, there are many examples of caves associated with the worship of chthonic deities, and also with the oracles of gods like Apollo, who are not usually looked upon as chthonic or subterranean. . . . In Arabia the *ghabghab* is not merely a treasure house; a victim [for sacrifice] is said to be brought to the *ghabghab*, and the word is explained as the name of a place of sacrifice, or the place where the blood was poured out. The blood, therefore, was allowed to flow into the pit, just as the annual human sacrifice at Dumætha (Duma) was buried under the altar that served as an idol. . . . Among the northern Semites there is at least one case where the sacred pit in the sanctuary was supposed to be inhabited by a subterranean deity."⁷⁷ Blood flowing into the pit was believed to reach and feed the spirit residing underground.

"In all Arabian sacrifices except the holocaust. . . the godward side of the ritual is summed up in the shedding of the victim's blood, so that it flows over the sacred symbol, or gathers in a pit (*ghabghab*) at the foot of the altar idol. . . . What enters the *ghabghab* [pit] is held to be conveyed to the deity; thus at certain Arabian shrines the pit under the altar was the place where votive treasures were deposited. A pit to receive the blood also existed at Jerusalem, under the altar of burnt-offering, and similarly in certain Syrian sacrifices the blood was collected in a hollow, which apparently bore the name of *mashkam*, and thus was designated as the habitation of the god-head."⁷⁸ "When gifts of food—whether animal or cereal—were first presented at the shrines of the gods, the belief was that they were actually consumed by the deity."⁷⁹ Thus it seems probable that the original altar at Jerusalem was erected over a grave, and that blood was conveyed from the sacrifice into a pit under the altar to feed the spirit that was then believed to dwell there, and to whom the sacrifices were offered. Instances from various parts of the world of attempts to feed spirits residing underground, have been given above.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 181. See also p. 211. Sacred caves probably date back to the time when men inhabited caves and buried the dead there. Then the belief would arise that the dead man's spirit inhabited the cave, and it would be regarded as sacred. For effect of cave burial see Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, Sec. III, 112.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 201. See also in ancient Babylonian offerings, which was poured

The Hebrew word *she'ôl* means literally "a hollow, subterranean place, a cave." In the Old Testament the word occurs 65 times, and is variously translated as "grave" (31 times), "hell" (31 times) and "pit" (3 times). The word "pit" thus used may refer to the ancient pit graves. "Hell," if used in its modern signification of a place of torment, does not correctly interpret the Hebrew word. The meaning of the word *she'ôl* indicates its origin. When in early times men were buried in caves or graves the Hebrews, like some other primitive people, believed that the spirit dwelt where the body had been left. Their belief in an underworld resembled that of other nations, and there as elsewhere it probably grew out of burial of the dead. *She'ôl* was, "as originally conceived, a vast subterranean tomb, with the barred and bolted gates common to Hebrew tombs, in which the ghosts (*rephaim* = feeble ones) did not even flit about, but lay like corpses in a sepulcher. No thought of retribution was connected with this deep and gloomy underworld. It was the common receptacle of all. The distinctions there were social and national, not moral."⁸⁰ All spirits went there alike, whether good or bad. The belief in a lower region as a place of punishment and torment where the wicked went—the modern "hell"—was a development of the morbid imagination of men in later centuries.

Like the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the Moabites and other branches of the Semitic race, the early Hebrews also offered human sacrifices. "The most various nations of antiquity practiced the horrible rite, still found here and there amongst uncivilized tribes, of sacrificing human beings. . . . in honor of the deities. It is undeniable that this was the case with Israel also."⁸¹ The stories of Abraham preparing to offer Isaac (Gen. xxii. 1-14), Jephtha sacrificing his daughter (Judges xi. 30-40), Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 3) and Manasseh (2 Kings xxi. 6) offering their first born sons, give us glimpses of the early custom. Ezekiel several times refers to the practice (Ezek. xvi. 20, 21; xx. 31; xxiii. 39) and denounces it. Micah, writing in the eighth century B. C., when there was a growing sentiment against it, says, "Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" (Micah vi. 7). As the nation advanced the custom declined, as it did in many other developing civilizations. The early Hebrew conceptions of God were very low, but in later centuries they were gradually replaced by more exalted views.

It has been commonly believed by undeveloped races that spirits

⁸⁰ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. "Eschatology."

⁸¹ *Bible for Learners*, I, pp. 146, 147.

and gods could enter and reside in various objects, such as idols, animals, trees, rivers, the ocean, mountains, stars, the sky, etc., and these spirits had appetites and desires which could be gratified by sacrifices. Thus it is said that in savage Africa "monkeys that gather on the trees in the vicinity of a graveyard are supposed to be possessed by the spirits of those buried there," and a man "whose plantation was being devastated by an elephant... did not dare to shoot it because the spirit of his lately deceased father had passed into it."⁸² We are told that in ancient Egypt "the crocodile, ibis, dog-headed ape, and fish of various kinds were venerated;.... they were not, however, venerated in dynastic times as *animals*, but as *the abodes of gods*."⁸³ The sacrifices offered to these animals were intended for the *gods* believed to reside in them, and *not* for the animals.

It is said that in Africa an idol "is believed for the time to be the residence of a spirit which is to be placated by offerings of some kind of food."⁸⁴ The "Oystyaks would pour broth daily into the dish at the image's mouth," and "the Aztecs would pour the blood and put the heart of the slaughtered human victim into the... idol's mouth," and "in each case the deity was somehow considered to devour the meal."⁸⁵ It has been generally believed that sacrifices were commonly made to images of wood and stone. This is an error. The sacrifice was offered to the spirit or god that had taken up its residence in the idol, and not to the wooden or stone image. As this has been the underlying belief in all parts of the world, many other examples could be given if necessary. This appears to have been the real basis for all of the idolatry of the world.

It is said that the American Indians believed that in "any great river, or lake, or cascade, there dwell... spirits, looked upon as mighty manitūs [gods]. Thus Carver mentions the habit of the Red Indians, when they reached the shores of Lake Superior or the banks of the Mississippi, or any other great body of water, to present to the spirit who resides there some kind of offering."⁸⁶ "In Bohemia fishermen are afraid of assisting a drowning man, thinking the Vodyany [water-spirit] will be offended, and will drive

away the fish from their nets,"⁸⁷ and it was an ancient German saying, when a man was drowned, that "the river-spirit claims his yearly sacrifice."⁸⁸ A similar belief has been found in New Zealand and elsewhere. In many places it has been believed that to save a drowning man brought bad luck, as it excited the anger of the water-spirit who was thus robbed of his victim. Many people have been allowed to drown without receiving any assistance because of this belief.

In Japan "the very ancient folk-lore shows that beautiful maidens were demanded by the sea-gods,"⁸⁹ and to these sea-gods the Japanese sailors still pray. "There are traditions in Japanese legend of human sacrifices to rivers," and it is stated that "river-gods, especially, were propitiated by human victims."⁹⁰ The victims were thrown into the water in order that the spirit dwelling there might thus obtain them. In China every fifth year the Emperor Shun made a tour of inspection through his kingdom, and offered a sacrifice, "'presenting,' as it is expressed, 'burnt offering to heaven, and sacrificing in order to the hills and rivers,'" ⁹¹ i. e., to the spirits dwelling in these places. "The Greeks, especially in older times, buried the sacrifices devoted to the gods of the underworld, and threw into the water gifts destined for the gods of seas and rivers."⁹² In modern Russia a custom was found of casting a "horse with head smeared with honey and mane decked with ribbons. . . . into the river with two millstones tied to its neck to appease the water-spirit, the Vodyany, at his spiteful flood-time in early spring."⁹³

In the Tonga Islands, in Africa and in many other parts of the world, sacrifices have been offered to spirits believed to dwell in trees. Thus a negro, on making an offering to a tree, said, "The tree is not fetish, the fetish is a spirit and invisible, but he has descended into the tree. Certainly he cannot devour our bodily food, but he enjoys its spiritual part and leaves behind the bodily which we see."⁹⁴ At Dodona, in ancient Greece, offerings of food were made to the spirit (Zeus) which dwelt in the sacred oak, when the advice of the oracle

⁸⁷ Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 152.

⁸⁸ Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 109, 110.

⁸⁹ Griffin, *Religion of Japan*, p. 75.

⁹⁰ Ashton, *Shinto*, pp. 42, 60.

⁹¹ Legge, *The Religion of China*, p. 25.

⁹² Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 107.

⁹³ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p. 407.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 216. For many other examples of spirits in trees see pp. 215-224.

was sought. The tree worship of the world seems to have been based on this belief that spirits entered and dwelt in trees.

"In Borneo, Mr. St. John visited the heaven of the Idaan race, on the summit of Kina Balu, and the native guides, who feared to pass the night in this abode of spirits, showed the traveler the moss on which souls of their ancestors fed."⁹⁵ "The Nicaraguans offered human sacrifices to Masaya or Popogatepec (Smoking Mountain) by throwing the bodies into the crater. It seems as though it were a controlling deity, not the mountain itself, that they worshiped,"⁹⁶ i. e., a "controlling deity" that resided in the mountain. It is said that in India "the worship of the Great Mountain is essentially a worship of blood. . . . When the English first obtained possession of the Beerbhoom Mountains, human sacrifices were common, and a regular trade was carried on to supply the victims."⁹⁷

Whatever may be said about the origin of the belief in nature spirits, and this question has been much discussed, they were in early ages imagined to have human appetites and passions, and these wants could be satisfied by sacrifices. Hence to them the same kind of offerings were made as to ghosts, or the spirits of ancestors.

The lives of whole races of men appear to have been for ages dominated by the fear of spirits. It was believed that these imaginary beings teemed everywhere, caused all the phenomena of nature, shaped the destiny of all men, and were the active causes of everything that happened. The sciences had not been developed, the laws of nature were unknown, and natural causes for phenomena were unthought of. To mollify the anger and win the good will of the spirits was considered the most urgent duty of life. Besides this everything else was deemed of secondary importance, for on this the welfare of every human being was believed to depend. Hence the necessity of sacrifices to propitiate the spirits, and thus sacrificial rites seem to have been the earliest form of religious worship. The ethical, theological and mystical phases of religion appear to have developed later.

As time went by and civilization developed, the old sacrificial systems declined, and in many cases a process of substitution took place. In some cases men began to revolt at the horrors of human

it is said that in China "within historical times, it was common for valuables to be buried with the dead or destroyed in their honor at the funeral, and it was only after such expenditure had become so burdensome as to be restrained by law, that the quaint economy of burning paper representatives of money and other valuables came into use."⁹⁸ The Malay decline was marked by the "use of 'substitutes' and of the sacrifice of a part or parts for the whole. Thus we even find the dough model of a human being actually called 'the substitute' (*tukar gauti*), and offered up to the spirits upon the sacrificial tray. In the same sense are the significant directions of a magician, that 'if the spirit craves a human victim, a cock may be substituted;' and the custom of hunters who, when they have killed a deer, leave behind them in the forest small portions of each of the more important members of the deer's anatomy, as representative of the entire carcase....The original valuable offering is compounded for a smaller tribute or a cheaper substitute, dwindling at last to a mere trifling token or symbol."⁹⁹

In India, when the British government had forbidden human sacrifices, "the Khond theologians made the opportune discovery that Tari [the goddess] had recommended, but by no means commanded, that human victims should be brought to her, and that other offerings, apes, monkeys or wild pigs, would suit her almost as well."¹⁰⁰ A Japanese modification of the early funeral sacrifices of attendants to serve in the spirit world, "is to substitute for real men and animals images of stone, or wood or clay, placed by the side of the corpse."¹⁰¹ Marco Polo says that in the city of Sachion, one of the provinces of the Great Khan, after a man died and his body was ready for burial, "when they come to the place where the body is to be buried, they diligently and curiously paint upon paper made of the bark of trees the images of men and women, horses, camels, money and garments....which are burned together with the body; for they say, the dead man shall have so many man-servants and maid-servants, and cattle, and money, in another life, as pictures of them were burned with him, and shall perpetually live in that honor and riches."¹⁰² This is a clear case of substitution. I have previously shown how the original sacrifices were made in this region.

This process of substitution went on in ancient as well as in

⁹⁸ Simcox, *Primitive Civilization*, p. 153.

⁹⁹ Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 72, 73.

¹⁰⁰ Recluse, *Primitive Folk*, p. 329.

¹⁰¹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, p. 463.

¹⁰² *Voyages of Marco Polo*, chap. XI.

modern times. Thus it is said that the old Etruscan god Mania, "was a fearful personage frequently propitiated with human sacrifices. Macrobius says boys were offered up at her annual festival for a long time, till the heads of onions and poppies were substituted."¹⁰³ Ancient Egyptians of wealth and standing sacrificed their servants at the tomb, so that they might follow their masters and serve them in the spirit world. In later times small wooden figures were placed in the mummy cases, which took the place of the early human sacrifices.¹⁰⁴ In ancient Babylonia a similar change took place, and "in later times, it would appear, the custom of placing food and drink with the dead fell into disuse. We may perhaps find that, as was the case in Egypt, symbolical representatives of food—clay plates with the food modeled in clay—took the place of the old custom." Plutarch gives an instance where a Greek maiden was demanded in sacrifice, and a colt was killed in her stead; and Suidas tells about a Greek father who sacrificed a goat in place of his daughter.¹⁰⁵ So also the story given in the Bible of Abraham preparing to offer Isaac in sacrifice, and then substituting a ram, (Gen. xxii. 1-14) is probably a relic of the time when the Hebrews were substituting animals for the early human sacrifices. As this process of substitution has been world-wide a great many other examples could be given if needed. The general use of substitutes is a stage in the decline of this ceremony.

Many Greeks perceived that sacrifices were gifts to the gods designed to win their favor, and a proverb became current that "presents win the gods as well as kings." With the development of philosophy the incongruity of trying to buy with sacrifices the favor of the spiritual beings who were believed to control the destiny of men, became evident to many minds, and Lucian turned his satire on the custom, saying: "The gods do nothing gratis. The good things they make over to man are wares for which they expect a solid equivalent in return; health is to be purchased for a bull-calf, wealth for four oxen, a kingdom for a hecatomb, and there are things to be had in their market, it seems, for a fowl, for a garland of flowers, and for only a couple of grains of incense too."¹⁰⁶ When men welcome such irony of a custom as this it is clearly losing its hold on their minds.

¹⁰³ *Saturnal*, lib. 2, cap. 7.

As religion developed, the simple primitive customs grew into elaborate rituals. Sacrificial ceremonies became formulated and their minutest details were prescribed, but we are now merely inquiring into the origin and meaning of the ceremonies, and we cannot here attempt to trace the growth of rituals.

Summary.—In primitive times the belief prevailed that death made no change in the needs or desires of men. Hence after death, the same as before, their spirits would require food, clothing, wives, servants, etc.

To satisfy these cravings of the ghosts, food, drink, etc., was in many cases placed near the corpse, so that the spirit could readily get them. After burial these supplies were sometimes placed on or in the grave, or, as in Egypt, placed near the mummified body, in which the spirit was believed to still reside.

Many primitive peoples believed that spirits might enter and dwell in various objects, like idols, animals, trees, etc., and for these the offerings (sacrifices) would be placed near such objects. For those residing in rivers, lakes or the ocean, sacrifices were often cast into these bodies of water, and for those dwelling underground, they were sometimes buried, or inserted through tubes, etc.

Many beliefs have prevailed in regard to the way in which spirits acquired the offerings. In some cases, when liquids evaporated spirits were supposed to have drunk them, for primitive man knew nothing about the laws or causes of evaporation. If an offering shrunk the spirit was supposed to have sucked out what it needed, leaving the balance. In other cases offerings were burnt in order that the spirit might absorb the fumes or vapors. When these went into the air and disappeared the spirits were supposed to have absorbed them. Burning in some instances was believed to send the soul of the object (for in some regions inanimate objects, as well as men, were believed to have souls) to the spirit world, and thus it could be utilized there. In some cases the spirits were believed to absorb merely the essence or soul of the sacrifice, leaving the material substance unaltered.

To supply spirits with wives and attendants, or to send messages to them unnumbered millions of human beings have been murdered in times past. The great number of victims killed on some occasions is astonishing. The slaughter has been appalling. And it went on for ages. But it is to be noticed that while numberless women were killed to serve male ghosts, few men were slain to serve female spirits in the other world. As a survival of early cannibalism human beings were in some cases sacrificed to furnish spirits with human

flesh to eat and blood to drink, but, regarded as a whole, this probably caused the lesser number of deaths. The dominant reason probably was, as stated above, to furnish spirits with wives and attendants.

As the *gods* were believed to possess all the human appetites and passions, offerings were made to them similar in every way to those made to the spirits of the dead, or ancestors.

The early belief in the importance of omens probably grew out of the conviction that the gods would indicate in some way whether a sacrifice was acceptable or not. "That the god is habitually willing to partake of the banquet offered to him is taken for granted; but, if anything has occurred to alienate his favor, he will show it by his conduct at the feast, by certain signs known to experts, that indicate his refusal of the offered gift. Hence the custom of inspecting the *exta* of the victim, watching the behavior of the sacrificial flame, or otherwise seeking an omen which proves that the sacrifice is accepted, and so that the deity may be expected to favor the requests with which the gift is associated."¹⁰⁷

Sacrifices were prompted by various motives. In some instances they were inspired by love, as in the case of the woman, mentioned above, who wanted a servant killed so that her spirit might go to the other world and minister to the wants of the dead child's spirit. In other instances people would seek to supply the wants of the spirits of loved relatives or friends. Here love was the dominating incentive. In other, and probably the majority of cases, fear was the strongest motive, for if the wants of a spirit or god were unsupplied it would wreak vengeance on the living by sending some dire calamity or misfortune. The many disasters of life were commonly attributed to the anger of the spirits and gods, thus visited on men. This, in early ages, appeared to be a sufficient cause to account for all the disasters of life. To avert this wrath of the spirits it was believed that sacrifices must be regularly kept up, or immediately supplied if they had been neglected.¹⁰⁸

In cases of difficulty and distress men sometimes besought the aid of a spirit or god, and made a pledge or vow that in case help was granted a sacrifice would be offered in return for the aid re-

man "would even vow to sacrifice a son or daughter in the event of his recovery. . . . and it is said, moreover, that they were inexorable as Jephthah in the performance of such vows, for it was held to be a great sin to be false to a bargain with the gods."^{108a} Vows to win the favor and secure the help of the gods were quite common in ancient times, in various parts of the world.

As the race developed, and the primitive beliefs were modified, substitutions gradually took place. Animals were in some cases sacrificed in place of human beings. Images of wax, dough, paper or other materials were substituted for various objects previously sacrificed. This process of substitution has been world-wide, and it marks a stage in the decline of the ceremony.

The value of the sacrifice would also be considered. Men believed that the more valuable it was the more the god would be pleased. Hence a very valuable gift, which greatly delighted the god, would be more likely to induce him to grant the suppliant's requests or prayers. Thus in dire distress one might even kill his own son in order that his spirit might become the servant or slave of the god (see 2 Kings iii. 26, 27). When rituals developed and sacrifices became stereotyped into official forms, which all were required to observe, some regard was necessarily paid to the financial condition of the people. Thus a poor man might be required to offer a dove, and a richer man a cow, and various gradations would be made. The belief would also arise that only the choicest fruits, animals, etc., (those "without blemish") should be offered to the gods. Clearly no spirit or god would be pleased with an inferior gift.

The idea of the value of self-denial would naturally develop. Men would sacrifice things they loved, or highly valued, or even greatly needed, as this would be likely to please the gods and win their good will. The superior value of sacrifices involving much self-denial would, therefore, be highly esteemed.

As the ideas of men developed and they formed less gross and more etherial conceptions of spirits and gods, and these beings were imagined as freed from the wants of the flesh, so that they no longer needed food, clothes, wives, slaves, etc., such sacrifices would no longer be offered to them, and the old sacrificial ceremonies would gradually fall into disuse, as we can now see took place in various parts of the world.

All of the evidence thus far gathered regarding religious sacrifices seems to indicate that primitive men conjectured spirits and

^{108a} Bancroft, *Native Races*, II, p. 796.

gods to exist having human desires and needs, and these wants they tried to supply by sacrifices. They imagined these beings to live in the spirit world much as men did on earth. This belief has been world-wide, and it seems to have been a natural deduction by the savage or primitive mind from phenomena which were misunderstood. But like other mistakes of ignorant men—for ignorance is now, and has always been, the greatest calamity of the race—it imposed a heavy burden on society, as, entertained for ages, the belief caused the murder of uncounted millions of human beings and the destruction of vast amounts of useful commodities, often direly needed by the living, as sacrifices to the spirits.¹⁰⁹ No evidence seems to have yet been discovered, however, that, regarding these subjects, any voice has ever come from the world beyond the grave, telling about the condition of spirits there, and their needs. Beliefs regarding the character of spirits, and their desires, and the world they were supposed to inhabit, have changed as conditions on earth have changed, and as intelligence has increased, and not because of any communications received from the realm of the dead. From there, unbroken silence appears to have reigned on this question. This seems to be the inevitable deduction from the accumulated mass of facts now available regarding religious sacrifices, and the changes of belief regarding them, typical examples of which have been given above.

For, if it were possible for the dead to communicate with the living, why was there not a chorus of voices from the spirit world notifying the living that spirits did not need wives and slaves, and urging men to stop the appalling and horrible sacrificial slaughter of human victims, which went on for many thousands of years with all its loss of life, its shrieks of anguish¹¹⁰ and its rivers of blood, to supply wholly imaginary wants of spirits? There seems to be no indication that any such voice was ever heard. Surely no

¹⁰⁹ It was the custom of some Indians after a death to "burn with the deceased all his effects, and even those of his nearest relatives" as sacrifices to provide for his spirit; and as a result "it not unfrequently happens that a family is reduced to absolute starvation." For other examples of much suffering caused by this custom see Spencer, *Sociology*, I, Secs. 103, 140.

¹¹⁰ In ancient America "the chief idol of the Itzas was Hubo, who was

one can contemplate the awful havoc wrought in the world by this mistaken belief without feeling that such a message was sadly needed—if it could be sent.

But while no voice seems to have come from beyond the grave, the increasing intelligence of the race, and the growing spirit of humanity resulting from the supplanting of the militant by the industrial type of civilization, has tended to abolish sacrifices and other relics of the ignorance of our savage ancestors, and men are coming more and more to feel that all human life is precious, and that it should not be sacrificed to supply the imaginary desires of spirits, or to satisfy the greed of the living. Fear of the spirits, which so darkened the lives of men and caused so many sacrifices for ages, is dying, and the most intelligent are seeing that the ignorant beliefs which deluded primitive men, must yield to the light of scientific truth. Science wins its victories by appeals to the reason and not by wielding the sword. Its chief sacrifices are the errors it kills, and its altars were never marked by rivers of human blood and wails of anguish. Its spirit does not feed on blood, and it seeks to save human life and not needlessly sacrifice it. As the old errors are outgrown and intelligence develops, science offers visions of a brilliant future awaiting the race, based on a knowledge of nature's laws and the command of nature's forces—for the golden age lies in the future, and not in the early, dark ages of primitive ignorance.

In this brief article we have endeavored to trace the origin, development and decline of a custom and belief—for the custom was based on the belief.

NOTES ON COUNT TOLSTOY.

BY THEODORE STANTON.

DURING the past ten years I have been a frequent caller and dinner guest at the home of Count Tolstoy's official French translators—Monsieur and Madame J. W. Bienstock,—where I have met several of the great writer's closest friends and, on one occasion, his son. It has been my habit, on returning home, to make notes on some of the anecdotes and biographical facts concerning Tolstoy which I learned there. The following notes are selected from this budget.

* * *

Tolstoy's son once told me that this was the way his father generally spent his time. He would take his first breakfast after the family, when he had finished his early morning occupations. His wife saw that the frugal meal was ready, but if her husband did not come into the dining-room at the customary hour and the food had got cold, a fresh breakfast was prepared. The second breakfast, which was also taken alone, would occur between 2 and 2.30, and consisted, as a rule, of two eggs, vegetables and milk. After the meal, a walk of two hours or more. Sometimes, Count Tolstoy would walk six miles. It was his favorite relaxation. On returning from his promenade, Tolstoy would lie down for an hour's rest. The family dinner, at which Tolstoy was present, was at six o'clock. Then Tolstoy would return to his writing. Every day when he was in the country, he would receive a dozen or more young peasants of both sexes to whom he would teach history, geography and especially sacred history. At the close of each school season, he would read to the children short stories based on the Bible, and then would ask them for their criticisms. He put considerable value on these infantile comments, and more than one modification in the text of these admirable little narrations was due to an observation or a

question of these simple Russian boys and girls. After this hour of teaching, Tolstoy would come into the drawing-room to listen to music or play chess, which game he liked very much. Tea would be served at ten o'clock and at eleven Tolstoy would invariably go to bed.

* * *

Tolstoy visited the Optina Poustine Hospitium for the first time on July 22, 1877, accompanied by the well-known philosopher Strakov. He was there again in 1881. They came on foot from Yasnaya Poliana. It was dark when the two strangers arrived and the bell was just ringing for supper. Because of their peasant garb, they were not admitted to the refectory of the monks, but were left with the mendicants. The next morning, Tolstoy went into the book-shop managed by the monks; and while there a peasant woman came in to buy a cheap copy of the Bible. But this edition was sold out. Thereupon, Tolstoy paid for a dearer volume, handed it to the delighted woman, and said:

"Take this, read it and teach it to your son, for the gospel is a consolation throughout our life."

Then the monks learned that Tolstoy had been among them!

* * *

Among Tolstoy's disciples have always been a number of physicians. One of his younger medical followers I once met in Paris, and he had much to say of his older confrère, Dr. Petrovitch Makovitzky, who was Tolstoy's only companion in his recent final flight. It appears that Dr. Makovitzky, who is now over fifty, visited Yasnaya Poliana several times before he became, in 1904, the private physician of the whole Tolstoy family, took up residence with them and abandoned a large practice in Slavonia. Nor were his professional cares confined to the Tolstoys. He doctored free all the peasants of the region, sometimes as many as sixty persons calling on him in one day. Tolstoy had the warmest affection for him. "If nature made saints," he said of him on one occasion, "Dr. Makovitzky would certainly be among the elect." During recent years Tolstoy and Makovitzky became so attached to one another that their lives were almost as one. In fact, during the last illness of the philosopher, this exceedingly able physician was so overpowered with grief and despair that his presence at the bed-side was useless from a scientific point of view. But now that his dear friend and master is gone for ever, though his sadness is terrible, he has, I understand, got command of himself and begins once more to take up the duties of the every-day world, "just as our dear Tolstoy

would wish," he remarked to a friend who has just reached Paris from Russia.

* * *

Several times during his long life, Tolstoy has suddenly disappeared from his family circle. Thus, while still very young, he went secretly to the Caucasus and then published "Infancy" and "Adolescence," without his name appearing on the title-page. For a long time both friends and relatives did not know that he was the author of those volumes.

He did the same thing before the publication of "What I Believe," secreting himself with a friend in the Optina Poustine Hospitium.

In the eighties, he wished to leave for America with the Doukhobors¹ and live with them according to the simple precepts of the Evangel. But his family got wind of his intentions and persuaded him to abandon his project, though not without great difficulty.

But during the last few weeks, his intimate friends knew that he was firmly determined to turn his back on the world and live "in tête-à-tête with his God," as he said.

* * *

When Tolstoy suddenly left his home just before his death, it was generally said that the determining reasons were chiefly financial. His best informed friend in Paris gives me the following reliable facts on this subject, prefacing his information with the remark that several of the things said on this head by the newspapers during the past fortnight have been inexact.

"It is well known," says this friend, "that when the Nobel Peace Prize was unanimously offered him by the Norwegian Committee, he refused it, saying that to his mind the only persons worthy of it were the Doukhobors. The question has well been asked why Tolstoy did not accept these forty thousand dollars and then turn the same over to his friends. But if he had done so, he would not have been Count Tolstoy.

"This refusal of the Peace Prize was not approved by his wife and children. This has been asserted and denied. But it is quite true. Imagine then the vexation in the family circle when he declined last October another round forty thousand dollars, coming from Sweden this time,—the Nobel Prize for Literature. But the

¹ The Doukhobors are a religious sect of peasants who left Russia in 1900 because their refusal to serve in the army, on the ground that taking life is a sin, subjected them to persecution. They formed a colony in Manitoba. Tolstoy was their ideal, and they keep as one of their most precious documents a letter he wrote them in commendation of their way of living.—En.

last straw on the camel's back—the "straw" in this instance is money and the "back" may be either that of Tolstoy or his family, according to the point of view—was the recent refusal by the former of a million rubles, over \$750,000, offered by the leading publisher of Russia, Marx, for the copyright of his complete works. It is evident, therefore, that considerations of 'filthy lucre'² played a large part in Tolstoy's last fatal departure from home ending in his premature death; for premature it was, as he was never in better health than this autumn, and he should have lived several years yet."

* * *

A person in a position to know gives me these facts concerning the financial condition of the Tolstoy family. They own a large private house at Moscow and an extensive estate named Yasnaya Poliana. In addition, the family owns the copyright on all Tolstoy's writings prior to 1884. But everything published since that date is unprotected. It should be explained, however, to the honor of Tolstoy, that long before he died, the sons were given their share in the paternal property and that his daughters, with the exception of the youngest, Alexandra, the father's favorite, are married and provided for.

* * *

It is at Yasnaya Poliana that Tolstoy preferred to receive the many visitors from all parts of the world who wished to see him. Here it was that he met Mr. Bryan, though Andrew D. White, when he was American Minister to Russia, seems to have made his acquaintance at Tolstoy's city residence. Tolstoy, like all famous men, was sometimes bored by senseless intruders. Thus, among the callers one day were three elegantly dressed gentlemen who spoke admirably well English, French and German. They informed the servant that they were ardent admirers of his master and they wished to see him on an important subject. Countess Tolstoy was informed of the presence of the trio and as her rôle was always to protect her husband as far as possible from strangers, she endeavored to learn what was the object of their coming. But this was impossible and in the end they were admitted to Tolstoy's presence, when he quickly learned that they came in the name of the manufacturer of a well-

² It is well known that Tolstoy hated the very thought of money. He looked upon money as the root of all evil and in consequence of his views which he applied to practical life he would have died a penniless beggar had not his wife in due time taken charge of the business end of his affairs. The countess is a practical woman who came to the rescue of her husband when bankruptcy was staring him in the face, and we can not blame her for protesting against the application of the count's unpractical philosophy. See *The Open Court*, XVI, 396, "A Nearer View of Count Tolstoy," by Elizabeth E. Evans.—Ed.

known tooth-wash, to offer him \$20,000, for the right to put his portrait on each bottle!

* * *

All of Tolstoy's manuscripts belong to his devoted and faithful friend Vladimir Tchertkoff and are kept at Christchurch, in Hampshire, England. To protect them against theft or fire, M. Tchertkoff has in his cellars safes of the newest models. Besides himself, there are only two persons and the Bank of England who know the combination of these safes.

* * *

A friend of Henry Bataille, the French dramatist, told me yesterday an anecdote of Tolstoy which will illustrate his latter-day detestation of ownership in literary creations. When Bataille had the idea of drawing a play from "Resurrection," he wrote Tolstoy proposing that they divide the profits. But of course Tolstoy refused and added: "If I had seen a play in my story it is probable that I would have presented it in the form of a drama rather than in that of a novel." A similar reply was sent to the adapter of "Anna Karenina."

* * *

These notes may well close with these reflections by Tolstoy on death, which M. Bienstock hands me and which I am given to understand have not been published heretofore.

"To say that the feeling which takes possession of one at the approach of death resembles that which we experience when we cease from work, would be like saying that the prodigal son, when he returns home, is happy because he is at the end of his journey. Though of course something of this kind is felt, it is trivial in amount and inferior in quality and cannot over-shadow that deep sentiment which stirs the very depths of the soul when the end of life is at hand.

"Furthermore, we have all had this feeling of fatigue and this longing for death. I have known it several times during my existence; not when I have thrown off the passions of the hour, but, on the contrary, when I was subject to them though not satisfied by them. But it was not very strong at this moment.

"When you are not well; when you have toothache or stomach-

MISCELLANEOUS.

A BOWL FROM NIPPUR.

BY ALAN S. HAWKESWORTH.

Dr. Myhrman, Ph. D. of Upsala, Sweden, contributes to the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* the text and translation of "An Aramaic Incantation Text," illustrated by two full-page photogravure reproductions of the baked clay bowl from Nippur, inside of which the said incantation is inscribed. It is written in a rabbinical Hebrew script, and in a dialect closely akin to that of the present or "Babylonian" Talmud, magical bowls and Talmud, indeed, being common products of the same locality, surroundings, age, and men. The bowl under discussion, moreover, as Dr. Myhrman points out, derives an additional value from the unique fact that among the medley of divine and angelic powers invoked, the gnostic Abraxas is included, a divine name that hitherto, strangely enough, has not been found upon these relics of superstition and black magic.

NOTES.

The American method of voting is so complicated that it means a citizenship which is for experts only. As a result we have a government by politicians. In English cities, the council elects the mayor and all other officials. The people simply make one choice on election day, and know what they are doing. Their scrutiny is concentrated and the representatives whom they elect are responsible for the rest. As a result graft and other political nuisances are practically unknown in the city administration of England. The Short Ballot Organization, 383 Fourth Ave., New York, advocates a reform which would adopt the English method.

We have just learned indirectly through personal correspondence of the very recent death of the Baroness von Zedtwitz who, it will be remembered, was one of the Caldwell sisters who founded and endowed the Catholic University at Washington. As lately as in the December number of *The Open Court*, the editor reviewed her book, *The Double Doctrine of the Church of Rome*, in a brief article. The news of her death will be received with regret by the many who know of her conscientious attitude toward life and her seriousness of purpose.

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"Alles was für die Erklärung der Gāthas nothwendig ist." (So also Dr. West in J.R.A.S.)—"Immer wird es die Grundlage bilden, auf der sich jede weitere Forschung aufbauen muss. . . einen hervorragenden Dienst." *Zeitschrift der deutschen M. G.*, 1896 (the late) R. Pischel (first Sanskritist of Germany).—A new edition has been inquired for, and a renewed Government subvention is expected from an antiquated engagement.

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* * * *

FROM a philosophical point of view, therefore, we must be satisfied if our workable hypotheses in philosophy and in natural science do not contradict each other; and Gustaf Björklund has shown us a road to reconciliation between idealism and natural science, that for a long time seemed entirely lost in the jungle of the materialism of the last century.

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THE MOTHER GODDESS ARTEMIS.
(See page 168.)

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF ROMAN PAGAN- ISM.*

BY FRANZ CUMONT.

ABOUT the time of the Severi the religion of Europe must have presented an aspect of surprising variety. Although dethroned, the old native Italian, Celtic and Iberian divinities were still alive. Though eclipsed by foreign rivals, they lived on in the devotion of the lower classes and in the traditions of the rural districts. For a long time the Roman gods had been established in every town and had received the homage of an official clergy according to pontifical rites. Beside them, however, were installed the representatives of all the Asiatic pantheons, and these received the most fervent adoration from the masses. New powers had arrived from Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria and Persia, and the dazzling Oriental sun outshone the stars of Italy's temperate sky. All forms of paganism were simultaneously received and retained while the exclusive monotheism of the Jews kept its adherents, and Christianity strengthened its churches and fortified its orthodoxy, at the same time giving birth to the baffling vagaries of gnosticism. A hundred different currents carried away hesitating and undecided minds, a hundred contrasting sermons made appeals to the conscience of the people.

Let us suppose that in modern Europe the faithful had deserted the Christian churches to worship Allah or Brahma, to follow the precepts of Confucius or Buddha, or to adopt the maxims of the Shinto; let us imagine a great confusion of all the races of the world in which Arabian mullahs, Chinese scholars, Japanese bonzes, Tibetan lamas and Hindu pundits would all be preaching fatalism and

* Translated by A. M. Thielen.

predestination, ancestor-worship and devotion to a deified sovereign, pessimism and deliverance through annihilation — a confusion in which all those priests would erect temples of exotic architecture in our cities and celebrate their disparate rites therein. Such a dream, which the future may perhaps realize, would offer a pretty accurate picture of the religious chaos in which the ancient world was struggling before the reign of Constantine.

The Oriental religions that successively gained popularity exercised a decisive influence on the transformation of Latin paganism. Asia Minor was the first to have its gods accepted by Italy. Since the end of the Punic wars the black stone symbolizing the Great Mother of Pessinus had been established on the Palatine, but only since the reign of Claudius could the Phrygian cult freely develop in all its splendor and excesses. It introduced a sensual, highly-colored and fanatical worship into the grave and somber religion of the Romans. Officially recognized, it attracted and took under its protection other foreign divinities from Anatolia and assimilated them to Cybele and Attis, who thereafter bore the symbols of several deities together. Cappadocian, Jewish, Persian and even Christian influences modified the old rites of Pessinus and filled them with ideas of spiritual purification and eternal redemption by the bloody baptism of the taurobolium. But the priests did not succeed in eliminating the basis of coarse naturism which ancient barbaric tradition had imposed upon them.

Beginning with the second century before our era, the mysteries of Isis and Serapis spread over Italy with the Alexandrian culture whose religious expression they were, and in spite of all persecution established themselves at Rome where Caligula gave them the freedom of the city. They did not bring with them a very advanced theological system, because Egypt never produced anything but a chaotic aggregate of disparate doctrines, nor a very elevated ethics, because the level of its morality—that of the Alexandrian Greeks—rose but slowly from a low stage. But they made Italy, and later the other Latin provinces, familiar with an ancient ritual of incomparable charm that aroused widely different feelings with its splendid processions and liturgic dramas. They also gave their votaries positive assurance of a blissful immortality after death, when they would be united with Serapis and, participating body and soul in his divinity, would live in eternal contemplation of the gods.

At a somewhat later period arrived the numerous and varied Baals of Syria. The great economic movement starting at the be-

ginning of our era which produced the colonization of the Latin world by Syrian slaves and merchants, not only modified the material civilization of Europe, but also its conceptions and beliefs. The Semitic cults entered into successful competition with those of Asia Minor and Egypt. They may not have had so stirring a liturgy, nor have been so thoroughly absorbed in preoccupation with a future life, although they taught an original eschatology, but they did have an infinitely higher idea of divinity. The Chaldean astrology, of which the Syrian priests were enthusiastic disciples, had furnished them with the elements of a scientific theology. It had led them to the notion of a God residing far from the earth above the zone of the stars, a God almighty, universal and eternal. Everything on earth was determined by the revolutions of the heavens according to infinite cycles of years. It had taught them at the same time the worship of the sun, the radiant source of earthly life and human intelligence.

The learned doctrines of the Babylonians had also imposed themselves upon the Persian mysteries of Mithra which considered time identified with heaven as the supreme cause, and deified the stars; but they had superimposed themselves upon the ancient Mazdean creed without destroying it. Thus the essential principles of the religion of Iran, the secular and often successful rival of Greece, penetrated into the Occident under cover of Chaldean wisdom. The Mithra worship, the last and highest manifestation of ancient paganism, had Persian dualism for its fundamental dogma. The world is the scene and the stake of a contest between good and evil, Ormuzd and Ahriman, gods and demons, and from this primary conception of the universe flowed a strong and pure system of ethics. Life is a combat; soldiers under the command of Mithra, invincible heroes of the faith, must ceaselessly oppose the undertakings of the infernal powers which sow corruption broadcast. This imperative ethics was productive of energy and formed the characteristic feature distinguishing Mithraism from all other Oriental cults.

Thus every one of the Levantine countries—and that is what we meant to show in this brief recapitulation—had enriched Roman paganism with new beliefs that were frequently destined to outlive it. What was the result of this confusion of heterogeneous doctrines whose multiplicity was extreme and whose values were very different? How did the barbaric ideas refine themselves and combine with each other when thrown into the fiery crucible of imperial syncretism? In other words, what shape was assumed by ancient idolatry, so impregnated with exotic theories during the fourth

century, when it was finally dethroned? It is this point that we should like to indicate briefly as the conclusion to these studies.

However, can we speak of *one* pagan religion? Did not the blending of the races result in multiplying the variety of disagreements? Had not the confused collision of creeds produced a division into fragments, a comminution of churches? Had not a complacent syncretism engendered a multiplication of sects? The "Hellenes," as Themistius told the Emperor Valens, had three hundred ways of conceiving and honoring deity, who takes pleasure in such diversity of homage.¹ In paganism a cult does not die violently, but after long decay. A new doctrine does not necessarily displace an older one. They may co-exist for a long time as contrary possibilities suggested by the intellect or faith, and all opinions, all practices, seem respectable to paganism. It never has any radical or revolutionary transformations. Undoubtedly, the pagan beliefs of the fourth century or earlier did not have the consistency of a metaphysical system nor the rigor of canons formulated by a council. There is always a considerable difference between the faith of the masses and that of cultured minds, and this difference was bound to be great in an aristocratic empire whose social classes were sharply separated. The devotion of the masses was as unchanging as the depths of the sea; it was not stirred up nor heated by the upper currents.² The peasants practised their pious rites over anointed stones, sacred springs and blossoming trees, as in the past, and continued celebrating their rustic holidays during seed-time and harvest. They adhered with invincible tenacity to their traditional usages. Degraded and lowered to the rank of superstitions, these were destined to persist for centuries under the Christian orthodoxy without exposing it to serious peril, and while they were no longer marked in the liturgic calendars they were still mentioned occasionally in the collections of folklore.

At the other extreme of society the philosophers delighted in veiling religion with the frail and brilliant tissue of their speculations. Like the emperor Julian they improvised bold and incongruous interpretations of the myth of the Great Mother, and these interpretations were received and relished by a restricted circle of scholars. But during the fourth century these vagaries of the individual imagination were nothing but arbitrary applications of uncontested principles. During that century there was much less intellectual anarchy than when Lucian had exposed the sects "for sale

¹ Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, IV, 32.

² Reinach, *Mythes, cultes*, III, 1908, pp. 365 f.

at public auction"; a comparative harmony arose among the pagans after they joined the opposition. One single school, that of neo-Platonism, ruled all minds. This school not only respected positive religion, as ancient stoicism had done, but venerated it, because it saw there the expression of an old revelation handed down by past generations. It considered the sacred books divinely inspired—the books of Hermes Trismegistus, Orpheus, the Chaldean oracles, Homer, and especially the esoteric doctrines of the mysteries—and subordinated its theories to their teachings. As there must be no contradiction between all the disparate traditions of different countries and different periods, because all have emanated from one divinity, philosophy, the *ancilla theologiae*, attempted to reconcile them by the aid of allegory. And thus, by means of compromises between old Oriental ideas and Greco-Latin thought, an *ensemble* of beliefs slowly took form, the truth of which seemed to have been established by common consent. So when the atrophied parts of the Roman religion had been removed, foreign elements had combined to give it a new vigor and in it themselves became modified. This hidden work of internal decomposition and reconstruction had unconsciously produced a religion very different from the one Augustus had attempted to restore.

However, we would be tempted to believe that there had been no change in the Roman faith, were we to read certain authors that fought idolatry in those days. Saint Augustine, for instance, in his *City of God*, pleasantly pokes fun at the multitude of Italian gods that presided over the paltriest acts of life.³ But the useless, ridiculous deities of the old pontifical litanies no longer existed outside of the books of antiquaries. As a matter of fact, the Christian polemicist's authority in this instance was Varro. The defenders of the church sought weapons against idolatry even in Xenophanes, the first philosopher to oppose Greek polytheism. It has frequently been shown that apologists find it difficult to follow the progress of the doctrines which they oppose, and often their blows fall upon dead men. Moreover, it is a fault common to all scholars, to all imbued with book learning, that they are better acquainted with the opinions of ancient authors than with the sentiments of their contemporaries, and that they prefer to live in the past rather than in the world surrounding them. It was easier to reproduce the objections of the Epicureans and the skeptics against abolished beliefs, than to study the defects of an active organism with a view

³ Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, IV, 21.

to criticizing it. In those times the merely formal culture of the schools caused many of the best minds to lose their sense of reality.

The Christian polemics therefore frequently give us an inadequate idea of paganism in its decline. When they complacently insisted upon the immortality of the sacred legends they ignored the fact that the gods and heroes of mythology had no longer any but a purely literary existence.⁴ The writers of that period, like those of the Renaissance, regarded the fictions of mythology as details necessary to poetical composition. They were ornaments of style, rhetorical devices, but not the expression of a sincere faith. Those old myths had fallen to the lowest degree of disrepute in the theater. The actors of mimes ridiculing Jupiter's gallant adventures did not believe in their reality any more than the author of Faust believed in the compact with Mephistopheles.

So we must not be deceived by the oratorical effects of a rhetorician like Arnobius or by the Ciceronian periods of a Lactantius. In order to ascertain the real status of the beliefs we must refer to Christian authors who were men of letters less than they were men of action, who lived the life of the people and breathed the air of the streets, and who spoke from experience rather than from the treatises of myth-mongers. They were high functionaries like Prudentius;⁵ like the man to whom the name "Ambrosiaster"⁶ has been given since the time of Erasmus; like the converted pagan Firmicus Maternus,⁷ who had written a treatise on astrology before opposing "The Error of the Profane Religions"; like certain priests brought into contact with the last adherents of idolatry through their pastoral duties, as for instance the author of the homilies ascribed to St. Maximus Tyrius;⁸ finally like the writers of anonymous pamphlets, works prepared for the particular occasion and breathing the ardor of all the passions of the moment.⁹ If this inquiry is based on the obscure indications in regard to their religious convictions left by members of the Roman aristocracy who remained true to the faith of their ancestors, like Macrobius or Symmachus; if it is particularly guided by the exceptionally numerous inscriptions that seem to be the public expression of the last will of expiring paganism,

⁴ Burckhardt, *Zeit Constantins*, 2d ed., 1880, pp. 145-147.

⁵ Cf. Prudentius, 348-410.

⁶ Souter's ed. *Questiones*, Vienna, 1908, Intr., p. xxiv.

⁷ His identity with the writer of the eight books *Matheseos* seems to be established.

⁸ Maximus was bishop of Turin about 450-465.

⁹ Riese, *Anthol. lat.*, I, 20.

we shall be able to gain a sufficiently precise idea of the condition of the Roman religion at the time of its extinction.

One fact becomes immediately clear from an examination of those documents. The old national religion of Rome was dead.¹⁰ The great dignitaries still adorned themselves with the titles of augur and quindecimvir, or of consul and tribune, but those archaic prelacies were as devoid of all real influence upon religion as the republican magistracies were powerless in the state. Their fall had been made complete on the day when Aurelian established the pontiffs of the Invincible Sun, the protector of his empire, beside and above the ancient high priests. The only cults still alive were those of the Orient, and against them were directed the efforts of the Christian polemics, who grew more and more bitter in speaking of them. The barbarian gods had taken the place of the defunct immortals in the devotion of the pagans. They alone still had empire over the soul.

With all the other "profane religions," Firmicus Maternus fought those of the four Oriental nations. He connected them with the four elements. The Egyptians were the worshipers of water—the water of the Nile fertilizing their country; The Phrygians of the earth, which was to them the Great Mother of everything; the Syrians and Carthaginians of the air, which they adored under the name of celestial Juno;¹¹ the Persians of fire, to which they attributed preeminence over the other three principles. This system certainly was borrowed from the pagan theologians. In the common peril threatening them, those cults, formerly rivals, had become reconciled and regarded themselves as divisions and, so to speak, congregations, of the same church. Each one of them was especially consecrated to one of the elements which in combination form the universe. Their union constituted the pantheistic religion of the deified world.

All the Oriental religions assumed the form of mysteries.¹² Their dignitaries were at the same time pontiffs of the Invincible Sun, fathers of Mithra, celebrants of the taurobolium of the Great Mother, prophets of Isis; in short, they had all titles imaginable. In their initiation they received the revelation of an esoteric doctrine strengthened by their fervor.¹³ What was the theology they learned?

All writers agree with Firmicus that the pagans worshiped the *elementa*.¹⁴ Under this term were included not only the four simple substances which by their opposition and blending caused all phenomena of the visible world,¹⁵ but also the stars and in general the elements of all celestial and earthly bodies.¹⁶

We therefore may in a certain sense speak of the return of paganism to nature worship; but must this transformation be regarded as a retrogression toward a barbarous past, as a relapse to the level of primitive animism? If so, we should be deceived by appearances. Religions do not fall back into infancy as they grow old. The pagans of the fourth century no longer naively considered their gods as capricious genii, as the disordered powers of a confused natural philosophy; they conceived them as cosmic energies whose providential action was regulated in a harmonious system. Faith was no longer instinctive and impulsive, for erudition and reflection had reconstructed the entire theology. In a certain sense it might be said that theology had passed from the fictitious to the metaphysical state, according to the formula of Comte. It was intimately connected with the knowledge of the day, which was cherished by its last votaries with love and pride, as faithful heirs of the ancient wisdom of the Orient and Greece.¹⁷ In many instances it was nothing but a religious form of the cosmology of the period. This constituted both its strength and its weakness. The rigorous principles of astrology determined its conception of heaven and earth.

The universe was an organism animated by a God, unique, eternal and almighty. Sometimes this God was identified with the destiny that ruled all things, with infinite time that regulated all visible phenomena, and he was worshiped in each subdivision of that endless duration, especially in the months and the seasons.¹⁸ Sometimes, however, he was compared with a king; he was thought of as a sovereign governing an empire, and the various gods then were the princes and dignitaries interceding with the rulers on behalf of his subjects whom they led in some manner into his presence. This heavenly court had its messengers or "angels" conveying to men the

A more philosophic conception made the divinity an infinite power impregnating all nature with its overflowing forces. "There is only one God, sole and supreme," wrote Maximus of Madaura about 390, "without beginning or parentage, whose energies, diffused through the world, we invoke under various names, because we are ignorant of his real name. By successively addressing our supplications to his different members we intend to honor him in his entirety. Through the mediation of the subordinate gods the common father both of themselves and of all men is honored in a thousand different ways by mortals who are thus in accord in spite of their discord."²⁰

However, this ineffable God, who comprehensively embraces everything, manifests himself especially in the resplendent brightness of the ethereal sky.²¹ He reveals his power in water and in fire, in the earth, the sea and the blowing of the winds; but his purest, most radiant and most active epiphany is in the stars whose revolutions determine every event and all our actions. Above all he manifests himself in the sun, the motive power of the celestial spheres, the inexhaustible seat of light and life, the creator of all intelligence on earth. Certain philosophers like the senator Praetextatus, one of the *dramatis personae* of Macrobius, confounded all the ancient divinities of paganism with the sun in a thorough-going syncretism.²²

Just as a superficial observation might lead to the belief that the theology of the last pagans had reverted to its origin, so at first sight the transformation of the ritual might appear like a return to savagery. With the adoption of the Oriental mysteries barbarous, cruel and obscene practices were undoubtedly spread, as for instance the masquerading in the guise of animals in the Mithraic initiations, the bloody dances of the *galli* of the Great Mother and the mutilations of the Syrian priests. Nature worship was originally as "amoral" as nature itself. But an ethereal spiritualism ideally transfigured the coarseness of those primitive customs. Just as the doctrine had become completely impregnated with philosophy and erudition, so the liturgy had become saturated with ethical ideas. The taurobolium, a disgusting shower-bath of luke-warm blood, had become a means of obtaining a new and eternal life; the ritualistic ablutions were no longer external and material acts, but were supposed to cleanse the soul of its impurities and to restore its original innocence; the sacred repasts imparted an intimate virtue to the soul and furnished sustenance to the spiritual life. While efforts

²⁰ August., *Epist.*, 16 (48).

²¹ *Paneg. ad Constantin. Aug.*, 313 A. D., c. 26 (p. 212, Bahrens ed.).

²² Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, 17 f.

were made to maintain the continuity of tradition, its content had slowly been transformed. The most shocking and licentious fables were metamorphosed into edifying narratives by convenient and subtle interpretations which were a joy to the learned mythographers. Paganism had become a school of morality, the priest a doctor and director of the conscience.²³

The purity and holiness imparted by the practice of sacred ceremonies were the indispensable condition for obtaining eternal life.²⁴ The mysteries promised a blessed immortality to their initiates, and claimed to reveal to them infallible means of effecting their salvation. According to a generally accepted symbol, the spirit animating man was a spark, detached from the fires shining in the ether; it partook of their divinity and so, it was believed, had descended to the earth to undergo a trial. It could literally be said that

"Man is a fallen god who still remembers heaven."

After having left their corporeal prisons, the pious souls re-ascended towards the celestial regions of the divine stars, to live forever in endless brightness beyond the starry spheres.²⁵

But at the other extremity of the world, facing this luminous realm, extended the somber kingdom of evil spirits. They were irreconcilable adversaries of the gods and men of good will, and constantly left the infernal regions to roam about the earth and scatter evil. With the aid of the celestial spirits, the faithful had to struggle forever against their designs and seek to avert their anger by means of bloody sacrifices. But, with the help of occult and terrible processes, the magician could subject them to his power and compel them to serve his purposes. This demonology, the monstrous offspring of Persian dualism, favored the rise of every superstition.²⁶

However, the reign of the evil powers was not to last forever. According to common opinion the universe would be destroyed by fire²⁷ after the times had been fulfilled. All the wicked would perish, but the just would be revived and establish the reign of universal happiness in the regenerated world.²⁸

and savage superstitions the learned priests of the Asiatic cults had gradually produced a complete system of metaphysics and eschatology, as the Brahmins built up the spiritualistic monism of the Vedanta beside the monstrous idolatry of Hinduism, or, to confine our comparisons to the Latin world, as the jurists drew from the traditional customs of primitive tribes the abstract principles of a legal system that governs the most cultivated societies. This religion was no longer like that of ancient Rome, a mere collection of propitiatory and expiatory rites performed by the citizen for the good of the state; it now pretended to offer to all men a world-conception which gave rise to a rule of conduct and placed the end of existence in the future life. It was more unlike the worship that Augustus had attempted to restore than the Christianity that fought it. The two opposed creeds moved in the same intellectual and moral sphere,²⁹ and one could actually pass from one to the other without shock or interruption. Sometimes when reading the long works of the last Latin writers, like Ammianus Marcellinus or Boëthius, or the panegyrics of the official orators,³⁰ scholars could well ask whether their authors were pagan or Christian. In the time of Symmachus and Praetextatus, the members of the Roman aristocracy who had remained faithful to the gods of their ancestors did not have a mentality or morality very different from that of adherents of the new faith who sat with them in the senate. The religious and mystical spirit of the Orient had slowly overcome the whole social organism and had prepared all nations to unite in the bosom of a universal church.

²⁹ Arnobius, II, 13-14.

³⁰ Pichon, *Comptes Rendus Acad. Inscr.*, 1906, pp. 293 f.

ON THE FOUNDATION AND TECHNIC OF ARITHMETIC.*

BY GEORGE BRUCE HALSTED.

THE TWO DIRECT OPERATIONS, ADDITION AND MULTIPLICATION.

Notation.

THE symbolic representation of numbers and ways of combining numbers comes under the head of what is called *notation*.

The natural numbers, as shown in the primitive numeral pictures 1, 11, 111, 1111, begin with a single unit, and, cardinally considered, are changed to the next always by taking another single unit.

The Symbol =.

A number, an integer, is said to be *equal* to, or the same as, a number otherwise expressed, when their units being counted come to the same finger, the same numeral word. The symbol =, read *equals*, is called the sign of equality, and takes the part of verb in this symbolic language. It was invented by an Englishman, Robert Recorde, replacing in his algebra, *The Whetstone of Witte*,† the sign *z* used for equality in his arithmetic, *The Grounde of Artes*, 1540. Equality is a relation reflexive, symmetric, invertible. Equality is a mutual relation of its two members. If $x = y$, then $y = x$. Equality is a transitive relation. If $x = y$ and $y = z$, then $x = z$. A symbolic sentence using this verb is called an equality.

Ordinarily, $x = y$ means that x and y denote the same number in the natural scale. Formally, $x = y$ means that either can at will be substituted for the other anywhere.

* Continuation of an article begun in the February *Open Court*.

† London (no date, preface 1557).

Inequality.

When the process of counting the units of one number simultaneously one-to-one with units of a second number ends because no unit of the second number remains uncounted, but the units of the first number are not all counted, then the first number is said to contain more units than the second number, and the second number is said to contain less units than the first.

If a number contains more units than a second, it is called *greater* than this second, which is called the *lesser*. By successively incorporating single units with the lesser of two primitive numbers we can make the greater.

Thomas Harriot (1560–1621), tutor to Sir Walter Raleigh and one of “the three magi of the Earl of Northumberland,” devised the symbol $>$, published 1631, read “is greater than,” and called the sign of inequality. Inequality is a sensed relation. Turned thus $<$ its symbol is read “is less than.” Inequality in the same sense is transitive. If $x > y$ and $y > z$, then $x > z$.

Since the result of counting is independent of the order of the individuals counted, therefore of two unequal natural numbers the one once found greater is always the greater. Without knowing the number n , we can write “either $n > 5$, or $n = 5$, or $n < 5$.” Any number which succeeds another in the natural scale is greater than this other. Ordinarily, $x < y$ means that x precedes y in the scale.

Parentheses.

When we can get a third number from two given numbers by a definite operation, the two given numbers joined by the sign for the operation and enclosed in parentheses may be taken to mean the result of that combination. The result can now be again combined with another given number, and so we may get combinations of several numbers though each operation is performed only with two.

Parentheses indicate that neither of the two numbers enclosed, but only the number produced by their combination, is related to anything outside the parentheses.

Parentheses (first used by the Flemish geometer Albert Girard

Expressions.

The representation of one number by others with symbols of combination and operation is called an expression. By enclosing it in parentheses, any expression however complex in any way representing a number, may be operated upon as if it were a single symbol of that number. If an expression already involving parentheses is enclosed in parentheses, each pair, to distinguish it, can be made different in size or shape. The three most usual forms are the parenthesis (, the bracket [, and the brace {. In translating the expression into English, (should be called first parenthesis, and) second parenthesis; [first bracket,] second bracket; { first brace, } second brace.

Substitution.

No change of resulting value is made in any expression by substituting for any number its equal however expressed. From this it follows that two numbers each equal to a third are equal to one another. This process, putting one expression for another, substitution, is a primitive yet most important proceeding. A single symbol may be substituted for any expression whatever.

Permutation consists in a simultaneous carrying out of mutual substitution, interchange. Thus a and b in an expression, as abc , are permuted when they are interchanged, giving bac . More than two symbols are permuted when each is replaced by one of the others, as in abc giving bca or cab .

Addition.

Suppose we have two natural numbers written in their primitive form, as 111 and 1111; if we write all these units in one row we indicate another natural number; and the process of getting from two numbers the number belonging to the group formed by putting together their groups to make a single group is called *addition*. This operation of incorporating other units into the preceding diagram is indicated by a symbol first met in print in the arithmetic by John Widman (Leipsic, 1489), a little Maltese cross, +, read plus.

If one artificial individual be combined with another to give a new artificial individual in which each unit of the components appears retaining its natural independence and natural individuality, while the artificial individuality of the two components vanishes, the number of the new artificial individual is called the *sum* of the numbers of the two components, and is said to be obtained by *adding* these

two numbers (the terms or summands). The sum of two numbers, two terms, is the numeric attribute of the total system constituted of two partial systems to which the two terms respectively pertain.

In the child as in the savage, the number idea is not dissociated from the group it characterizes. But education should help on the stage where the number exists as an independent concept, say the number 5 with its own characteristics, its own life. Therefore we have number-science, pure arithmetic. So though it might perhaps be argued that there is only one number 5, yet we may properly speak of combining 5 with 5 so as to retain the units unaffected while the fiveness vanishes in the compound, the sum, 10.

Addition is a taking together of the units of two numbers to constitute the units of a third, their sum. This may be attained by a repetition of the operation of forming a new number from an old by taking with it one more unit; thus $3 + 2 = 3 + 1 + 1$.

If given numbers are written as groups of units, e. g. (*exempli gratia*), $2 = 1 + 1$, $3 = 1 + 1 + 1$, the result of adding is obtained by writing together these rows of units, e. g., $2 + 3 = (1 + 1) + (1 + 1 + 1) = 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 = 5$.

Since cardinal number is independent of the order of counting, therefore in any natural number expressed in its primitive form, as 1111, the permutation of any pair of units produces neither apparent nor real change. The units of numeration are completely interchangeable. Therefore we may say adding numbers is finding one number which contains in itself as many units as the given numbers taken together.

In defining addition, we need make no mention of the order in which the given numbers are taken together to make the sum. A sum is independent of the order of its parts or terms. This is an immediate consequence of the theorem of the invariance of the number of a set. For a change in the order of the parts added is only a change in the order of the units, which change is without influence when all are counted together.

To write in symbols, in the universal language of mathematics, that addition is an operation unaffected by permutation or the order of the parts added, though applied to any numbers whatsoever, we cannot use numerals, since numerals are always absolutely definite, particular. If, following Vieta's book of 1591, we use letters as general symbols to denote numbers left otherwise indefinite, we may write a to represent the first number not only in the sum $2 + 3$, but in the sum $4 + 1$ and in the sum of any two numbers. Taking b for a second number, the symbolic sentence $a + b = b + a$ is a statement

about all numbers whatsoever. It says, addition is a *commutative* operation.

The words *commutative* and *distributive* were used for the first time by F. J. Servois in 1813.

The previous grouping of the parts added has no effect upon the sum. Brackets occurring in an indicated sum may be omitted as not affecting the result. The general statement or formula $(a + b) + c = a + (b + c)$ says, addition is an *associative* operation, an operation having associative freedom.

Rowan Hamilton in 1844 first explicitly stated and named the associative law. For addition it follows from the theorem of the invariance of the number of a group.

Formulas.

Equalities having to do only with the very nature of the operations involved, and not at all with the particular numbers used are called *formulas*.

A formula is characterized by the fact that for any letter in it any number whatsoever may be substituted without destroying the equality or restricting the values of any other letter. In a formula a letter as symbol for any number may be replaced not only by any digital number, but also by any other symbol for a number whether simple or compound, in the last case bracketed. Thus $a + b = b + a$ gives $(a + c) + b = b + (a + c)$. So from a formula we can get an indefinite number of formulas and special numerical equations.

Each side or member of a formula expresses a method of reckoning a number, and the formula says that both reckonings produce the same result. A formula translated from symbols into words gives a rule. As equality is a mutual relation always invertible, a formula will usually give two rules, since its second member may be read first.

By definition, from the inequality $a > b$ we know that a could be obtained by adding units to b . Calling this unknown group of units n , we have $a = b + n$.

Inversely, if $a = b + n$ then $a > b$, that is a sum of finite natural numbers is always greater than one of its parts. A sum increases if either of its parts increases.

Ordinal Addition.

Addition may also be defined and its properties established from the ordinal view-point.

Start from the natural scale. To add 1 to the number x is to

replace x by the next following ordinal. So if we know x , we know $x+1$.

When we have defined adding some particular number a to x , when we have defined the operation, $x+a$, the operation $x+(a+1)$ shall be defined by the formula (1) $\dots x+(a+1) = (x+a)+1$. We shall know then what $x+(a+1)$ is when we know what $x+a$ is, and as we have, to start with, defined what $x+1$ is, we thus have successively and "by recurrence" the operations $x+2$, $x+3$, etc.

The sum $a+b$ is thus defined ordinally as the b th term after the a th.

It serves to represent conventionally a new number univocally deduced by a definite given procedure from the numbers summed or added together.

Properties of Addition.

Associativity: $a+(b+c) = (a+b)+c$.

This theorem is by definition true for $c=1$, since, by formula (1), $a+(b+1) = (a+b)+1$. Now supposing the theorem true for $c=y$, it will be true for $c=y+1$. For supposing

$$(a+b)+y = a+(b+y),$$

it follows that

$$(2) \dots [(a+b)+y]+1 = [a+(b+y)]+1,$$

which is only adding one to the same number, to equal numbers.

Now by definition (1), the first member of this equation (2)

$$[(a+b)+y]+1 = (a+b)+(y+1) \dots (3),$$

as we recognize that it should be, since y is the number preceding $y+1$.

But by the same formula (1), read backward, the second member of equation (2)

$$[a+(b+y)]+1 = a+[(b+y)+1] \dots (4),$$

as we see it should be, since $b+y$ is the number preceding $b+y+1$.

But again by (1), the second member of (4),

$$a+[(b+y)+1] = a+[b+(y+1)] \dots (5)$$

Therefore [by (5), (4) and (3)], (2) may be written,

$$a+[b+(y+1)] = (a+b)+(y+1).$$

Hence the theorem is true for $c=y+1$.

Being true for $c=1$, we thus see successively that so it is for $c=2$, for $c=3$, etc.

Commutativity: $1^\circ \dots a+1 = 1+a$.

This theorem is identically true for $a=1$.

Now we can verify that if it is true for $a=y$ it will be true for $a=y+1$; for then

$$(y + 1) + 1 = (1 + y) + 1 = 1 + (y + 1)$$

by associativity. But it is true for $a = 1$, therefore it will be true for $a = 2$, for $a = 3$, etc.

$$2^{\circ} \dots a + b = b + a.$$

This has just been demonstrated for $b = 1$; it can be verified that if it is true for $b = x$, it will be true for $b = x + 1$. For, if true for $b = x$, then we have by hypothesis $a + x = x + a$; whence, by formula (1), by 1° and associativity, $a + (x + 1) = (a + x) + 1 = (x + a) + 1 = x + (a + 1) = x + (1 + a) = (x + 1) + a$.

The proposition is therefore established by recurrence.

Multiplication.

Sums in which all the parts are equal frequently occur. Such additions are often laborious and liable to error. But such a sum is *determined* if we know one of the equal parts and the number of parts. The operation of combining these two numbers to get the result is called *multiplication*; the result is then called the *product*. The part repeated is called the *multiplicand*, and the number which indicates how often it occurs is called the *multiplier*. Multiplicand and multiplier are each *factors* of the product. Such a product is a *multiple* of each of its factors. In forming such a product, the multiplicand is taken once as summand for each unit in the multiplier. More generally, *a product is the number related to the multiplicand as the unit to the multiplier*.

Following Wm. Oughtred (1631), we use the sign \times to denote multiplication, writing it before the multiplier but after the multiplicand. Thus 1×10 , read one multiplied by ten, or simply one by ten, stands for the product of the multiplication of 1 by 10, which by definition equals 10. The multiplication sign may be omitted when the product cannot reasonably be confounded with anything else, thus $1a$ means $1 \times a$, read one by a , which by definition equals a .

From our definition also $a \times 1$, that is a multiplied by 1, must equal a .

Commutativity. Multiplication of a number by a number is commutative.

Multiplier and multiplicand may be interchanged without altering the product.

1 1 1 1 1 For if we have a rectangular array of a rows each
1 1 1 1 1 containing b units, it is also b columns each contain-
1 1 1 1 1 ing a units.

ample, $abcde = \{[(ab)c]d\} e$, calling the numbers involved *factors*, and the result their *product*, we may prove that commutative freedom extends to any or all factors in any product.

For changing the order of a pair of factors which are next one another does not alter the product. $abcd = acbd$.
 $a \ a \ a \ a$ For c rows of a 's, each row containing b of them,
 $a \ a \ a \ a$ is b columns of a 's each containing c of them. So
 $a \ a \ a \ a$ c groups of ab units comes to the same number as b groups of ac units.

This reasoning holds no matter how many factors come before or after the interchanged pair. For example

$$abcdefg = abc \ ed \ fg,$$

since in this case the product abc simply takes the place which the number a had before. And e rows with d times abc in each row come to the same number as d columns with e times abc in each column. It remains only to multiply this number successively by whatever factors stand to the right of the interchanged pair.

It follows therefore that no matter how many numbers are multiplied together, we may interchange the places of any two of them which are adjacent without altering the product. But by repeated interchanges of adjacent pairs we may produce any alteration we choose in the order of the factors.

This extends the commutative law of freedom to all the factors in any product.

Associativity. To show with equal generality that multiplication is associative, we have only to prove that in any product any group of the successive factors may be replaced by their product.

$$abcdefgh = abc(def)gh.$$

By the commutative law we may arrange the factors so that this group comes first. Thus $abcdefgh = def \ abc \ gh$.

But now the product of this group is made in carrying out the multiplication according to definition. Therefore

$$abcdefgh = def \ abc \ gh = (def) \ abc \ gh.$$

Considering this bracketed product now as a single factor of the whole product, it can, by the commutative law, be brought into any position among the other factors, for example, back into the old place; so $abcdefgh = def \ abc \ gh = (def) \ abc \ gh = abc \ (def) \ gh$.

Distributivity. Multiplication combines with addition according to what is called the *distributive law*

$$4 \times 5 = 4(2 + 3) = (2 + 3)4 = 2 \times 4 + 3 \times 4 = 5 \times 4.$$

. Four by five equals five by four, and four rows of
 $(2 + 3)$ units may be counted as four rows of two
 units together with 4 rows of 3 units.

. As the sum of two numbers is a number, we may
 substitute $(a + b)$ for b in the formula $(b + c)d = bd + cd$,
 which thus gives $[(a + b) + c]d = (a + b)d + cd = ad + bd + cd$. So the distributive law extends to the sum of however many numbers or terms.

Since $a(b + c) > ab$ and $(a + b)b > ab$, therefore a product changes if either of its factors changes. A product increases if either of its factors increases.

Notwithstanding the historical origin of addition from counting and of multiplication from the addition of equal terms, it is now advantageous to consider multiplication, not as repeated addition, but as a separate operation, only connected with addition by the distributive law, an operation for finding from two elements x , y , an element univocally determined, xy , called "the product, x by y ," which by commutativity equals x times y .

THE TWO INVERSE OPERATIONS, SUBTRACTION AND DIVISION

Inversion.

In the preceding direct operations, in addition and multiplication, the simplest problem is, from two given numbers to make a third.

If a and b are the given numbers, and x the unknown number resulting, then

$$x = a + b, \text{ or}$$

$$x = a \times b,$$

according to the operation.

An *inverse* of such a problem is where the result of a direct operation is given and one of the components, to find the other component. The operation by which such a problem is solved is called an inverse operation.

Since by the commutative law we are free to interchange the two parts or terms of a given sum, as also the two factors of a given product, therefore here the inverse operation does not depend upon which of the two components is also given, but only upon the direct operation by which they were combined.

Subtraction.

Suppose we are given a sum which we designate by s , and one part of it, say p , to find the corresponding other part, which, yet

unknown, we represent by x . Since the sum of the numbers p and x is what $p+x$ expresses, we have the equality $x+p=s$.

But this equation differs in kind from the literal equalities heretofore used. It is not a formula, for any digital number substituted for one of these letters restricts the simultaneous values permissible for the others. Such an equality is called a conditional equality or a *synthetic* equation, or simply an *equation*.

The inverse problem for addition now consists just in this,—to solve the synthetic equation

$$b+x=a,$$

when a and b are given; in other words, to find a definite number which placed as value for x will satisfy the equation, that is which added to b will give a , and thus *verify* the equation. The number found, which satisfies the equation is called a *root* of the equation.

If the operation by which from a given sum a and a given part of it b we find a value for the corresponding other part x is called *from a subtracting* b , then, using the minus sign ($-$) to denote subtraction, we may write the result $a-b$, read a minus b .

We may get this result, remembering that a number is a sum of units, by pairing off every unit in b with a unit in a , and then counting the unpaired units. This gives a number which added to b makes a .

The expression or result $a-b$ is called a *difference*.

The term preceded by the minus sign is called the *subtrahend*; the other, the *minuend*.

Thus $(a-b)+b=a-b+b=a$; also

$$b+(a-b)=b+a-b=a.$$

Ordinally, to subtract y from x is to find the number occupying the y th place before x .

Division.

The term division has two distinct meanings in elementary mathematics. There are two operations called division: 1°, Remainder division; 2°, Multiplication's inverse.

1°, Given two numbers, $a > b$, a the *dividend*, and b the *divisor*, the aim of *remainder division* may be considered the putting of a under the form $bq+r$, where $r < b$, and b not 0. We call q the *quotient*, and r the *remainder*. Both are integral.

The remainder division of a by b answers the two questions: .

1°, What multiple of b if subtracted from a gives a difference or remainder less than b ? 2°, What is this remainder?

When r is 0, then a is a *multiple* of b , and a is *exactly divisible* by b .

The case $b = 0$ is excluded. In this excluded case the problem would be impossible if a were not 0. But if $a = 0$ and $b = 0$, every number, q , would satisfy the equality $a = bq$. So this case must be excluded to make the operation of division unequivocal, that is, in order that the problem of division shall have always one and only one solution. A second solution q', r' would give $a = bq + r = bq' + r'$, $b(q - q') = r' - r$. But $r' - r < b$, while $b(q - q')$ not $< b$.

2°, Division may also be regarded as the inverse of multiplication. Its aim is then considered to be the finding of a number q (quotient) which multiplied by b (the divisor) gives a (the dividend). Here division is the process of finding one of two factors when their product and the other factor are given.

The result q is represented by a/b . If $a = 0$, then $q = 0$. This definition of division gives the equality $(a/b)b = a$.

Remember $b \neq 0$, that is, b not equal to 0.

In particular $a/1 = a$.

In general

- 1°, $(a+b)/m = a/m + b/m$.
- 2° $(a-b)/m = a/m - b/m$.
- 3° $a(b/c) = ab/c$.
- 4° $a/(bc) = (a/b)/c$.
- 5° $a/(b/c) = (a/b)c$.
- 6° $a/b = am/bm$.
- 7° $a/b = (a/m)/(b/m)$.

TECHNIC.

Addition.

In adding a column of digits, consider two numbers together, but only *think* their sum.

	38	Now in adding up this column only think 9, 16,
3	23	18, 27, 32, 43, stressing forty, and writing down the
8	48	three while thinking it.
5	35	The stress on the forty is to hold the four in mind
9	59	for use in the next column to the left. Such a num-
2	62	ber is said to be <i>carried</i> . Begin adding up the next
7	87	column to the left by thinking 13.
4	74	To check the work, add the column downward,
5	95	since mere repetition of work tends to repeat the
43	3	mistake also.

Subtraction.

Look at the question of subtracting as asking what number added to the subtrahend gives the minuend. Always work subtraction by adding. Thus subtract 1978 from 3139 as follows:

3139	Think, 8 and one make 9; 7 and six make 13, carry 1;
1978	10 and one make 11, carry 1; 2 and one make 3. Write
1161	down the spelled digits just while thinking them.

Explain "carrying" by the principle that the difference between two numbers remains the same though they be given equal increments.

9254	
8365	Again think, 5 and nine make 14, carry 1; 7 and eight
889	make 15, carry 1; 4 and eight make 12, carry 1; 9 equals 9.

In working the examples we have added *downwards*, so check by adding *upwards* the difference (the answer) to the subtrahend, think (for 9 and 5) 14, (for 9 and 6) 15, (for 9 and 3) 12, (for 1 and 8) 9.

Multiplication.

Set down the multiplier precisely in column under the multiplicand, units under units. Begin by multiplying the units figure of the multiplicand by the leftmost figure of the multiplier, writing under this leftmost figure the first figure thus obtained. Then use the successive figures in order.

35427	
1324	
35427	The figure set down from multiplying the units always
106281	comes precisely under its multiplier.

70854	The advantage of this method is that it gives the
141708	most important partial product first, and in abridged
46905348	or approximate work one or two of the leftmost figures may be all that are wanted.

Rule: If of two figures multiplied one is in units column, the figure set down stands under the other.

Verify Multiplication by Casting out Nines.

Proceed as follows: Add the single figures of the *multiplicand*, but always diminish the partial sums by dropping nine. The remainder is identical with the remainder found much more laboriously by dividing by nine. Thus 35427 gives 3, since 7 and 2 give nine as also 4 and 5. Find just so the remainder of the *multiplier*. Here 1324 gives 1. If our work is correct, the remainder, or *excess*, of the product of these two remainders equals the remainder, or excess, for our product. Here 46905348 gives 3.

The complete proof of this method of verification lies simply in the fact that the remainder left when any number is divided by nine is the same as that left when the sum of its digits is divided by nine. For $10-1=9$, $100-1=99$, $1000-1=999$, etc. Hence if from any number be taken its units, also a unit for each of its tens, a unit for each of its hundreds, a unit for each of its thousands, etc., the remainder is a multiple of nine. But the part taken away is the sum of the number's digits.

Shorter Forms.

When the multiplier contains only two digits, shorten the work by adding in the results of the multiplication by the second digit to that already obtained.

9587	
<u>32</u>	
28761	
<u>306784</u>	

Here, after multiplying by 3, think, *fourteen*; 16, 17, *eighteen*; 10, 11, *seventeen*; 18, 19, *twenty-six*; ten: three. Write down the unaccented part of these spelled numbers while thinking it.

If in a multiplier of only two digits either is unity, write only the answer.

9867	
<u>15</u>	
148005	

Here think *thirty-five*; 30, 33, *forty*; 40, 44, *fifty*; 45, 50, *fifty-eight*; fourteen.

7968	
<u>41</u>	
326688	

Here think eight; 32, *thirty-eight*; 24, 27, *thirty-six*; 36, 39, *forty-six*; 28, *thirty-two*.

When in a three-place multiplier taking away either end-digit leaves a multiple of it, shorten by adding to this digit's partial product the proper multiple of it.

1234	
<u>568</u>	
9872	
<u>69104</u>	
700912	

After multiplying by 8, multiply this partial product by 7 (tens).

4213	
<u>864</u>	
33704	
<u>269632</u>	
3640032	

After multiplying by the 8, (hundreds), multiply this partial product by 8. This gives units.

Division.

Write the first figure of the quotient precisely over the last figure of the first partial dividend. Use no bar to separate them.

Omit the partial products, the multiples of the divisor, writing down the partial dividends, the differences, while doing the multiplication.

27	Here think 16 and nought, 1'6. Carry 1, 10,
358) 9762	11 and six, 1'7. Carry 1. 6, 7 and two, 9. 56 and
260	six, 6'2. Carry 6. 35, 41 and nine, 5'0. Carry 5.
96	21, 26.

Verify Division by Casting Out Nines.

The excess of the product of excesses of divisor and quotient increased by excess of remainder equals excess of dividend.

In our example the excess from the quotient is 0. So the excess from the dividend, 6, equals that from the remainder.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE SANCTITY OF TABU.

SACRIFICIAL animals were always deemed holy, for they belonged to the deity, and so it happened that among many people they were not eaten except when the worshipers appeared as guests of the god. In other words, holy animals, as a rule, became tabu.

There is a close connection between things holy and tabu. Professor W. Robertson Smith, of Cambridge, England, one of the most learned and at the same time conservative theologians, has collected the data of *The Religion of the Semites* under this title into a highly instructive volume. He says:

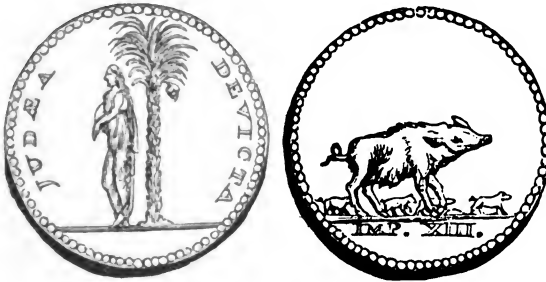
"Holy and unclean things have this in common, that in both cases certain restrictions lie on men's use of and contact with them, and that the breach of these restrictions involves supernatural dangers. The difference between the two appears, not in their relation to man's ordinary life, but in their relation to the gods. Holy things are not free to man, because they pertain to the gods; uncleanness is shunned, according to the view taken in the higher Semitic religions, because it is hateful to the god, and therefore not to be tolerated in his sanctuary, his worshipers, or his land. But that this explanation is not primitive can hardly be doubted, when we consider that the acts that cause uncleanness are exactly the same which among savage nations place a man under tabu, and that these acts are often involuntary, and often innocent, or even necessary to society. The savage, accordingly, imposes a tabu on a woman in childbed, or during her courses, and on the man who touches a corpse, not out of regard for the gods, but simply because birth and everything connected with the propagation of the species on the one hand, and disease and death on the other, seem to him to involve the action of superhuman agencies of a dangerous kind. If he attempts to explain, he does so by supposing that on these occasions spirits of deadly power are present; at all events the persons involved seem to him to be sources of mysterious danger, which has all the characters of an infection, and may extend to other people unless due precautions are observed."

Anthropologists have discussed the question as to the origin of tabu and the theory has been advanced that the tabu is placed

upon the totem of a tribe. This is true enough in frequent instances, but there are cases in which the tabu is simply due to the fear of the supernatural power of the object tabued, and it happens frequently that with a change of religion an originally holy animal comes to be looked upon as unclean.

Habits are more enduring than beliefs. If a belief changes, the habits engendered by it continue. This truth appears most clearly when a primitive faith yields to a new, perhaps a higher, religious conception. The tabu of holy animals remains even when the reason why they were deemed holy has disappeared.

The most flagrant instance of this rule is the tabu placed by the northern Semites on swine. They did not eat the swine, presumably because it was sacred to Adonis, their most popular god, who annually died and came to life again. The Israelites deemed the



JUDEA DEVICTA.

Coin commemorating the Roman conquest of Judea.

swine impure; it was under tabu; but there is no trace left in their scriptures why it was so greatly detested. The Jews showed their abhorrence to such a degree that they would rather die than eat pork, and the Jewish nationality remained so associated with the tabued animal that the Romans placed a swine on the coin intended to celebrate their conquest of "Judea devicta."

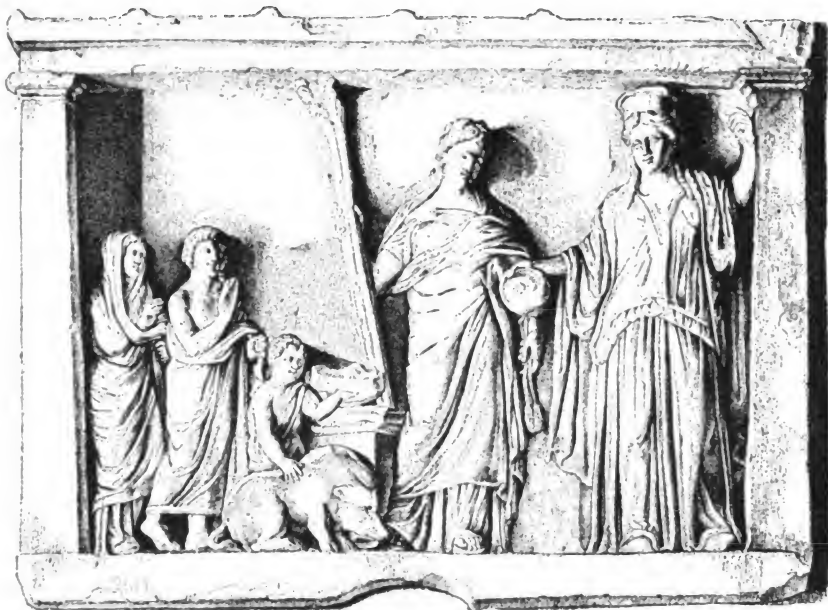
Callistratus (*Plutarchum Symp.*, IV, 5) expresses a suspicion that the Jews abstain from pork because they hold the hog in honor, as also do the Egyptians who revere the hog because it is supposed to have first taught man the use of plowing and of the plowshare when digging the ground with its snout.

Since Herod was so ready to have the members of his own family executed, Augustus said, "I would rather be the pig of Herod than his son."*

There is another remarkable instance of a change from holy

* "Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filius."

to tabu as unclean. The European race has now a great abhorrence for horseflesh, but the reason has never been pointed out. It is because the horse was sacred to Wodan and the pagan Saxons ate



SACRIFICE OF A PIG TO DEMETER.

Initiation scene from the Eleusinian Mysteries. (After Panofka, *Cabinet pourtalès*, pl. 18).

its flesh as a sacrament. Hanover, the state which has developed from the old Saxon dukedom, even to-day bears a horse on its coat of arms,* and the Saxons who conquered Britain were led by the



ELEUSINIAN COIN.

On its obverse the sacrificial pig of the mysteries. (From Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 153).

mythical Hengist and Horsa, both names meaning "horse." In pagan times the horse was holy, but when Christianity came the eating of horse flesh was branded as an abomination. Even the

* Hence the German slang *berappen*, which means "to pay," referring to the horse (*Rappe*) on the coins.

present generation without knowing why shrinks from partaking of this food which is no less wholesome and palatable than beef, as much as the Jews abhor the swine.

It is not impossible that all civilized people detest cannibalism because man was the main and the highest sacrifice in the days of savagery, and so human flesh has become the tabu of tabus.

In Greece there was no tabu on swine, though the pig was deemed a most efficient expiatory sacrifice in the mysteries of Eleusis and elsewhere. Many vase pictures and bas reliefs representing initiations and atonement offerings bear witness to this belief. There



THE PURIFICATION OF ORESTES.

(Harrison, *Proleg. to the Study of Greek Rel.*, p. 229).

are also Eleusinian coins which commemorate the significance of the mystic pig. In the one here reproduced the pig is seen standing on a torch thus indicating that the ceremony took place in the underworld. The reverse shows Demeter on her chariot accompanied by a huge snake.

A vase painting of the end of the fifth century represents the ceremony of the purification of Orestes. Apollo, recognizable by the laurel, holds the sacrificial pig over the head of Orestes, and Diana with bow and quiver stands just behind. The spirit of the murdered Clytemnestra calls up from Hades the Erinyes, who represent

the sinner's conscience. One is fully awake, another is still drowsy and the third is just emerging from the realm of shades.

A cinerary urn found in a grave on the Esquiline is decorated with scenes from the initiatory rites of Eleusis. On one side we see a pig being sacrificed. The hierophant pours out a libation and carries a dish containing three poppies symbolic of the underworld. To the left of this scene Demeter is holding a basket over the veiled head of the initiate.

The Thesmophoria was an autumn festival in which only women took part. It celebrated the *κάθοδος*, descent into, and the *ἀνοδος*,



CEREMONIES OF THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES.

(Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 547).

the return or ascent from, the underworld. The third day was devoted to *καλλιγένεια*, "the mother of the fair babe."¹ A vase painting on one of the lekythoi of the National Museum at Athens represents a woman sacrificing a pig, which probably illustrates one of the rites of the first day of the Thesmophoria. The three torches indicate the chthonian character of the ceremony. They prove that the sacrifice refers to Orcus, the underworld. The basket carried in the left hand contains the "ineffable things" (*ἄρρητα*).

The sanctity of the swine was not limited to the Semites and

¹ It is difficult to translate the Greek word in the same terse way. Literally it means "bearer of the beautiful one." This was the epithet by which the goddess Demeter was invoked in the Thesmophoria.

the Greeks, for we must also remember that the boar was sacred to Fro, the Adonis of the Germans. Both names, Fro and Adonis, mean "Lord."² In Walhalla, the Teutonic heaven, the heroes feasted on a boar whose flesh grew again as soon as it was cut off.

Prof. W. Robertson Smith in his *Religion of the Semites* mentions the swine repeatedly. He says (pp. 290-291):

"According to Al-Nadim the heathen Harranians sacrificed the swine and ate swine's flesh once a year. This ceremony is ancient, for it appears in Cyprus in connection with the worship of the Semitic Aphrodite and Adonis. In the ordinary worship of Aphrodite swine were not admitted, but in Cyprus



THE SACRIFICE OF A PIG IN THE THESMOPHORIA.

Vase painting in the Museum at Athens (Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 126).

wild boars were sacrificed once a year on April 2. The same sacrifice is alluded to in the Book of Isaiah as a heathen abomination, with which the prophet associates the sacrifice of two other unclean animals, the dog and the mouse. We know from Lucian (*Dea Syria*, ch. 54) that the swine was esteemed sacrosanct by the Syrians, and that it was specially sacred to Aphrodite or Astarte is affirmed by Antiphanes, *ap. Athen.* iii. 49. In a modern Syrian superstition we find that a demoniac swine haunts houses where there is a marriageable maiden. (*ZDPG.* VII, 107.)"

The ass is another animal of pagan significance which has be-

² The name *Fro* was transferred to Christ and is preserved in the German word *Frohnleichnam*, which is still in common use and means the "body of the Lord" or *Corpus Christi*.

come connected with the Jews.³ It was sacred to the Semites that invaded Egypt and also to the inhabitants of Harran. Professor Smith says (p. 468) :

"The wild ass was eaten by the Arabs, and must have been eaten with a religious intention, since its flesh was forbidden to his converts by Simeon the Stylite. Conversely, among the Harranians the ass was forbidden food, like the swine and the dog; but there is no evidence that, like these animals, it was sacrificed or eaten in exceptional mysteries. Yet when we find one section of Semites forbidden to eat the ass, while another section eats it in a way which to Christians appears idolatrous, the presumption that the animal was anciently sacred becomes very strong. An actual ass-sacrifice appears in Egypt in the worship of Typhon (Set or Sutech), who was the chief god of the Semites in Egypt, though Egyptologists doubt whether he was originally a Semitic god. The ass was a Typhonic animal, and in certain religious ceremonies the people of Coptus sacrificed asses by casting them down a precipice, while those of Lycopolis, in two of their annual feasts, stamped the figure of a bound ass on their sacrificial cakes (Plut., *Is. et Os.* § 30).... The old clan-name Hamor ("he-ass") among the Canaanites in Shechem, seems to confirm the view that the ass was sacred with some of the Semites; and the fables of ass-worship among the Jews (on which compare Bochart, *Hierozyicon*, Pars. I. Lib. II, cap. 18) probably took their rise, like so many other false statements of a similar kind, in a confusion between the Jews and their heathen neighbors."

The bear is not met with in the Orient, and there is no trace of its sanctity among the Semites, but it is a favorite totem among the Indians, as well as of the Ainus who live in the northern archipelago of Japan. Mr. Albert P. Niblack, while still an ensign in the U. S. Navy, tells us of his visit to the Alaskan Indians, and how he witnessed the funeral ceremony of Chief Shakes of Fort Wrangel in a village belonging to the Tlingit tribe. An important duty of the Alaskan chiefs, as Portlock, Dunn and other travelers tell us, consists in the performance of theatricals and cultus dances. And among the most important of the latter are those performed in connection with funerals. We see in the pictures which Mr. Niblack published in his report⁴ how the body of Chief Shakes, while lying in state, is surrounded by totems, especially the bear with whom the Tlingit Indians centuries ago concluded an alliance. After the chief's death the ceremony is performed by the chief's adviser. Mr. Niblack says:

"It was formerly and is now somewhat the custom in the more out of the way villages for each chief to have a helper or principal man, who enjoys the

³ See the article "Anubis, Seth and Christ," in *The Open Court*, XV, 65. Compare also the author's *Story of Samson*, pp. 103-107.

⁴ "The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia," *Report of National Museum*, 1888, Plate LXVIII.

confidence of the chief, has considerable authority, gives advice and instruction to the chief's successor, and has the care and keeping of certain secrets and properties belonging to the chief. These last duties pertain largely to assistance rendered in the production of the theatrical representations of the traditions and legends relating to the chief's totem. On such occasions, the guests being assembled, the chief presides, while the principal man directs the entertainment.

"The figure of the bear is a mannikin of a grizzly with a man inside of it. The skin was obtained up the Stikine River, in the mountains of the interior, and has been an heirloom in Shakes's family for several generations. The eyes, lips, ear lining, and paws are of copper, and the jaws are capable of being worked. A curtain screen in one corner being dropped, the singing of



THE BODY OF CHIEF SHAKES LYING IN STATE.

(*Rep. Nat. Mus.*, 1888, Pl. LXVIII).

a chorus suddenly ceased, and the principal man dressed as shown with baton in his hand, narrated in a set speech the story of how an ancestor of Shakes's rescued the bear from drowning in the great flood of years ago, and how ever since there had been an alliance between Shakes's descendants and the bear. This narration, lasting some ten minutes, was interrupted by frequent nods of approval by the bear when appealed to, and by the murmur and applause of the audience.

"In these various representations all sorts of tricks are practised to impose on the credulous and to lend solemnity and reality to the narration of the totemic legends."

Among the Ainus the bear represents an incarnation of the godhead. Their ritual of eating the bear sacramentally is very inter-

esting and evidences great antiquity.⁵ A similar case is mentioned by Professor Smith (p. 295) :

"The proof of this [the sacramental eating of the totem] has to be put together out of the fragmentary evidence which is generally all that we possess on such matters. As regards America the most conclusive evidence comes from Mexico, where the gods, though certainly of totem origin, had become anthropomorphic, and the victim, who was regarded as the representative of the god, was human. At other times paste idols of the god were eaten sacramentally. But that the ruder Americans attached a sacramental virtue to the eating of the totem appears from what is related of the Bear clan of the Oua-



THEATRICAL ENTERTAINMENT AT THE FUNERAL OF CHIEF SHAKES.

Commemorative of the legend of the alliance of Shakes with the bear family. (*Rep. Nat. Mus.*, 1888, Pl. LXVIII).

taouaks (*Lettres édif. et cur.*, VI, 171), who when they kill a bear make him a feast of his own flesh, and tell him not to resent being killed: "Tu as de l'esprit, tu vois que nos enfants souffrent la faim, ils t'aiment, ils veulent te faire entrer dans leur corps, n'est il pas glorieux d'être mangé par des enfants de Capitaine?"

Not only animals were sacred to the gods; so also were (and still are in pagan Asia) the four elements, earth, water, air and fire, later on called five elements when ether was added to their number.⁶

⁵ For details see Prof. Frederick Starr's book on *The Ainu*, and also an article published in *The Open Court*, Vol. XIX, p. 163.

⁶ See the author's *Chinese Thought*, pp. 41 ff.

Of the elements water was most sacred to the Semites who, coming from Arabia, had learned in their desert to look upon water as the sustainer of life. Together with the water the fish was regarded as a symbol of the life-begetting deity.

Professor Smith says:

"The myths attached to holy sources and streams, and put forth to worshippers as accounting for their sanctity, were of various types; but the practical beliefs and ritual usages connected with sacred waters were much the same everywhere. The one general principle which runs through all the varieties of the legends, and which also lies at the basis of the ritual, is that the sacred waters are instinct with divine life and energy. The legends explain this in diverse ways, and bring the divine quality of the waters into connection with various deities or supernatural powers, but they all agree in this, that their main object is to show how the fountain or stream comes to be impregnated, so to speak, with the vital energy of the deity to which it is sacred.

"Among the ancients blood is generally conceived as the principle or vehicle of life, and so the account often given of sacred waters is that the blood of the deity flows in them. Thus Milton writes:

"Smooth Adonis from his native rock
Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of Tammuz yearly wounded."

"The ruddy color which the swollen river derived from the soil at a certain season⁸ was ascribed to the blood of the god who received his death-wound in Lebanon at that time of the year, and lay buried beside the sacred source.⁹

"Similarly a tawny fountain near Joppa was thought to derive its color from the blood of the sea-monster slain by Perseus, and Philo Byblius says that the fountains and rivers sacred to the heaven-god (Baalshamaim) were those which received his blood when he was mutilated by his son.¹⁰

"In another class of legends, specially connected with the worship of Atargatis, the divine life of the waters resides in the sacred fish that inhabit them. Atargatis and her son, according to a legend common to Hierapolis and Ascalon, plunged into the waters—in the first case the Euphrates, in the second the sacred pool at the temple near the town—and were changed into fishes.¹¹ This is only another form of the idea expressed in the first class of

⁷ Paradise Lost, I, 450, following Lucian, *Dea Syria*, VIII.

⁸ The reddening of the Adonis was observed by Maundrell on March 17/27, 1696/7, and by Renan early in February.

⁹ Melito in Cureton, *Spic. Syr.*, p. 25, l. 7. That the grave of Adonis was also shown at the mouth of the river has been inferred from *Dea Syria* VI, VII. The river Belus also had its Memnonion or Adonis tomb (Josephus, *B. J.* II, 10, 2). In modern Syria cisterns are always found beside the graves of saints, and are believed to be inhabited by a sort of fairy. A pining child is thought to be a fairy changeling, and must be lowered into the cistern. The fairy will then take it back, and the true child is drawn up in its room. This is in the region of Sidon (*ZDPV.* VII, p. 84; cf. *ibid.*, p. 106).

¹⁰ Euseb. *Praep. Ev.*, I, 10, 22 (*Fr. Hist. Gr.*, III, 568). The fountain of the Chabōras belongs to the same class.

¹¹ Hyginus, *Astr.*, II, 30; Manilius, IV, 580 ff.; Xanthus in Athenæus, VIII, 37. For details see *English Hist. Review*, April 1887.

legend, where the god dies, that is ceases to exist in human form, but his life passes into the waters where he is buried; and this again is merely a theory to bring the divine water or the divine fish into harmony with anthropomorphic ideas.¹²

"The same thing was sometimes effected in another way by saying that the anthropomorphic deity was born from the water, as Aphrodite sprang from the sea-foam, or as Atargatis, in another form of the Euphrates legend, given by the scholiast on Germanicus's Aratus, was born of an egg which the sacred fishes found in the Euphrates and pushed ashore. Here, we see, it was left to the choice of the worshipers whether they would think of the deity as arising from or disappearing in the water, and in the ritual of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis both ideas were combined at the solemn feasts, when her image was carried down to the river and back again to the temple.

"In all their various forms the point of the legends is that the sacred source is either inhabited by a demoniac being or imbued with demoniac life. The same notion appears with great distinctness in the ritual of sacred waters. Though such waters are often associated with temples, altars and the usual apparatus of a cultus addressed to heavenly deities, the service paid to the holy well retained a form which implies that the divine power addressed was in the water. We have seen that at Mecca, and at the Stygian waters in the Syrian desert, gifts were cast into the holy source. But even at Aphaca, where, in the times to which our accounts refer, the goddess of the spot was held to be the Urania or celestial Astarte, the pilgrims cast into the pool jewels of gold and silver, webs of linen and byssus and other precious stuffs, and the obvious contradiction between the celestial character of the goddess and the earthward destination of the gifts was explained by the fiction that at the season of the feast she descended into the pool in the form of a fiery star. Similarly, at the annual fair and feast of the Terebinth, or tree and well of Abraham at Mamre, the heathen visitors, who revered the spot as a haunt of "angels,"¹³ not only offered sacrifices beside the tree, but illuminated the well with lamps, and cast into it libations of wine, cakes, coins, myrrh, and incense.

"On the other hand, at the sacred waters of Karwa and Sâwid in S. Arabia, described by Hamdâni in the *Iklil* (Müller, *Burgen*, p. 69), offerings of bread, fruit or other food were deposited beside the fountain. In the former case they were believed to be eaten by the serpent denizen of the water, in the latter they were consumed by beasts and birds. At Gaza bread is still thrown into the sea by way of offering.

"In ancient religion offerings are the proper vehicle of prayer and supplication, and the worshiper when he presents his gift looks for a visible indication whether his prayer is accepted. At Aphaca and at the Stygian fountain the accepted gift sank into the depths, the unacceptable offering was

¹² The idea that the godhead consecrates waters by descending into them appears at Aphaca in a peculiar form associated with the astral character which, at least in later times, was ascribed to the goddess Astarte. It was believed that the goddess on a certain day of the year descended into the river in the form of a fiery star from the top of Lebanon. So Sozomen, *H. E.*, II, 4, 5. Zosimus, I, 58, says only that fireballs appeared at the temple and the places about it, on the occasion of solemn feasts, and does not connect the apparition with the sacred waters. There is nothing improbable in the frequent occurrence of striking electrical phenomena in a mountain sanctuary.

¹³ i. e., demons. Sozomen says "angels," and not "devils," because the sanctity of the place was acknowledged by Christians also.

cast forth by the eddies. It was taken as an omen of the impending fall of Palmyra that the gifts sent from that city at an annual festival were cast up again in the following year. In this example we see that the holy well, by declaring the favorable or unfavorable disposition of the divine power, becomes a place of oracle and divination. In Greece, also, holy wells are connected with oracles, but mainly in the form of a belief that the water gives prophetic inspiration to those who drink of it. At the Semitic oracle of Aphaca the method is more primitive, for the answer is given directly by the water itself, but its range is limited to what can be inferred from the acceptance or rejection of the worshiper and his petition.

"An oracle that speaks by receiving or rejecting the worshiper and his homage may very readily pass into an ordeal, where the person who is accused of a crime, or is suspected of having perjured himself in a suit, is presented at the sanctuary, to be accepted or rejected by the deity, in accordance with the principle that no impious person can come before God with impunity. A rude form of this ordeal seems to survive even in modern times in the widespread form of trial of witches by water. In Hadramaut, according to Macrizi, when a man was injured by enchantment, he brought all the witches suspect to the sea or to a deep pool, tied stones to their backs and threw them into the water. She who did not sink was the guilty person, the meaning evidently being that the sacred element rejects the criminal. The story about Mojammī' and Al-Ahwas (*Agh.* IV, 48), cited by Wellhausen (*Heid.*, p. 152) refers to this kind of ordeal, not to a form of magic. A very curious story of the water test for witches in India is told by Ibn Batuta, IV, 37.

"The usual Semitic method seems to have been by drinking the water. Evidently, if it is dangerous for the impious person to come into contact with the holy element, the danger must be intensified if he ventures to take it into his system, and it was believed that in such a case the draught produced disease and death. At the Asbamean lake and springs near Tyana the water was sweet and kindly to those that swore truly, but the perjured man was at once smitten in his eyes, feet and hands, seized with dropsy and wasting."¹¹ In like manner he who swore falsely by the Stygian waters in the Syrian desert died of dropsy within a year. In the latter case it would seem that the oath by the waters sufficed; but primarily, as we see in the other case, the essential thing is the draught of water at the holy place, the oath simply taking the place of the petition which ordinarily accompanies a ritual act.

"Among the Hebrews this ordeal by drinking holy water is preserved even in the pentateuchal legislation in the case of a woman suspected of infidelity to her husband (Num. v. 11 ff.) Here also the belief was that the holy water, which was mingled with the dust of the sanctuary, and administered with an oath, produced dropsy and wasting; and the antiquity of the ceremony is evident not only from its whole character, but because the expression "holy water" (ver. 17) is unique in the language of the Hebrew ritual, and must be taken as an isolated survival of an obsolete expression. Unique though the expression be, it is not difficult to assign its original meaning; the analogies already before us indicate that we must think of water from a holy spring, and this conclusion is certainly correct.

"Wellhausen has shown that the oldest Hebrew tradition refers the origin

¹¹ *Mir. Ausc.* § 152; Philostr., *Vit. Apollonii*, I, 6. That the sanctuary was Semitic I infer from its name, which means "seven waters" (Syr. *Shab'a mayya*) as *Beer sheba* means "seven springs."

of the Torah to the divine sentences taught by Moses at the sanctuary of Kadesh or Meribah, beside the holy fountain which in Gen. xiv. 7 is also called 'the fountain of judgment.' The principle underlying the administration of justice at the sanctuary is that cases too hard for man are referred to the decision of God. Among the Hebrews in Canaan this was ordinarily done by an appeal to the sacred lot, but the survival of even one case of ordeal by holy water leaves no doubt as to the sense of the 'fountain of judgment' (En-Mishpat) or 'waters of controversy' (Meribah)."

Professor Smith might have added that these customs explain the meaning of the significance of an oath sworn "by the waters of Styx" which was kept inviolate even by the Olympian gods, Zeus himself included.

Concerning the fish Professor Smith says:

"Where the legend is so elastic we can hardly doubt that the sacred waters and sacred fish were worshiped for their own sake before the anthropomorphic



A FISH SACRAMENT.

On an Assyrian clay cylinder.

goddess came into the religion, and in fact the sacred fish at the source of the Chaboras are connected with an altogether different myth.

"Fish were *tabu*, and sacred fish were found in rivers or in pools at sanctuaries all over Syria.¹⁶ This superstition has proved one of the most durable parts of ancient heathenism; sacred fish are still kept in pools at the mosques of Tripolis and Edessa. At the latter place it is believed that death or other evil consequences would befall the man who dared to eat them.¹⁰

"Fish, or at least certain species of fish, were sacred to Atargatis and forbidden food to all the Syrians, her worshipers, who believed—as totem peoples do—that if they ate the sacred flesh they would be visited by ulcers. Yet Mnaseas (*ap.* Athen. viii. 37) tells us that fish were daily cooked and presented on the table of the goddess, being afterwards consumed by the priests; and Assyrian cylinders display the fish laid on the altar or presented

¹⁶ Xenophon. *Anab.* I. 4. 6. who found such fish in the Chalus near Aleppo.

before it, while, in one example, a figure which stands by in an attitude of adoration is clothed, or rather disguised, in a gigantic fish skin. The meaning of such a disguise is well known from many savage rituals; it implies that the worshiper presents himself as a fish, i. e., as a being kindred to his sacrifice, and doubtless also to the deity to which it is consecrated."

Both the fish and water were sacred to Istar (the Babylonian and Assyrian Venus) and also to all the gods of life and the reproduction of life. Among the Greeks, especially the Ionians, the



A CONJURATION TABLET.

On the third row of figures, a sick man is being cured of his disease. The priests at the head and foot of his couch are dressed in fish skins.



ARTEMIS AS THE MOTHER GODDESS.

The illustration shows the statue as being drawn by horses in procession.

great mother-goddess of nature, Artemis or Diana (best known in this her more archaic character as Diana of Ephesus) takes the place of Istar, and Istar, not unlike the Virgin Mary in Christianity, is at once both maid and mother.¹⁷ On an ancient amphora found in Boeotia she is pictured with winglike arms. She is surrounded by lions and two birds fly above her; a fish appears in her own body. the lower part of which is made up of streams of water.

There are many reasons why the fish has become sacred in so many different countries. We have seen that among some of the Indo-Germanic races the fish symbolizes the power capable of passing through the gulf between life and death, and emerging from it with unimpaired vitality. Among the Semites the fish was held in awe because as an inhabitant of the water, the life-giving element, he was the spirit of the water and the symbol of life. Yea more than that. Since the Semites distinguished between the waters on earth and the waters above the firmament, the fish came to represent the sun traversing the heavenly ocean. In either case, whether the fish was conceived as crossing the Stygian flood or as the spirit



THE MOTHER GODDESS ARTEMIS.

(Boetian amphora, now in the Museum at Athens).

of the waters of life, he became sacred to Astarte, to Venus or Aphrodite, also to Artemis or Diana, to Eros or Amor, to Dionysos or Bacchus, to Hermes Psychopompos or Mercury the dispatcher of souls. All these deities possess in addition to their joyous character of bringing light, life, love and wealth, a close connection with the underworld because they were invoked against the terrors of Hades and were believed to lead man through the shadows of the valley of death back to life, in which capacity they were called the Chthonian¹⁸ Venus, the Chthonian Eros, the Chthonian Dionysos and the Chthonian Mercury. It is obvious that the relation of the fish to these several deities must be sought in these their chthonian charac-

¹⁸ Derived from *χθών*, earth, then underworld, and pronounced in English "Thōnian."



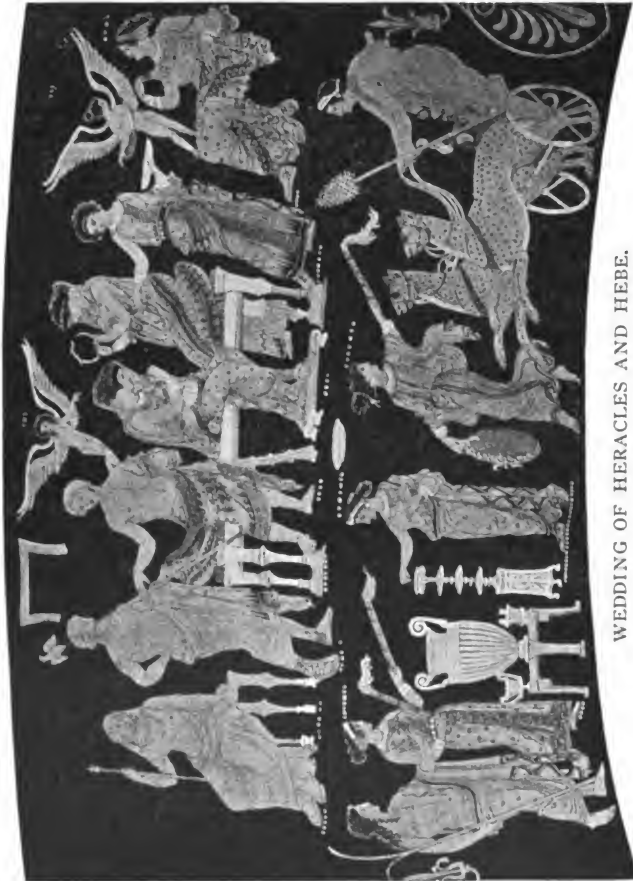
A FUNERARY FISH.
Found in an Egyptian grave.



LOVE CONQUERING DEATH.



ters, and so the fish comes to stand generally for the conquest of death by life. A fish carved out of wood has been found in an Egyptian tomb, which proves that the most important symbol of the Christian Roma Sotteranea was not unknown on the Nile. The same idea, dear to all, is pictured in a neat cameo of a later date, here reproduced. Eros chases death in the shape of a skeleton, round a vase and knocks him down.



WEDDING OF HERACLES AND HEBE.

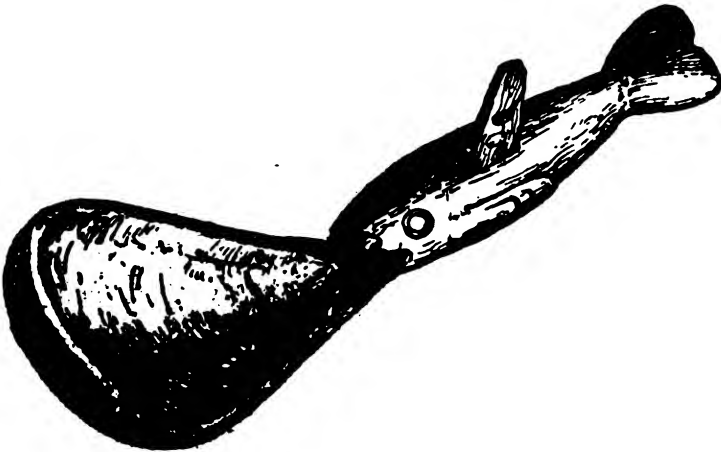
As an interesting instance of the joyful spirit in which Greek artists represent the chthonian gods, we select a picture from a large and beautiful vase published by Gerhard in *Apulische Vasenbilder*, Pl. XV. Heracles after his death is received in Olympus and married to Hebe, the goddess of youth. He appears beardless as in his prime. Between him and the girlish bride hovers Eros. Zeus and Hera are

on the left; Aphrodite, accompanied by Himeros (Desire) and two maids, is placed on the right. The scene below Olympus is Hades, as indicated by the torches. The Chthonian Dionysus, guided by



A RATTLE USED IN CEREMONIAL DANCES.

Euphemia the personification of glory, arrives from the right drawn in his chariot by panthers. At the left the Chthonian Artemis and Apollo, the former with two torches, meet Eunomia the patroness



A WOODEN CEREMONIAL SPOON.
Having the Orca totem for a handle.

of law, superintending the propriety of religious ritual. The vase picture proves that chthonian gods are not necessarily gloomy but lead through the realm of death to the bliss of a life with the celestials in Olympus.

It is natural that people who live mainly by fishing should select fishes as their totems. This is apparent among the Alaskans and South Sea islanders. Their very deities assume the shape of fishes and the ocean spirit of the Melanese is a manlike figure compounded of the denizens of the deep.

Our illustration of the ocean spirit of the Melanese is instructive because it shows the transition from the older period of nature worship to an anthropomorphic conception. Originally the water itself, the sky, the sun, the moon, the stars, etc., the fish, the dove, or other animals were divine, then the several deities were personi-



A CEREMONIAL FISH.

Carried in procession among the Jervis Islanders. (Preserved in the British Museum).

fied, and when this process had been completed the sacred objects became mere symbols.

The psychology of this progress is based upon the fact that primitive man looks up with awe and admiration to those things by which he is somehow benefited: to mountains, trees, springs, rivers, etc., and also to the animals who in one way or another are his superiors. The bear is stronger, the birds can fly, the fish can swim.

The more man becomes conscious of his superiority the more he loses this admiration for animals and finally it becomes impossible for him to worship them. The Egyptian gods show an arrested development in a similar period of transition. Most of them are

human in body but preserve their animal heads while the symbol of the soul retains the body of the hawk and gradually assumes a human head. A last trace of this reverence for the divinity of sacred animals appears in the strange declaration of Tertullian when he says that if Christ were not a fish he could not be our saviour.

We will conclude with a few references to the Alaskans.

Judge Swan, one of the best authorities on the habits and religion of the Haida Indians, the inhabitants of certain islands along



THE OCEAN SPIRIT OF THE MELANESIANS.

(Redrawn after a native picture.)

the Alaskan coast, praises their art in wood-carving. They ornament, he says, almost everything in use with symbols of the totems of their tribe, and also tatoo their bodies in the same way. We reproduce here illustrations of wood-carvings representing the totem of one of their tribes which is the orca or whale-killer, a fish armed with a weapon on its back. One of our illustrations is a rattle used in ceremonial dances; another represents a ceremonial spoon, the handle of which is an orca that holds the bowl in his mouth. In the ritual when a Haida youth attains his majority, the youth has

to swallow about two quarts of fish oil from this Haida spoon as a kind of sacrament.

Another tribe of Alaskan Indians uses the halibut as a totem and our picture shows a halibut design bearing a totem pole. The outlines of the figure are edged with bead and button trimming. It is worked in red on a blue garment and is worn during the ceremony of the dance.



A HALIBUT TOTEM.

Worked on a Ceremonial Vestment.



CHIEF KLUE.

With fish totems tattooed on his body.

The Haida believe that the orca is inhabited by a demon called *scana*, who can change his shape at will and is accordingly a kind of maritime werwolf.¹⁹

Chief Klue has been portrayed by Mr. Niblack, decorated with the totems of the Haida village which he governs. The figure of a codfish is tattooed on his breast and a salmon on each lower arm.

Among the innumerable totems and symbols those survive which have a religious significance based upon the religious needs of man; and it is strange that though the argument why it is significant or

¹⁹ We shall become acquainted with the *scana* in a future article on Jonah, the man in the fish.

even efficient may change, the underlying idea remains. Such is the case with the cross and also with the fish.

There is a persistence in human thought which is surprising. Man's religion, his world-conception and the commonly accepted philosophy have changed again and again in the progress of the millenniums which have passed by since our civilization originated in the valley of the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris, called by the Greeks Mesopotamia. But the foundation which our ancestors laid remains, as for instance the arrangement of the week, together with other astronomical, mathematical and even religious institutions. In Lent Friday still possesses its Chthonian character, we still cherish a day of rest, and Sunday is still the festival of resurrection. Many revolutionary movements have taken place in all the departments of human existence—perhaps most of all in religion—but we have never been able to rid ourselves of our past. The fabric of Christianity contains among its most important fibers threads of ancient paganism, and even to-day the bygone ages vibrate through the heartbeats of the present generation.

Our inheritance from the past, especially our social habits, sports etc., show frequent reminiscences of savagery, but other heirlooms of past ages indicate that pre-Christian religions, ancient institutions and aspirations, contained seeds of much that was true and good and beautiful.

THE NEW INDIVIDUALISM.

BY HOWARD T. LEWIS.

SINCE the time when the first adventurous European set sail for the newly discovered land to the far west, critics have said that the predominant American characteristic has been individualism. There are others, but this one overtops them all. That old spirit of initiative and aggression—that something which is forever calling us out of the old and on to the new, this has been called the spirit of the American race.

And rightly so. Our national character—so far as we have any—supports the assertion without further discussion, and our history furnishes ample explanation of it. Indeed, America was born from out a long battle of individualism. The reactionary conflict in Europe which started with the rebellion against the extreme institutionalism of the medieval church and ended with the extreme individualism of the French Revolution could not but have its effect upon America. Seeking freedom from the oppression of outworn institutions, Spanish, English and French individualists came in rapid succession to the new land. Some came ostensibly for gold, some for adventure, some for religious liberty,—but deeper than these surface reasons, they all came that they might leave behind forever that old world where individual thought and action was held to be synonymous with political crime, if not indeed with anarchy. These men were truly no exception to the general rule that it is only those who are self-reliant and self-centered that sever their home ties, migrate to a new land, largely unknown, and risk their all on an uncertain venture. "The twenty-seven odd million immigrants who have come to this country since it was discovered by Europeans have thus left a strong individualistic impress upon their descendants." And the natural conditions with which the adventurous settler found himself surrounded, far from lessening this inherent trait, served rather to deepen it.

Alone in a seemingly limitless wilderness, the pioneer found nothing to restrain him and nothing to guide. That spirit of individualism, born in a desperate struggle, was vivified and strengthened in him as he encountered a strange climate, rocky barriers, and relentless foes. Naturally, this spirit grew deeper as he met these new difficulties and overcame them. Forced to depend entirely upon himself for subsistence and protection, expecting nothing from the loose government of the time, contemptuous of any suggestion of legal restraint, whether good or bad,—all this laid the foundation for that “excessive individualism which made him independent and resourceful, it is true, but which was destined later to make him partial to the spoils system, tolerant of lynch law and labor violence, and indifferent to waste and weakness in the administration of his government.” In due time this roving pioneer acquired land, settled down with his family, and became a private land owner—a thing well-nigh impossible in his older home across the sea—and had still more strengthened in himself and his children all those individualistic traits of character which the private ownership of land engenders. Steadily the population increased, and instead of widely isolated farms, cities and villages sprang up, and other institutions of a political and social nature began to appear. Yet with individualism ever rampant, it seemed at times impossible to secure the unity of action among the colonists essential for the establishment of these very necessary institutions save under the pressure of most urgent circumstances, as in the case of war. Note how the Articles of Confederation were forced upon the states by the ultra-individualistic members of that early convention. When the Constitution was finally adopted, the spirit that had been nurtured since the beginning was made the keynote of that famous document.

Naturally, as the country developed, the people that had founded their nation upon this one dominant principle continued to foster it. In time the Congregational movement, so called, swept away what little vestige remained of Puritanical domination in New England. Political enfranchisement was widened. In 1823 the Munroe Doctrine was announced, proclaiming to the world that hereafter the western hemisphere was to stand alone. Yet with these gains of individualism the states of the South were not content. They had lagged behind the North in their economic development and were far more individualistic after the type of the early pioneer. The climatic and geographic conditions made the towns fewer and smaller, farms larger, farther apart, and more independent in their management, and manufacturing centers practically unknown. Hence

the Southern people were not so quick to see the inevitableness of the curtailment of "personal liberty" in the interests of the many and of the supreme need of a strong central government as were their Northern neighbors where geographic conditions compelled men to live closer together and to pay more heed to the rights of others. So it was but natural that the men of the South clung to the old conception of State Rights until all the nation saw that the logical outcome of this extremely individualistic principle was anarchy.

Since that memorable conflict, the attention of men has been turned more or less away from the consideration of political matters and has centered upon industrial and financial enterprises. Here, too, the spirit of individualism was made manifest and it was only a matter of time before cut-throat competition was superseded by industrial combination. But more of this later. The point now is, that we of the present day have sprung from an intensely individualistic stock, natural conditions have strengthened this spirit in every possible way, and the result is that it has manifested itself in all our social and political relations. True, the pressure of an increasing population has altered its form, but its presence and strength have never been doubted.

Time was when it was well that this self-centered, self-reliant spirit should predominate. So long as the national interests were chiefly agricultural this early form of individualism tended to develop those qualities in men which have made us as a nation what we are. It is true that in the past it has always been this spirit "that has extended our boundaries, developed our resources, and created our national institutions." Yet it is equally true that this same much-lauded spirit of the pioneer, because it has not been readjusted and adapted to the varying demands of the twentieth century, has become the first cause of many of the most serious problems which confront us as a nation to-day. This is true because individualism in the past has been essentially materialistic and self-centered, driving men into a desperate struggle for individual success and blinding them to the interests of their fellow-men—a question which becomes increasingly important as the population becomes more dense. Individualism of this type is synonymous with selfishness; personal welfare is everything, and the well-being of the many is so far crowded into the background as to be wholly forgotten. Evidences of this fact are everywhere.

For instance, to take a somewhat remote example, far up in the backwoods of Tennessee a rough mountaineer manufactures

illicit whiskey in his rude distillery, and defends his act on the plea that he has a right to produce what he pleases as he pleases, and that any attempt to restrain him is a violation of his personal liberty. Resisting what he firmly believes to be an encroachment upon his inherent, individual rights, he violates a national law, clashes with the federal officers, and is sent to the penitentiary. Down amid the tobacco fields of Kentucky, the Night Rider resorts even to the terrible tyranny of mob law to get and maintain what he pleases to call his "rights as an individual." Out among the mountains of Colorado, the cattle herder swoops down under cover of the night, kills a score of sheep herders, and finds his excuse likewise in the doctrine of individual rights. In the heart of a great city a cultured citizen of the commonwealth, disregarding the law, drives his automobile at a reckless rate of speed, thereby endangering the lives of hundreds of his fellow-men. Though he bitterly denounces the man who buys a seat in the Senate, he would not himself hesitate an instant to hide his dutiable goods out of the sight of the revenue collector. And the rest of us, though we may not be active violators of the law, but a short while ago each fought desperately for a tariff bill advantageous to ourselves, regardless of the effect upon others. Manufacturing in the East cared not a whit for the agriculture of the West, nor the lumber of the North for the cotton of the South. Too often we willfully misrepresent the amount of our taxable property to the tax-assessor, forgetful of the fact that we thereby breed contempt for the law and undermine our own real personal liberty. Nor do we always condemn as a Cain him who "murders with an adulterant instead of a bludgeon" because, somehow or other, we feel that a man's mercantile methods are solely his own business. Professor E. A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, is right. The sins of the modern age are none the less real and harmful because they are of a different character from those of two centuries ago. And most of these modern sins are due primarily to an individualism which is in its true place and sphere constructive, but, being outgrown, has become destructive instead.

Again in the labor question, the problem of the evils of an excessive individualism may be seen in its larger aspect. Labor, demanding that its rights be protected, terms all capital oppressive, and denounces indiscriminately all forms of organized industry as invariably evil. Capital, in its turn, unites and fights with its last effort the right of labor to organize, and only under the pressure of evolutionary tendencies, begrudgingly grants it a place. Each thinks

only of its own interests, regardless of those of the other party or of the public at large.

Nor is this all. Contemporary social critics universally turn upon the so-called "American plutocracy," regarding which so much has been said, as the personification of this selfish spirit. They bitterly denounce its members, condemn its methods, and proclaim its very existence a national menace. What has this "plutocracy" done to merit such abuse? It has entered and corrupted politics that it might better serve its own individual ends. It has perverted legislation to the interests of special privilege. It has repeatedly reorganized its business that it might thereby evade the law and better crush competition. It has been wastefully extravagant of our natural resources. It has evaded the written law whenever it might do so to its own advantage, and the spirit of the law, always. The customs fraud of the sugar trust, the much-commented-upon business methods of the Standard Oil Company, and of the others mentioned in Attorney General Wickersham's recent report on the cases before the Supreme Court, tell the story better than volumes of description. And yet, whatever accusations or condemnations may be brought against it, the "plutocracy" has done no more than to bring the unaltered spirit of the pioneer into modern complex society.

So this spirit of intense, extreme individualism—unchanged with the passing years—is endangering the sanctity of those very institutions it called into being. In its place it was good. The pioneer in the trackless forest might fire his rifle wheresoever he chose and take for his own whatever he found. For him there was no law save the law of his own desires, and no master but himself. Lawlessness for such a one was impossible. But when in the fulness of time that roving pioneer became a colonist, when institutions began to appear and men were forced to live together, that same individualism became selfishness and lawless greed. And so to-day we find that this perverted philosophy lies at the bottom of most of our national ills, and many an intelligent critic, seeing in our national life much that one wishes might be different, has turned to socialism and other radical systems of social reform because he could see no other way out.

To what extent is this pessimistic observer of modern conditions justified in seeing only a picture of gloom? We are ever loath to admit that the future is utterly dark and devoid of a way out of the difficulties which we are forced to admit exist, and particularly is this true when the future has been painted as darkly as some reforming demagogues have colored it. So, without lessening in the least

the importance of the things we have just noted, we are not willing to accept the conclusions which these pessimists have drawn as inevitable. And if asked the reason for a belief to the contrary it would seem to be not far from right to say that the fundamental cause and reason is gradually disappearing, and hence it is safe to conclude that in due time the results will tend to disappear as well.

By this is not meant that individualism is ceasing to be the distinguishing characteristic of the American citizen, but rather that *it is being adapted to modern conditions through being directed to a new end*. It is surely an evil day for any people when that spirit of initiative and aggression—the eternal dissatisfaction with the present, the determined pushing on to something better—that have ever been and must ever continue to be, the essential characteristics of individualism, weaken and disappear. Yet Henry R. Seager of Columbia University voices the opinion of the vast majority of people to-day when he says that “the program of individualism is little better than a program of despair.” (*Survey*, April 2, 1910.) In fact, we are forced to grant that this expression of the current thought of the day is sound, if by the term “individualism” we mean just what it has of necessity meant in our earlier national history—pure selfishness. But is the individualism of the future to be of that kind? May not this spirit change—nay, is it not already re-adjusting itself in obedience to the new demand of an ever advancing civilization? Surely there are many evidences of a new individualism, or, as ex-president Eliot, of Harvard, put it in a recent lecture at the University of Virginia, “a new development of individualism.”

If this be true, it seems hardly fair to say that “the program of individualism is little better than a program of despair,” as some modern thinkers insist. The note of optimism which the more rational among them sound (and among them Professor Seager) finds its true base not in a new program of social reform based upon a new philosophy, but rather in a working out of the old. Paraphrasing, we may say that the cure for the present evils of individualism is in not less but in more individualism. Not in the old self-centered sort, to be sure, but in the old spirit adapted to the conditions of the present day and age. And, indeed, there can be little doubt but that the old spirit of the pioneer is changing to conform to the new demands of our rapidly evolving civilization. The restless, irresistible, impulsion of this mighty power is being directed, not to the self-centered interests of the individual alone, but to those of all society. It is throbbing with the same old vitality and purpose, but it is finding its truest expression and most

perfect development in the performance of social service. It is being followed as a matter of business if for no other reason, since men are learning that their own interests are better advanced by taking the humanitarian factor into consideration.

The thought thus expressed is by no means a new one, either in theory or in practice. Philosophers have long dreamed of it, but it seems to have remained for the present age to see its actual realization. We find it amply expressed in many of the political leaders of the present hour. The names of Folk, Lindsey, La Follette, Hughes, and Roosevelt need only be mentioned in this connection. Are they not individualists of a most pronounced type? Yet are they not the personification of progress and true reform? We may only surmise what the future has in store for us, but we may rest well assured that the individualism of this type will bring nothing to be feared. The so-called Insurgent movement attests its popularity.

Nor is this new individualism confined alone to the political world. It is sending its roots down deep into our industrial and social system. Every movement undertaken in the interests of humanity that is backed by active, aggressive men and women is an example of it. The great railroads are pensioning their old and faithful workmen, immense corporations are seeking the cooperation of their employees, the negro problem is being solved by industrial education, and the solid South is passing away before a renewed feeling of national unity. The white plague is being fought throughout the length and breadth of the land in the interests of the present and future generations. The temperance movement and the white slave agitation are national in their scope. Labor and capital are slowly learning that it is to the interests of both parties to conciliate and arbitrate rather than to war with each other. The nation is asserting its right as never before to control those industries upon which the welfare of the people depends. Special interests are being denied the right to monopolize and devastate our great natural resources. Social settlement work, university extension and circulating libraries are but further evidences of an individualism turned away from self-interest to the interests of others.

Momentous, indeed, are the great questions that lie before us for solution. None but a Utopian dreamer would think that our national problems are solved. Neither can our saving common sense permit us to think that through the application of any one rule or principle we can reach that millennium of which so many reformers

dream. Yet we are safe in holding to that spirit of which others say we are the best representatives—individualism—if by that term we mean the old spirit of Martin Luther, Lief Erickson, and the Puritans remade to meet the new demands of a growing civilization. With it for a philosophical basis we may safely proceed with practical, progressive measures for reform.

STRANGE COINCIDENCES IN LAO-TZE AND PLATO.

LAO-TZE in speaking of the heavenly Reason in Chapter 14 of his wonderful book, *Tao Teh King*, "The Canon of Reason and Virtue," describes it thus:

"We look at Reason and do not see it; its name is Colorless. We listen to Reason and do not hear it; its name is Soundless. We grope for Reason and do not grasp it; its name is Incorporeal.

"These three things cannot further be analyzed. Thus they are combined and conceived as a unity which on its surface is not clear but in its depth not obscure.

"Forever and aye Reason remains unnameable, and again and again it returns home to non-existence. This is called the form of the formless, the image of the imageless. This is called transcendently abstruse.

"In front its beginning is not seen. In the rear its end is not seen.

"By holding fast to the Reason of the ancients, the present is mastered and the origin of the past understood. This is called Reason's clue."

This chapter is remarkable for several reasons.

Lao-tze speaks of the Tao and describes it by saying what it is not. It is not perceptible by the senses; accordingly it is "colorless," "soundless," and "incorporeal." It can not be seen, it can not be heard, it can not be touched; but this super-sensible something, the purely relational in all things, the divine Reason, is one and the same throughout. It is the Unnameable, the cosmic law, the world-order which moulds all things. Both its beginning and its end are wrapped in obscurity.

It is strange that Lao-tze's description of the Tao finds an almost literal parallel in the *Phaedrus* where Plato speaks of the pres-

ence of a being in the over-heaven, the supercelestial realm, a being imperceptible to the senses and to be apprehended only by the mind, the "pilot of the soul." This presence is described as an essence, truly existent, without color, without shape and impalpable. Plato says: "Of the heaven which is above the heavens, what earthly poet ever did or ever will sing worthily? It is such as I shall describe; for I must dare to speak the truth, when truth is my theme. There abides the very being with which true knowledge is concerned; the colorless, the formless, the intangible essence visible only to mind, who is the pilot of the soul."—Phaedrus, pagina 248.

In addition to this surprising similarity between Lao-tze's very words and the thoughts of a philosopher who lived about 200 years after him in ancient Greece, a distant country which at that time was in no connection with China, we must point out another strange coincidence. The three words, "colorless," "soundless," and "incorporeal," read in Chinese *i, hi, wei*, and the French scholar Abel Rémusat saw in this combination of Chinese characters, *i hi, wei*, the corresponding three Hebrew letters, *Jod, Heh, Vav*, indicating the name Jehovah, and his theory was accepted by many others who for some reason or other believed that there ought to have been a mysterious prehistoric connection between the Chinese and the Israelites. The theory has found the support of a German translator of Lao-tze's book, Victor von Strauss, a confessed mystic, but it is not countenanced by any other sinologist of standing, and there is no need to refute it. We look upon it as a curious though most remarkable coincidence.

Another coincidence between Lao-tze and Plato, not less remarkable because it seems to us far-fetched, is found in Chapter 50. The parallel is even more strange than in the passage on the colorless, inaudible and impalpable. Lao-tze says in Chapter 50: "Yet have I heard that he whose life is based on goodness, when traveling on land will not fall a prey to the rhinoceros and tiger.

"When coming among soldiers he need not fear arms or weapons. The rhinoceros finds no place wherein to insert his horn. The tiger finds no place whereon to lay his claws. Weapons find no place where to thrust their blades. The reason is that he does not belong to the realm of death."

This passage finds a striking parallel also in Plato's Phaedrus. In the same book and on the same pagina (248) it contains these words: "There is a law of destiny, that the soul which attains any vision of truth in company with a god is preserved from harm until the next period, and if attaining always is always unharmed."

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE LARGER GOD.

BY THOS. E. WINECOFF, D.D.

Your paltry schemes of doubt-cursed men,
Your little God to creeds trimmed down,
Your limits set by tongue and pen,
Your heaven but an elfin town—

A larger God than these I own.
My God who once the star-fields sowed,
Hath surely since no lesser grown,
Nor heaven walled with priestling's code.

I've seen Rainier's eternal snows
Alight with awful altar-fires
No man-made altar ever knows,
Nor glint the tallest churchly spires.

I've seen his garments brush the dew,
And heard the thunder's pedal swell
His praise, in anthems grand and true,
Your little creeds can never spell.

With fire the hymnist never knew
I've seen him touch the outcast's lip,
And men that human creeds had damned
He gave the wine of God to sip.

With doubting, damning rule and line
You wall his larger presence out;
Unbounded God hail I as mine—
And leave your creeds his heart to doubt.

THE SCHOLAR'S HUMBLE DWELLING.¹

BY LIU YU HSI.

[Liu Yu Hsi, otherwise Liu Meng Te, belonged to the city of Peng. After obtaining his degree, he was given an honorary title that may be rendered as "doctor of literature." On the accession of Shun Tsung, he received an

¹ Translated by James Black.

appointment in the treasury, but when Hsien Tsung became emperor shortly afterwards, he was degraded to Lien district as sub-prefect, soon, however, being made prefect, and then transferred in the same capacity to the districts of Fan and Ho in succession. He returned to the capital as secretary of imperial receptions and was granted another high literary degree. He left the capital once more to be prefect of Suchow, where he acquired fame as an official. Finally, he reached the highest office, becoming advisor of the heir-apparent, inspector of Han-liu manuscripts, and president of the board of rites. Su Wen Chung, a later poet and statesman, said that Liu Yu Hsi and Liu Tsung Yuan, by not adhering to the plans of the faithless censor, Wang Shu Wen, were to be reckoned among the most faithful subjects of the T'ang dynasty. Po Chu-i, the contemporary poet, praised Liu Yu Hsi as a most eminent poet and a most poetical correspondent, and, according to a fashion then current, the works of both poets were classed together under the single name of Liu Po. Another story runs that one day Liu Yu Hsi, Liu Tsung Yuan, Po Chu-i, and others, sitting together, started to versify on the subject of "Thoughts of old Nankin." Liu finished first, and Po, looking at what he had written, said: "Four of us have been seeking the dragon, but Liu has found the pearls. All that is left is the scales and the claws, so why should we write any more?" And with that the others cast aside their unfinished verses. It was a Chinese mode of conceding Liu's superiority. Not unlikely the following lines were written on some similar occasion.]

Who heeds the hill's bare height until
Some legend grows around the hill?
Who cares how deep the stream before
Its fame is writ in country lore?
And so this humble hut of mine
May shelter virtues half divine.
The moss may climb its ruined stair,
And grassy stains the curtain wear,
But scholars at their ease within,
For all but Ignorance enters in,
With simple lute the time beguile,
Or "Golden Classic's" page a while.
No discords here their ears assail,
Nor cares of business to bewail.
This is the life the Sages led.
"How were they poor?" Confucius said.

A CRITICISM OF THE CLERGYMAN'S "CONFESSIONS."

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Not having read the book entitled *Confessions of a Clergyman*, I am perhaps in no position to discuss intelligently any of its points. However, I shall trust the powers of lucid exposition of Dr. Carus concerning one position of the unknown author.

"He rejoices that the passage in Mark relating to the story of the Ascension has been cut out by higher (*sic*, why not lower?) criticism so that it will no longer trouble a distressed faith" (*Open Court*, Dec. 1910, p. 769).

Why rejoice? Because the passage contains an account of "the signs that

shall accompany them," or because of the Ascension itself? If the former, does it make the New Testament any the less miraculous? Then we should welcome somebody who would show us the spuriousness of the Book of Acts. It must be because of the account of the Ascension that our clergyman rejoices. But to remove from the text any account in so many precise words of the ascension of Jesus even though perfectly justified on grounds of textual criticism, is no cause for rejoicing, for it does not make primitive Christianity one whit more modern. The ascension of Jesus is a logical necessity in the world-view of the time to faith in Jesus as Messiah. The same might be shown of the Resurrection.

The course of Gospel criticism has made it increasingly plain that Jesus believed in the coming of the Kingdom in an eschatological sense, and that its advent was at the door. His disciples shared in his messianic secret that he was to usher it in coming as the Son of Man on the clouds of Heaven. He foresaw that he must die and rise again if he was to come again in this supernatural manner. For, forsooth, was he not on earth in Galilee? To understand this we must have recourse to the ancient Jewish cosmogony. Above the firmament was Heaven; in the bowels of the earth was Hades, the abode of the dead. For Jesus to die meant to the early Christians to descend to Hades (some even said he preached there). For Jesus to come in the clouds of Heaven meant the necessity of his departure upward from Hades (= his resurrection), his ascension to Heaven, where he was seated for the moment at the right hand of God, and whence the early Christians were daily awaiting his coming in glory on the clouds of Heaven to usher in the Kingdom. This is the testimony of the early speeches in Acts. It is the woof into which the early Christian hopes are woven. To remove the words at the end of Mark is not to remove its fundamental idea from the beliefs of early Christianity or its documents. To remove the ascension of Jesus is to take away a necessary joint in the framework on which their hopes and beliefs are hung.

Why then rejoice? To remove the ascension of Jesus does not make first century Christianity more modern and it does not even allow it to be itself. It seems this unknown author is endeavoring to do what so many have fruitlessly tried, make twentieth century ideas live in the first. The early cosmogony is dead and to us it seems childish, but let us at least admit that to the first century it was real; if we do not choose to admit that, then, these documents are closed to an historical understanding. The hopes of Jesus and his disciples as to an early end of the world were illusions. Let us admit it once for all and save at least our intellectual integrity. The early eschatological ideas of Christianity are crude and do not fit into our modern view of the world. We do not even give them that serious consideration which is involved in argument. To mention them is to reject them. Yet all these views are necessary to true historical knowledge and appreciation of primitive Christianity and to deny them is not equivalent to banishing them from the New Testament.

From Dr. Carus's review of this work I judge that our author has renewed his faith by a patch-work process and not by a clear-cut analysis of the distinctions between ancient and modern faith, and that if his confessions are valuable they are only so to those just emerging or about to emerge from an antiquated world-view.

AN UNCONFESSING CLERGYMAN.

P. S. Why has nobody (at least to my knowledge) written an account of the "Resurrection of Jesus in the light of the eschatological hopes of Jesus and

his disciples"? If the disciples believed Jesus would come as the Messiah in a supernatural manner, surely the *post mortem* appearances were after all not so unexpected as we have been given to suppose, and the legends did have some better understood cause than Renan or Strauss etc. have held forth.

LAO-TZE AND YIN-HI.

Sze Ma Ch'ien, the historian of China, says in his Historical Records when speaking of Lao-tze, the Old Philosopher:

"Lao-tze resided in Cho most of his life. When he foresaw the decay of Cho, he departed and came to the frontier. The custom-house officer, Yin-Hi, said: 'Sir, since it pleases you to retire, I request you for my sake to write a book.'"

The artist who made our frontispiece represents this scene. Yin-Hi with two attendants reverently approaches the philosopher and causes the venerable sage to write that famous book which has been a power in China down to the present day throughout its subsequent history of over two and a half millenniums. The book on "Reason and Virtue" was declared a canon by Emperor Ching (156-143 B. C.), and since that time has been called "The Canon of Reason and Virtue." It consists, as states Sze Ma Ch'ien, of about five thousand and odd words. These have been quoted and requoted by authors who lived from about 300 to 200 B. C., and in these ancient quotations about three quarters of the book has been verified. No one doubts that these quotations are genuine and that they were taken from the Canon of Reason and Virtue, which was known to Sze Ma Ch'ien. In modern times Lao-tze's Canon of Reason and Virtue is considered genuine by practically all sinologists with the sole exception of Professor Herbert A. Giles, who believes that the present book is a garbled reconstruction of the true Lao-tze from these many quotations, and he thinks that the original was lost at the time of the burning of the books. Professor Giles, however, stands alone in his opinion, for the very shortcomings of the book, its rambling composition and its lack of system and coherence, are evidence of the reliability of Sze Ma Ch'ien's report. Lao-tze's little book on "Reason and Virtue" bears all the imprints of the conditions under which it is reported to have been written. The old sage who is commonly supposed to have reached the mature age of three score and ten, is depressed with the ominous condition of his native land and quits the country and the misery that is sure to come upon it. He is old and ill at ease but his soul is full of profound wisdom welling over with sentences of far-reaching significance. Nevertheless he has not the time to arrange his thoughts in logical order. His brush glides over the paper hurriedly, nor does he take the trouble to revise what he has written. Thus his sentences are rambling. He quotes from his predecessors, the sages of yore, and he gives new meaning to some homely phrases.

Normally his book is divided into the first part on the *tao* or reason, and a second part, on *teh* or virtue; but according to the sense of his sentences, this distinction is not justified. He speaks of virtue or *teh* as much in the first part as of reason or *tao* in the second. We have no reason to doubt the genuineness of the book, nor the statement of the ancient Chinese historian on the mode of its composition.

The world is indeed indebted to Yin-Hi for having requested Lao-tze to write the book. Had he not done so, the life of one of the most venerable,

the most profound, and the most religious thinkers would have passed by without leaving a trace or a monument of its paramount significance.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE I OR EGO; or, The Metaphysics of an Interloper and Imposter, Himself in the Role of Confessor. By *Charles Kirkland Wheeler*. Boston, 1903. Pages 115. Price \$1.00 net.

Charles Kirkland Wheeler boldly attempts to prove that not he nor any one else is self-conscious or even conscious. He claims that that we are conscious or self-conscious is an illusion. "This is not to say that there is not consciousness, not self-consciousness of a sort; but that it is not I, that it is not you, that are either conscious or self-conscious."

On page 29 he proposes a theorem: "That consciousness cannot be conscious of itself, that is, be self-conscious; that there is no such thing as the self-consciousness of consciousness. Or, to state it again, that the self in any mental attitude of self-consciousness is but an abstraction, and, so, nothing itself conscious, and so, again, not anything that might be self-conscious."

Of his own experience which is typical he says: "I was first aware of myself as myself on seeing, as by reflection in a mirror, myself as object."

Thus consciousness attaches to an object, and every act of self-consciousness which any one may experience is consciousness not of one's self but of something outside or of somebody else (page 53).

But what is that self-consciousness which we experience? Mr. Wheeler answers that it is a mere idea, and this idea might just as well be a mistake. At any rate it is a phantom. He illustrates it thus: "That the distinction I am making may be clearly understood, let me, as it were, call to the stand Macready lost in the idea of being King John."

"'Macready, where did you say you were going?' 'Macready!—that's not I,—Who's Macready? I am King John.' 'Then you are King John, are you?' 'Certainly.' 'Then, if you are at any time self-conscious as you think, it is King John conscious of King John?' 'Why, yes; who else could it be consciousness of?' 'Then in your mind, your self-consciousness is consciousness of the king.' 'Why, of course.'"

"Here, Macready's whole experience of self-consciousness is an *idea* of King John's being self-conscious. He has no consciousness of Macready, and so, of course, no experience of Macready's being self-conscious. And this is what I mean by having only an idea of self-consciousness as contrasted with an experience of itself, as would be Macready conscious of Macready."

"Need I insist that to have the former is not to have the latter? To have an idea simply of going to the moon is not to go."

Mr. Wheeler explains the situation rather stiltedly in these words: "While there is the thought object, there is at the same time the *thought* subject *thought* conscious; but no conscious subject itself at all. It is the thought subject thought conscious that is the correlate of the thought object."

The conclusion at which he arrives is that the ego is an interloper and an imposter, but in answer to what we are, he quotes on the title page as his motto the following lines:

"Art thou not thyself, perchance,
But the universe in trance?"

A reflection inly flung
 By that world thou fanciest sprung
 From thyself—thyself a dream—
 Of the world's thinking thou the theme?"

IMPORT AND OUTLOOK OF SOCIALISM. By *Newton Mann*. Boston: James H. West Co., 1910. Pp. 336. Price \$1.50 net.

The Rev. Newton Mann is known to us as the author of *The Evolution of a Great Literature*, a book which treats the development of the Bible, and condenses in a very popular and independent way the results of higher criticism. He now surprises his readers by publishing a book entitled *Import and Outlook of Socialism*. He says: "The two fundamental purposes of socialism are: collective ownership of the instruments of production—land, factories, utensils, machinery,—lifting labor out of bondage to capital; and the abolition, or great restriction, of inheritance, so that every person may (except in so far as natural endowments differ) have approximately an equal chance in the world."

He takes the view that socialism is the real second coming of Christ, and wants the gospel of peace restated. He knows very well that socialism and even communism was the primitive condition, and that progress has been made by making the individual more and more responsible. He believes that all great undertakings have been made by communal effort; but in this he seems to be mistaken, for all progress is due to individual initiative. Our own view of socialism has been explained in an article on "Socialism and Anarchism" (*Open Court*, V, p. 2856), in which we claim that both are factors of social evolution. That neither of them will ever be realized in its entirety and that progress will consist in a continued but equal assertion of both principles. We shall have more of socialism in the future, and more of anarchism, which means a scope for personal liberty at the same time. Mr. Mann's book is suggestive and interesting, but his expositions appear to us one-sided.

THE TELEO-MECHANICS OF NATURE; or the Source, Nature and Functions of the Subconscious (Biologic) Minds. By *Hermann Wettstein*. Fitzgerald, Ga.: Fitzgerald Pub. Co., 1911. Paper \$1.50 net.

Mr. Hermann Wettstein has come to the conclusion that nature is directed on purpose, and natural phenomena are not merely determined by the push of mechanical cause.

He is the son of a jeweler who is well known in the circles of freethinkers and his philosophy is a case of development on independent lines. His main criticism is directed against Professor Ernst Haeckel with whom he has been in friendly correspondence and whose views he considers contradictory. He shows decided views in his chapters "The Horrors of Vaccination" and "Temperance vs. Prohibition." The Editor of *The Open Court* also comes in for his share of good-natured censure.

The weekly lessons in Social Christianity as published by the American Institute of Social Service in their magazine *The Gospel of the Kingdom* under the editorship of Dr. Josiah Strong, are now very generally and favorably known. Some 500 classes throughout the country have been using them for

the last two years and it will therefore be of interest to note the striking subjects chosen for this year. Those for the first quarter are on the general topic of "The Church and Social Purity"; for the second, "Immigration"; for the third, "The Church and the Workingman"; and for the fourth, "Dangerous and Unsanitary Occupations and Conditions." These subjects have the approval not only of the large Interdenominational Committee under whose auspices they are published, but also that of the Commission on the Church and Social Service appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. This Commission has appointed the American Institute of Social Service to collect information on these subjects, with a view to definite action in the future, so that, in the treatment of these lessons the editors will have the latest and most reliable data to draw from. Further particulars may be had by addressing the Secretary, Studies Committee, 85 Bible House, New York City.

The *Sage School of Philosophy*, Cornell University, awards annually to distinguished graduates of universities and colleges three fellowships of \$500 each, and six scholarships of \$300 each. Of these, one fellowship and one scholarship are awarded to students who are making psychology their major study. The scholarships are intended for college graduates who, during their undergraduate course or subsequently, have given evidence of special attainments in philosophy or psychology. The fellowships are given to students who have already pursued graduate work in these subjects for one or more years in American or foreign universities. Applications for fellowships and scholarships should be sent to The Registrar, Cornell University, on or before April 15th. These applications should be accompanied by a full statement of the candidate's previous training, by recommendations from professors, and whenever possible by specimens of written or published work.

Tutonish is an international language which competes with Esperanto and Ilo, and its originator, Elias Molee, is also opposed to the use of capital letters, the memorizing of which he deems a burden on school children. Not being interested in this reform we returned his manuscript, and here is his answer which is characteristic of his prejudices both in favor of a Teutonic universal language and against the customary use of capitals. He writes:

"dier her! just eftr mi had shreibn to u, emfangn mi back mio haendushrift abaut e gros forbookstafa (capital letters). mi tenk e shrift bin to long for u, but mi vil giv e styk to e gros dayli avis hier, vich alteim tak in vat mi shreib to de, as de hav mor raum, dan u hav, n de bi not so genau ov vat de infoer. ein dayli avis nied not hav ein so individuel karaktr, as ein montshrift mus hav.

"mi hop dat u kan ferstand, vat mi shreibn hier to u. u kan vel se dat dis "*tutonish union spiek*" bi ein samling ov angel-saksish (germanish) eng-lish, douch, hollendish and skandinawish (swedish, norwegian and danish).

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THE CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH OF ST. PAUL.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON.

"When I was a child...."

THE religions of the Orient give us a wide view of life and its progression, drawing back the veil from the upward stairway of consciousness, and showing us how in the fulness of time we may ascend to a far summit of power and wisdom.

Jesus, on the other hand, gives the impression of one who, seeing the long upward pathway of life ascending through the ages, had by a supreme effort of will outstripped time, through intense faith and devotion passing at once to the great consummation. This is, perhaps, the meaning of his words: "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence."¹

His life challenges us to a like effort. He touches the will, enkindling it with intense power, urging us also to transcend time, to reach at once through fierce and fiery will the consummation ages might have brought. Such an inspiration works miracles. It invites violent reactions, as shown in the cataclysmic history of Christendom.

A striking example of the direct power of Jesus upon the will is the life of Paul the Pharisee, one of the violent who take the kingdom of heaven by force. Here is Paul's own summing up of his life:

"We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not

ings, in fastings. . . . by honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report: as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown and yet well known; as dying, and behold we live; as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing and yet possessing all things."²

Paul's genius makes for vivid flashes of self-revelation, impressions keenly felt, and recorded in bursts of eloquence. His whole pathway is lit by these lightning-flashes of impression and feeling. There are memories of infancy: of that mother from whose womb God separated him;³ perhaps of his father in such a sentence as this: "The heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, but is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father. Even so we, when we were children, were in bondage;"⁴ or again: "One that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity."⁵ And how many impressions of childhood are gathered in the sentence: "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child. . . ."⁶

His friend and fellow-traveler records a sentence that bridges the next few years: "My manner of life from my youth up, which was from the beginning among mine own nation, and at Jerusalem, know all the Jews; having knowledge of me from the first, if they be willing to testify, how that after the straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee. And now I stand here to be judged. . . ."⁷

We have a gloss on the words "my youth, which was from the beginning among mine own nation" in the earlier sentence: "I am a Jew, of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city;"⁸ and again, "I am a Roman born."⁹

If Paul was "a Roman born," his father was a Roman citizen before him, perhaps his grandfather also. And Roman citizenship in Cilician Tarsus probably depended on the personal favor of the Cæsars, whether of Augustus, whose tutor was a Tarsian, or of great Julius Cæsar himself, who passed through Tarsus from Alexandria, where he had met Cleopatra and buried Pompey, on his

² 2 Cor. iv. 8, 9; vi. 4-10.

³ Gal. i. 15.

⁴ Gal. iv. 1-3.

⁵ 1 Tim. iii. 4.

⁶ 1 Cor. xiii. 11.

⁷ Acts xxvi. 4-6. (The reading followed by the Revised Version is most valuable, as implying that a considerable part of Paul's youth was spent at Tarsus.)

⁸ Acts xxi. 39.

⁹ Acts xxii. 28, R. V.

way to fight the king of Pontus in that swift campaign which begot the epigram: "I came, I saw, I conquered."

Paul's family, and Paul himself from childhood, must have been very familiar with the fortunes of the Cæsars. Paul's friend and fellow-traveler mentions by name Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius; and Paul must have known their history as well as he knew the legal rights of Roman citizenship, in its relation to the Cæsars. We may be quite certain that in the familiar talk in his father's house Paul heard as a commonplace of conversation the story of the great doings of the Cæsars: the passage of Julius Cæsar through Tarsus, his death at the hands of Brutus and the rest, the harsh punishment which Cassius visited on Tarsus for its love for Cæsar, the coming of Mark Antony and his fall, and the triumph and favor of Augustus.

Paul must have heard among the tales of his childhood the marvelous coming of Cleopatra to his own Tarsus:

"When she first met Mark Antony
....upon the river of Cydnus."

The old men and women of the city must have told him that story of the serpent of old Nile that Enobarbus told Agrippa:

"The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne,
Burn'd on the water: the poop was beaten gold;
Purple the sails, and so perfumèd that
The winds were love-sick with them; the oars were silver,
Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
The water which they beat to follow faster,
As amorous of their strokes. For her own person,
It beggar'd all description: she did lie
In her pavillion—cloth-of-gold of tissue—
O'er-picturing that Venus where we see
The fancy outwork nature; on each side her
Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
With divers-color'd fans, whose wind did seem
To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool,
And what they did undid....."

From the barge
A strange invisible perfume hits the sense
Of the adjacent wharfs. The city cast
Her people out upon her; and Antony,
Enthron'd i' the market-place, did sit alone,
Whistling to the air....."

One may wonder whether some reminiscence of that early tale may have added color to the words: "In like manner, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefastness and sobri-

ety; not with braided hair, and gold or pearls or costly raiment; but (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works."¹⁰

Paul must have played as a boy in the market-place where Mark Antony sat, and wandered along the wharfs where the crowds gathered to see Cleopatra. He must have known very familiarly the hot, damp plain around Tarsus, overshadowed by the foothills and snow-fringed ridges of Taurus, shaggy with dark cedars, their evergreen dales adorned with glades of saffron. The whole region was set in an atmosphere of romance and legend and tradition, and we may be certain that Paul in his early years breathed this atmosphere. To the traveler through Cilicia and the countries westward toward the Ægean, there were on all hands memories of Homer. Tarsus, says Strabo, was founded by Argives who accompanied Triptolemus in his search after Io. The Cydnus flows through the middle of it, close by the gymnasium of the young men.¹¹ One may surmise that Paul, the son of a citizen, that is, one of the aristocracy of Tarsus, was not shut out from this gymnasium close by the icy Cydnus. This may be the origin of such phrases as: "Bodily exercise (*somatikē gymnasia*) is profitable for a little;"¹² or "if also a man contend in the games, he is not crowned, except he have contended lawfully;"¹³ or "Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? Even so run, that ye may attain. And every man that striveth in the games is temperate in all things. Now they do it to receive a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run, as not uncertainly; so fight I, as not beating the air."¹⁴ Our version, which has filtered through the Latin, obscures the Greek words, like *gymnasia*, athletics, *stadion*, and so forth. If we kept them in our translations, it would become far clearer that Paul was using the familiar speech of the gymnasium, in speaking of the conditions of training, of boxing, of foot races, and of fair play in athletic contests. There is no violence in the suggestion that all these phrases may be memories of boyhood, words first picked up in the gymnasium of his native Tarsus.

Strabo tells a quaint tale of this gymnasium, which was doubt-

chief director of it, and entrusted to him the expenditure of the funds. He was detected in secreting, among other things, even the oil, and when charged with this offence by his accusers in the presence of Antony, he deprecated his anger by this among other remarks in his speech, that "as Homer sang the praises of Achilles, Agamemnon, and Ulysses, so have I sung yours. I therefore ought not to be brought before you on such a charge." The accuser answered, "Homer did not steal oil from Agamemnon; but you have stolen it from the gymnasium, and therefore you shall be punished." Yet he contrived to avert the displeasure of Antony by courteous offices, and continued to plunder the city until the death of his protector.¹⁵

Here again we come across Homeric memories as part of the commonplace of Tarsian conversation; and Dion Chrysostom, who was a young man of sixteen or eighteen at the time of Paul's death, constantly assumes in his Tarsian auditors a familiarity with the great story that formed the background of all Hellenic culture.

Strabo also tells us that the inhabitants of Tarsus applied themselves to the study of philosophy and to the whole encyclical compass of learning with so much ardor that they surpassed Athens, Alexandria and every other place where there were schools and lectures of philosophers. The Stoics were strongly represented. Among them were Antipater, Archedemus and Nestor; Athenodorus who lived with Marcus Cato, and died at his house; and the other Athenodorus, the son of Sandon, who was the tutor of Augustus Cæsar. To him in his old age Augustus entrusted the government of Tarsus. On the other hand, Nestor, who was tutor to Augustus's nephew Marcellus, was a follower of Plato, and he too governed Tarsus, succeeding Athenodorus.

The distinguished author of *The Cities of Saint Paul* well suggests that "Saint Paul may have seen and listened to Nestor;" and this becomes the more probable, when we remember that much of this philosophic culture found its expression out of doors, after the manner made immortal by Socrates. Strabo tells us that the Tarsian philosopher Diogenes went about from city to city, instituting schools of philosophy, and that, as if inspired by Apollo, he composed and rehearsed poems on any subject that was proposed. Further he tells us that Athenodorus in part owed his influence to his gift for extemporaneous speaking, a power that was very general among the inhabitants of Tarsus. There is no improbability in the conjecture that Paul may have owed much of his skill in speaking to the example of the Tarsian orators to whom he listened in

¹⁵ Strabo, XIV, v, 14.

his boyhood; he may have gained from them something of that feeling for antithesis, for vivid imagery, for climax, which so heightens the beauty of his words.

In Paul's family life at Tarsus, therefore, there must have been an entire familiarity with the history of the Cæsars, of Antony and Cleopatra; and a feeling of loyal attachment to the imperial house, which would have made it impossible for Paul to ask, "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar?" Besides this strong influence of Roman imperialism, there must have been, with the Greek tongue, an infusion of Hellenic culture, perhaps as great a familiarity with Greek authors as Philo had in Paul's earlier years, or as Josephus had, when Paul was an old man. Paul must have been well acquainted with the story of Alexander of Macedon, whose conquests had so profoundly changed the whole world of Paul's experience, from Athens to Alexandria. He certainly read the outline at least of Alexander's history, in the story of the Maccabees: "It came to pass, after that Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, who came out of the land of Chittim, and smote Darius king of the Persians and Medes, after he had smitten him, reigned in his stead, in former times, over the Greek empire." He doubtless knew that Alexander had passed through his own Tarsus, and had caught a chill from bathing in the Cydnus. So we may assume in Paul, as the background of his thought and imagination, a considerable element of Latin and Hellenic culture, though it was afterwards overlaid by other influences.

There was also a tinge of Orientalism. Dion Chrysostom, who was a boy when Paul wrote his earlier letters, speaks of the Oriental spirit of Tarsus, of its Assyrian cult, and the supremacy of Phœnician music. He records another touch of the Orient: the Tarsian women veiled their faces. May we not find, in Paul's early familiarity with this custom, the source of that famous injunction: "If a woman be not veiled, let her also be shorn; but if it be a shame to a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be veiled."¹⁶

There is a story of another great Oriental, recorded by Strabo, which Paul may well have known. It concerns Anchiale, close to the mouth of the river Cydnus, where the tomb of Sardanapalus was reputed to be. On the tomb was a stone figure of Sardanapalus, snapping his fingers, with an inscription in Assyrian letters: "Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxes, built Anchiale and Tarsus in one day. Eat, drink, be merry; everything else is not worth a snap of the fingers." Paul may well have had this in mind, as well as the

¹⁶ 1 Cor. xi. 6, R. V.

words of the Hebrew prophet, when he wrote: "If the dead be not raised, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."¹⁷

The verse which follows is of high interest, for it contains the famous iambic:

φθείρουσιν ἡθῆ χρῆσθ' ὁμιλίας κακάς.

"Evil communications corrupt good manners." This line, assigned by tradition to one of the lost comedies of Menander, is one of three quotations in Greek verse in Paul's letters and speeches. The earliest in point of time he used, speaking to the Stoics and Epicureans, under the shadow of the Acropolis: "God, who made the universe and all things therein, the Master of heaven and earth, who dwells not in temples made with hands, giving to all life and breath and all things, made of one every race of men to dwell on the whole face of the earth, to seek God, if haply they might feel after him and find him, and in truth he is not far from each one of us; for in him we live and move and are, as some of your poets have said:

"...For his offspring we are."

Being, then, the offspring of God, we should not think that the Divine is like gold or silver or stone, a carving of human art and imagination...."¹⁸

The quotation, part of an iambic, Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν, is assigned by tradition to the *Phaenomena* of Aratus. And here we have an interesting point. For Strabo, speaking of Soli, not far from Paul's own Tarsus, tells us that Chrysippus the Stoic, the son of an inhabitant of Tarsus, who left it to live at Soli, Philemon the comic poet, and Aratus, who composed a poem called the *Phaenomena*, were among the illustrious natives of that place.

It is very likely that Paul may have known something of this illustrious Cilician, and may have picked up this fragment of his verses either from reading or from some public recitation, or, perhaps, from a temple service, for the same words are said to occur in a hymn to Zeus.

The indefiniteness of the formula of quotation, ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν, was quite in the spirit of the time, and by no means implies that Paul did not know the author's name. For the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, quoting, and quoting accurately, two verses of the eighth psalm, introduces them with the words: διεμαρτύρατο δὲ πού τις λέγων,¹⁹ "Some one has borne witness somewhere"; though he must have known perfectly the source of

¹⁷ 1 Cor. xv. 32.

¹⁸ Acts xvii. 24-29.

¹⁹ Heb. ii. 6.

his quotation. In the same way Philo Judaeus, quoting from the Timaeus, says: *ὅπερ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπέ τις*,²⁰ "as one of the ancients has said." But Philo is thoroughly familiar with Plato, whom he cites by name shortly after: "the mouth through which, as Plato says, mortal things find their entrance, and immortal things their exit."²¹

This quotation, like the other, is from the Timaeus. So that we may contrast Philo's "as one of the ancients has said" with his "as Plato said"; just as we may contrast the "someone has testified somewhere" of the Epistle to the Hebrews with the precision of Paul's speech at Antioch in Pisidia: "as it is also written in the second psalm."²² In neither case is the indefiniteness of the formula of quotation a proof of vagueness of knowledge. It is quite probable that in the speech at Athens, Paul was knowingly quoting from the *Phaenomena* of his fellow-Cilician, Aratus of Soli.

Paul makes one more Greek verse quotation; this time it is a hexameter. It is the famous epigram in the letter to Titus:²³

Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία γαστέρες ἀργαί,
 "The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies." Paul this time introduces his quotation with the words: *εἶπέν τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰδῖος αὐτῶν προφήτης*, "One of themselves, a prophet of their own, said;" and, he adds drily, "this testimony is true."

This hexameter condemning the Cretans is attributed to Epimenides. Diogenes Laertius, writing in the generation after Paul, shows at least what was the common report of him at that time. A miraculous trance of many years' duration had caused him to be esteemed the beloved of the gods. Solon invited him to Athens to assist in purifying the city before the promulgation of his laws, and after the lustration Epimenides refused all rewards, taking only a branch of the sacred olive, and departed to Crete. He was believed to be the author of several poems, one recording the expedition of the Argonauts.²⁴ Some such story may well have been in Paul's mind, and may be the reason why he speaks of the author of this verse as a prophet, rather than a poet.

Paul does not mention by name either Aratus. Menander or

friend and fellow-traveler mentions by name Augustus Cæsar, Tiberius Cæsar and Claudius Cæsar. He likewise speaks of the talks of Paul with the Stoics and Epicureans,²⁵ and, as he was apparently not at Athens on that occasion, he must have had the facts from Paul himself. Luke in like manner speaks of Zeus, Hermes and Artemis.²⁶ Here again, he probably got the names from Paul. But Paul himself names neither gods nor sects nor Cæsars. His silence, therefore, is quite consonant with the probability that he was familiar with the history of the Roman emperors, the thought of the Greek philosophers, the legends of the Homeric gods. It might well be said of him, as a critic has said of Philo, that he is "*ennemi des désignations précises et des noms propres.*"²⁷

We may, therefore, say that in the atmosphere of Paul's boyhood, in the every-day thought of his famed birthplace Tarsus, there was a background of Assyrian and Persian and Homeric legend. There was the authentic memory of the presence of Xenophon, of Alexander, of Julius Cæsar, Cassius, Antony and Cleopatra. There was also the active life of the gymnasium, mentioned by Strabo and Dion Chrysostom, in which Paul, as a youth, may well have had a part. There were the famous schools of the Stoa and the Academe. May we not admit that this long tradition, the wisdom of Greece and the splendor of Rome, may have helped to color Paul's thought and imagination, thus giving a new meaning to his words: "I am a debtor to the Greeks"?

This brings us to the close of that period of Paul's boyhood which was in all probability passed in his native city Tarsus, to which he later returned for a space of four or five years.²⁸ From Tarsus, as Paul himself tells us, in the words recorded by his fellow-traveler, he went to Jerusalem, and sat at the feet of the distinguished and enlightened Gamaliel,²⁹ who seems to have dominated the intellectual life of Jerusalem during Paul's youth.³⁰

In going to Jerusalem, Paul by no means passed out of the reach of Greek influence. A movement had been in progress for some time whereby the thought of the Hebrews was profoundly influenced by the mind of Hellas, and especially of the Stoics and Plato, just as, a dozen centuries later, Jewish thought was colored by the method

²⁵ Acts xvii. 18.

²⁶ Acts xiv. 12; xix. 24.

²⁷ Massignon, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, LIII, p. 27. Paris, 1906.

and ideas of Aristotle. To the influence of Hellenic thought on the Hebraism of the period of Paul's boyhood, certain of the Apocrypha bear eloquent witness, and especially the Book of Wisdom. But we see the same forces at work in a far deeper and more lasting way in the philosophical system of a man who is one of the greatest spirits the Hebrew race ever produced, Philo the Jew of Alexandria.

So important is a knowledge of Philo for a true understanding of St. Paul, and especially of the intellectual influences of Paul's early manhood, that we shall be well advised at this point to try to state in their order the leading principles of Philo's philosophy, first considering his world-concept, and then his method of studying and interpreting the Hebrew scriptures.

Philo conceives God exactly as do the Upanishads, as "One, without distinctive quality, uncreated, imperishable, unchangeable;"³¹ *δεῖ γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποιον αὐτὸν καὶ ἓνα καὶ ἀφθαρτον καὶ ἀτρεπτον*. He speaks of God as "the Father," "to whom all things are possible;"³² as "the Saviour and Benefactor;"³³ "the great King;"³⁴ "the elder, ruler and lord of the universe;"³⁵ as "dwelling in pure light;"³⁶ and "invisible." We are strongly reminded of this general conception by such a sentence as that in the first letter to Timothy: "The blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, who alone hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto."³⁷

Of this uncreate, immutable God, the universe is shadow.³⁸ But God did not create the universe directly, out of nothing. Here we come to Philo's greatest contribution to the thought of the world. God, in Philo's view, created first an idea of the universe; or, we might say, an idea of the universe arose in the Divine Mind, as the idea of a city may arise in the mind of a "wise architect." This idea of the universe, this archetypal model, is invisible, subjective, noumenal, perceptible only to the intellect. This archetype of the universe is the Thought or Reason, or "Logos of God."³⁹

The Logos is "a divine image" of God.⁴⁰ All things were cre-

³¹ Philo, *Legum Alleg. lib.* I, 15; ed. L. Cohn, Berlin, 1896, Vol. I, pp. 73-4.

³² *De Opific. Mundi*, 18; Cohn I, p. 18, l. 21.

ated through the Logos.⁴¹ "Behold the mightiest dwelling and city, this universe itself. For thou shalt find the cause of it to be God, by whom it came into being; the matter of it, the four elements out of which it was composed; the instrument, the Logos of God, by means of whom it was made."⁴²

It would seem that we find an equivalent idea in Paul, who also thinks of God as having created first an invisible, noumenal universe and then a visible, phenomenal universe: "The invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead."⁴³ And the relation between the two is summed up in the words: "The visible things are temporal, the invisible things are eternal."⁴⁴ So Paul also has the idea of the invisible archetype of the universe, to be known by its shadow or expression, the visible world.

He also thinks of this divine manifestation as "the image of God,"⁴⁵ "the image of the invisible God,"⁴⁶ and of man as "the image and glory of God."⁴⁷

Through the Logos, or through the power of the Logos, according to Philo, the soul and body of man are made. Nothing in Philo is more characteristic of him than his teaching of the dual nature of man: "Dual is the race of men. For one is the heavenly man, and the other is the earthly man. Now the heavenly man, as being born in the image of God, is wholly without part in corruptible and earthly being. But the earthly man is made of matter, which he calls dust."⁴⁸ This is almost identical with the wonderful passage of Paul: "The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly."⁴⁹

For Philo, this heavenly man, this divine image, the soul, is, as it were, dead and buried in the body: "Now, when we are alive, we are as though our soul were dead and buried in our body, as if in a tomb. But if we were to die, our soul would live according to

⁴¹ *Legum Alleg.* I, 9; Cohn I, p. 66, l. 15.

⁴² *De Cherubim*, 35; Cohn I, p. 200, ll. 7-10.

⁴³ Rom. i. 20.

⁴⁴ 2 Cor. iv. 18.

⁴⁵ 2 Cor. iv. 4.

its proper life, being released from the evil and dead body to which it is bound."⁵⁰ Or again: "He is speaking not of common death, but of that death *par excellence*, which is the death of the soul, entombed in passions and all kinds of evil."⁵¹ Paul also speaks of being "dead in trespasses and sins."⁵² Addressing another group of learners, he writes: "You, being dead in your sins;"⁵³ and we find him using of himself the striking image already quoted from Philo: "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"⁵⁴

The impulses of the earthly man, Philo calls "the flesh." "There is nothing," he tells us, "which is so great a hindrance to the growth of the soul as the fleshly nature;"⁵⁵ "The greatest cause of our ignorance is the flesh, and our inseparable connection with the flesh."⁵⁶ And the flesh wars against the spirit: "The indulgences of intemperance and gluttony, and whatever other vices the immoderate and insatiable pleasures, when completely filled with an abundance of all external things, produce and bring forth, do not allow the soul to proceed onwards by the plain and straight road, but compel it to fall into ravines and gulfs, until they utterly destroy it; but those practices which adhere to patience, endurance and moderation, and all other virtues, keep the soul in the straight road, leaving no stumbling-block in the way, against which it can stumble and fall."⁵⁷

Philo enumerates the fruits of the flesh: "gluttony, lasciviousness, ambition, the love of money, fear, folly, cowardice, injustice."⁵⁸ He likewise records the fruits of the spirit, "prudence, courage, temperance, justice," which "spring from the Logos as from one root, which he compares to a river, on account of the unceasing and everlasting flow of salutary words and doctrines, by which it increases and nourishes the souls that love God."⁵⁹ This is a fair parallel to Paul's famous lists, as, for instance in the fifth chapter of the letter to the Galatians: "Now the works of the flesh are

⁵⁰ *Legum Alleg.* I, 33; Cohn I, p. 89, l. 8.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 99, l. 23.

⁵² Eph. ii. 1.

⁵³ Col. ii. 13.

⁵⁴ Rom. vii. 24.

⁵⁵ *De Gigantibus*, 7; Cohn II, p. 48, l. 1.

manifest, which are these;" with the picture of ceaseless warring of flesh against spirit, and of spirit against flesh.

Human life, indeed, as Philo understands it, is simply the battleground of these two forces, the flesh and the spirit. But in this war, man is not helpless, because the soul, made in the image of the Logos, is in essence one with the Logos. "Every man in regard to his intelligence is connected with the divine Logos, being an impression, or a fragment, or a ray of that blessed nature."⁶⁰ Therefore man is "an abode or sacred temple for a reasonable soul, the image of which he carries in his heart, the most godlike of images."⁶¹ "Since, therefore, God invisibly enters into this region of the soul, let us prepare that place in the best way the case admits of, to be an abode worthy of God; for if we do not, he, without our being aware of it, will leave us and migrate to some other habitation, which shall appear to him to be more excellently provided. For if, when we are about to receive kings, we prepare our houses to wear a more magnificent appearance, what sort of habitation ought we to prepare for the King of kings, for God the ruler of the whole universe, condescending in his mercy and lovingkindness for man, to visit the beings whom he has created, and to come down from the borders of heaven to the lowest regions of the earth, for the purpose of benefiting our race? Shall we prepare him a house of stone or of wood? . . . No, a pious soul is his fitting abode. If therefore we call the invisible soul the terrestrial habitation of the invisible God, we shall be speaking justly."⁶² Compare this with Paul: "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the spirit of God dwelleth in you?"⁶³ . . . "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are."⁶⁴ "Know ye not that your body is the temple of the holy Spirit, which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own?"⁶⁵

Since it is the spirit, the light of the Logos in the soul, the divine ray, which wars in us for virtue and immortality, Philo speaks of the Logos as the Saviour, the Mediator: "The Father who created the universe has given to his archangelic and most ancient Logos a preeminent gift, to stand on the confines of both, and separate the created from the Creator. This same Logos is

⁶⁰ *De Opific. Mundi*, 51; Cohn I, p. 51, l. 6.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 47; I, p. 48, 4.

⁶² *De Cherubim*, 29, 30; Cohn I, p. 194.

⁶³ 1 Cor. iii. 16.

⁶⁴ 1 Cor. iii. 17.

⁶⁵ 1 Cor. vi. 19.

continually a suppliant to the immortal God on behalf of the mortal race, which is exposed to affliction and misery, and also an ambassador sent by the Ruler of all to the subject race. And the Logos rejoices in the gift."⁶⁶ Philo develops this idea of ambassadorship still further: "Why do we wonder if God assumes the likeness of angels, as he sometimes assumes even that of men, in order to help those who address their prayers to him? . . . Those who are unable to bear the sight of God, look upon his image, his angel (or messenger), the Logos."⁶⁷ In exactly the same way Paul holds that "there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men."⁶⁸

Therefore we must "believe firmly in God our Saviour," says Philo, and "take refuge in him."⁶⁹ We must "press forward, putting aside slow and hesitating fear."⁷⁰ We must "rest upon the divine Logos, placing the whole of our lives as the lightest burden on him."⁷¹ In the same way Paul says: "even we have believed;"⁷² he bids us "press toward the mark;"⁷³ he tells us that our "life is hid with Christ in God."⁷⁴

We must pass, says Philo, through "a dying as to the life of the body, in order that we may obtain an inheritance of the bodiless and imperishable life which is to be enjoyed in the presence of the uncreate and everlasting God."⁷⁵ We must "lay a firm foundation, and build the house of the soul."⁷⁶ Is not this the *nekrosis*, of which Paul says: "I die daily"? Is not this the *oikodomia*, or "edification" whereby we build the house "not made with hands"?

What is the result? According to Philo, we reach the state of "the perfect man, who has rooted out anger from his heart, and is gentle to every one in word and deed."⁷⁷ With the perfect man, Philo contrasts the man who is still advancing toward perfection, who has not yet wholly rooted out passion, but has gained the vir-

⁶⁶ *Quis div. rer. Haeres*, 42.

⁶⁷ *De Somniis*, I, 41.

⁶⁸ 1 Tim. ii. 5.

⁶⁹ *De sac. Ab. et C.* 19.

⁷⁰ *De Somniis*, I, 26.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 21.

⁷² Gal. ii. 16.

⁷³ Phil. iii. 14.

⁷⁴ Col. iii. 3.

⁷⁵ *De Gigant.* 3.

⁷⁶ *De Cherubim*, 30.

⁷⁷ *Legum Alleg.* III, 47.

tues, perspicuity and truth. This irresistibly suggests two sentences of Paul's: "Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ;"⁷⁸ "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but I follow after."⁷⁹ For Philo, as for Paul, the end is a glorious immortality.

Two more passages in Philo seem to call for special notice. First, in the tract on the "Confusion of Tongues," we have this sentence, applied to "that incorporeal being who in no respect differs from the divine image," that is, the Logos: "The Father of the universe has caused him to spring up as the eldest son, whom, elsewhere, he calls his firstborn."⁸⁰ Secondly, we have in Philo such a sentence as this: "When God, being attended by two of the heavenly powers as guards, to wit, by Authority and Goodness, he himself, the one God being between them, presented an appearance of Three Figures to the visual soul, each of which figures was not measured in any respect; for God cannot be circumscribed, nor are his powers capable of being defined by lines, but he himself measures everything. His Goodness therefore is the measure of all good things, and his Authority is the measure of things in subjection, and the Governor of the universe himself is the measure of all things corporeal and incorporeal."⁸¹

These two passages seem to me to suggest that we may find in the thought of Philo the first outline of two doctrines, that of the Trinity, Three Persons in one God, and that of the Logos as "the firstborn Son."

The passages I have quoted are very far from illustrating fully the manifold relations between Philo and Paul. But they do, I think, fairly indicate the great outlines of Philo's world-concept. And I think they show that Paul's world-concept is closer to Philo's than it is to any other philosophic or religious cosmogony of which we have any knowledge. I am inclined to think that the closeness amounts to identity.

What conclusions are we to draw? It has, of course, been suggested that Philo is a debtor to Paul and the other writers of the New Testament. But this seems quite untenable, if we consider the dates. The most definite evidence as to the age of Philo is the sentence at the beginning of his account of the embassy to Rome, where

⁷⁸ Eph. iv. 13.

⁷⁹ Phil. iii. 12.

⁸⁰ *De Conf. Ling.* 14; Cohn II, 241, l. 19.

⁸¹ *De Sacrif. Ab. et C.* 15; Cohn I, 225, 18.

he suffered many slights at the hands of Caligula. Philo writes: "How long shall we, who are aged men, still be like children, being indeed as to our bodies gray-headed through the length of time that we have lived, but as to our souls utterly infantine through our want of sense and sensibility, looking upon fortune, the most unstable of all things, as most invariable, and on nature, the most steadfast, as utterly untrustworthy?"

The embassy took place in the year 40 A. D. Philo apparently wrote his account of it soon after, and was then an aged man, gray haired. From this it is surmised that he was born between the years 20 and 10 B. C. The two scholars who have recently given the subject the most thorough study are Leopold Cohn and Massebieau. The former suggests the dates just given for the limits between which Philo's birth must be placed: "*So fällt seine Geburt etwa 20-10 v. Chr.*"⁸² Massebieau thinks that the treatise from which we have most largely quoted, *De Opificio Mundi*, and the series of works flowing out of it, up to and including *De Specialibus Legibus*, II, were finished by the year A. D. 14, Philo being then under forty.⁸³

We may take it as quite certain, therefore, that Philo's system was completely worked out, and his greatest works, those which embody that system most perfectly, were written while Paul was still a child; some of them, very probably, before Paul was born. Paul was a young man at the time of Stephen's martyrdom. If we take this to mean that he was then twenty-four or twenty-five, we should have to put the year of his birth about 10 A. D., which may well be close to the truth.

Philo's reputation stood high in Alexandria, and his fame must soon have spread throughout the empire, and the whole Jewish world, which was then nearly co-extensive with the empire. Philo himself gives us a bird's-eye view of the Jewish settlements of his day, in a passage quoted from a letter of Agrippa, in which he speaks of Jerusalem: "Concerning the holy city, I must now say what is necessary. As I have already stated, it is my native country, and the metropolis, not only of the one country of Judea, but also

general, and especially that part of it which is called Coelo-Syria, and also those more distant regions of Pamphylia, Cilicia, the greater part of Asia Minor as far as Bithynia, and the furthestmost corners of Pontus. And in the same manner into Europe, into Thessaly, and Boeotia, and Macedonia, and Aetolia, and Attica, and Argos, and Corinth and all the most fertile and wealthiest districts of Peloponnesus. And not only are the continents full of Jewish colonies, but also all the most celebrated islands are so too; such as Euboea, and Cyprus, and Crete. I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates, for all of them except a very small portion, and Babylon, and all the satrapies around, which have any advantages whatever of soil or climate, have Jews settled in them."⁸⁴ This may serve as an admirable summary of the Jewish world, as it must have presented itself in the imagination of St. Paul. "If my native land," continues the writer, "is, as it may reasonably be, looked upon as entitled to a share of your favor, it is not one city only that would be benefited by you, but ten thousand of them in every region of the habitable world, in Europe, in Asia and in Africa, on the continent, in the islands, on the coasts, and in the inland parts."

Throughout the whole of this Jewish world, there were, on the one hand, groups of studious scholars, and on the other a ceaseless going and coming, whether of devotees going up to the feasts at Jerusalem, or of merchants, or of travelers. The intercourse of thought and knowledge must have been rapid and extensive, much more extensive than we readily imagine, if our view be formed from the narrowly concentrated events of the four Gospels. Paul's own view was far wider. His knowledge of geography was considerable, and he covered, in his journeys, a large part of the territory sketched above by Agrippa.

The Alexandrian grain ships often sailed north along the Syrian coast as far as Tarsus, and then turned westward toward Rome. It was only a few days' sail from Alexandria to Tarsus. We may, therefore, well believe that there would be nothing improbable in the supposition that Philo's works might be read in Tarsus very soon after they were given out in Alexandria. So that the chief works of Philo, the "Creation," and the "Allegories of the Sacred Laws," may easily have reached Paul's household, while he himself was still a child, under the rather strict rule of his father. From his father, he may easily have learned the idealistic world-concept of

⁸⁴ *Legatio ad Gaium*, ch. 36. See Philo, C. D. Yonge, vol. IV, p. 61. The passage quoted is from the letter of Agrippa to Caligula.

Philo, and the method of allegorical interpretation which Paul also probably owes to Philo's teaching.

Or we may suppose that Philo's method and view had found their way to Jerusalem, and had gained the adherence of Gamaliel, before Paul went to the sacred city to sit at the great Rabbi's feet. One is inclined to think that both these suggestions may be true. So thoroughly is Paul saturated with the world-view and the allegorical method of Philo, that his mind and thought must have been formed on them from the beginning.

One interesting point arises. Philo and Paul follow the same lines of thought in the world-concept which we have outlined. But they very often use different words, where one would expect the words used to be the same. Thus, in the passages we have quoted, they use different words for earthly or earthy, for the temple of the spirit, for the mediator. I believe the explanation of this is, that Paul became familiar with Philo's thought at a very early period, so that this thought became a part of his own mental furniture, looked on as his own, and therefore expressed in his own words. This seems more probable than that Paul came across Philo's works comparatively late in life, for then he would have borrowed more unevenly, and would have quoted more accurately. He may well have re-read Philo later in life, perhaps at Cæsarea between 60 and 62 A. D., or at Rome after 63. There are indications in some of the later epistles that he did re-read Philo, or that he had become familiar with Philo's later works. But I wish to leave the question somewhat incomplete at present, keeping for a future time the detailed examination of the relation between separate works of Philo and separate epistles.

The relation itself seems to me certain. One may form some estimate of its depth and extent, by comparing, let us say, the world-concept and theology of the Gospel according to St. Mark with the highly defined world-concept and theology of Paul's letters and speeches. Jesus seems to have refrained of deliberate intent from raising any cosmological or metaphysical questions, not because he did not value cosmology or metaphysics, but, perhaps, because his purpose was to train, not the intellect, but the will; to awaken the spiritual will, and put it in command; holding that only after this had taken place, could any true view of the world and of life be gained.

Paul, on the contrary, came to manhood with defined cosmological and metaphysical views, views derived, as I believe, from Philo; and he interpreted his spiritual experience in the light of these

views, and read in the same light what he learned from the elder disciples, of the life and teachings of Jesus. Christendom has largely adopted and followed the thought of Paul, and therefore of Philo; and I am inclined to think that to this cause we must attribute the formulation of the Doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Word as the firstborn, and, later, the only begotten Son of the Father.

I believe Paul's view of the Old Testament was not less profoundly colored by his studies in Philo, and that we must consider in this light what he has to say of Adam and Eve. This is of the highest importance; for from what Paul says of Adam had been developed the Doctrine of the Fall, as the cornerstone of "the plan of salvation." I think it can be shown that Paul was very far from believing, on this subject, what he is generally supposed to have believed; but I must postpone the consideration of this deeply interesting question for another occasion.

FISH AND DOVE.

BY THE EDITOR.

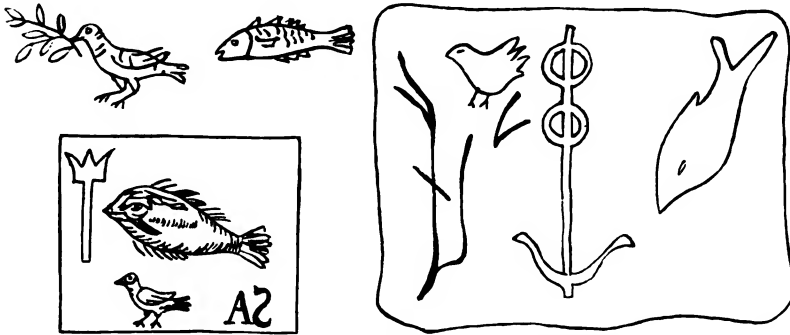
AT the beginning of the Christian era, Hither Asia and Egypt, known as the Levant or the Orient, exercised a most enduring and decisive influence upon the development of mankind. Rome had conquered the Orient by force of arms, but the Orient conquered Rome by force of her older civilization; for Rome adopted eastern institutions, eastern beliefs, and eastern forms of worship. Western democracy was supplanted by an eastern autocracy, and long before Christianity took root in Rome, eastern religions were introduced from Egypt and Babylon and Syria, in spite of senatorial prohibitions and severe persecutions. It is therefore not improbable that the many similarities that obtain between Roman Christianity and Oriental modes of belief are not purely accidental but indicate an historical connection. If they were accidental they would be extremely curious and we would have to confess that the coincidences would be the more remarkable. At any rate a knowledge of Oriental religions is an indispensable factor for a comprehension of Christian symbolism and Christian modes of worship.

We will here consider the fish and the dove, the sacred animals of Astarte, which reappear during the third and fourth centuries A. D. as important Christian symbols.

We possess a curious book on the goddess of Syria, written by Lucian, a native Assyrian who saw the places he describes and is a reliable authority. From this book we learn many details concerning the worship of the Syrian goddess in her holy city, Hierapolis.

Hierapolis in Syria, a few miles west of the upper Euphrates on the road toward Antioch, was the center of a popular cult devoted to Istar, the great mother-goddess and Queen of Heaven. Lucian calls her the Syrian Hera (or Juno) and claims that there is no more venerable, "nor any holier place in the world" than Hierapolis. It is remarkable that both the pigeon and the fish sacred to Istar of Hierapolis reappear in the same close union in the Christian catacombs.

Lucian describes the Hera of Hierapolis as holding a scepter in one hand and a spindle in the other. She wears a crown in the form of a turret and her head is surrounded by a halo. Her belt



FISH AND DOVE IN THE CATACOMBS.*



CHRISTOGRAM WITH DOVE AND FISH.

This combination is typical for many graves in the catacombs. The present instance is taken from a tomb in the cemetery of Priscilla according to Boldetti, p. 371. It covered the tomb of a boy Priscinus.



THE TOMBSTONE OF REDEMPTA WITH URN, DOVE AND FISH.
Formerly in the Kircher Museum, now lost. (See Lupi, *Ep. Sev. M.*, p. 185.)

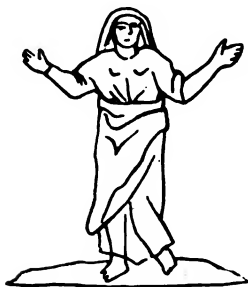
is the same as that of Venus Urania, which implies that it is ornamented with stars. Above her forehead she wears a gem which is called "the lamp" for at night it emits such a brilliant light that the

* In the left upper corner we see a dove with olive branch and a fish, without any inscription. It was discovered in the cemetery of Priscilla. De Rossi proves (*Bul. di arch. cr.*, 1864, p. 9 f.) that it belongs to the third century. Underneath we see a trident and a bird accompanied by the letters AS. It is recorded by Boseo in *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 210; and Aringhi (Vol. II, p. 522) states that it was found in the cemetery of Nereo and Achilleo. The trident renders it doubtful whether it is Christian or pagan. The third stone contains besides a bird and a fish an anchor and a scrawl of unknown significance without inscription. It comes from the cemetery of Cyriacae (cf. d'Agincourt, *Sculpture*, VII, n. 21, and de Rossi, n. 68.)

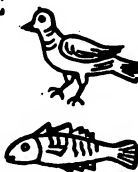
temple is lit as by lamps; though the light is somewhat weaker than daylight it always remains luminous.

The context suggests that the gem on the head of the Syrian goddess must have been a real lamp covered by colored glass.

Lucian also mentions as a special peculiarity of the Syrian



BENEMERENTIRVSTICIANE
QVEANNORVM LIHH
MENSES X DIEBVS
XX IN PACE



THE EPITAPH OF RUSTICANA IN THE CATACOMBS.

The epitaph is framed in by a praying woman on one side and a dove and fish on the other. The deceased lived to the age of 54 years, 10 months and 20 days. She was buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, the picture being reproduced from Lupi, *Ep. Sev. M.*, p. 118; Marini, *Papiri diplomatici*, p. 355 et al.

PRIMMM FECIT PRIMME

VENEMERENTI QVAE VIXIT

ANNIS LI·MES IDVS V DIEBVS



PRIMA'S TOMBSTONE IN THE CATACOMBS.

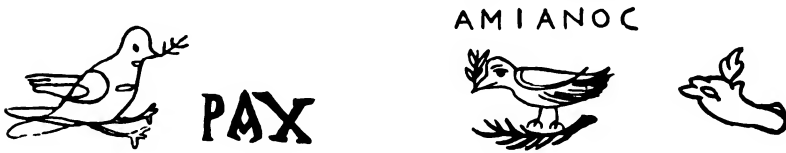
The Christian character of this sarcophagus is assured by the X placed between a palm branch and a fish with a laurel wreath in its mouth. The dove stands to the right of the inscription in which PRIMMM apparently stands for *Primus maritus*, *Prime* for *Prima*, *mesidus* for *mensibus* and *venemerenti* for *benemerenti*. It means that her "husband Primus made the tomb for Prima the well deserving, who lived fifty-one years, five months and some days."

goddess that she always looks the worshiper straight in the face. If a man turns to the right she follows him with her eyes; while at the same time a man may pass to the left and she will do the same. This peculiarity seems to suggest that the image in question, unlike the artistic sculpture of Greece, was either a bas relief or a comparatively

flat statue, for the trick of making pictures always look at the spectator is nothing remarkable, and has been from time immemorial quite well known to the profession of painters, but it can scarcely be imitated in plastic statuary. There have been found, however, statues in high relief of the corresponding Phenician goddess which are sufficiently flat to render such a trick possible.

Our frontispiece represents a statue in high relief of the mother-goddess of Cyprus. It has apparently served as an altar piece in an Istar temple in the same way as the statues of the Syrian Juno that Lucian describes.

In another place Lucian speaks of the goddess as being seated



DOVES IN THE CATACOMBS.

The dove followed by the word PAX is an epitaph which has been published by Marini in his *Atti de' fratelli Arvali*, p. 266; the group to the right is recorded by Boseo *R. S.*, p. 564, and is simply marked with the name Ammianus. It is difficult to decide whether the figure behind the dove is a fish or a lamp or a flower.



THE TOMB OF VLPIUS.

Of the two illustrations of this epitaph the bird with the bunch of grapes stands above, and the hooked fish below the inscription, which reads in poor Latin *Vlpus restitutu[s] dormiente in pace*.

in a chariot, drawn by lions, not unlike the goddess Rhea, a drum in her hand and a turret crown on her head. In the interior of the temple, presumably the Holy of Holies, Lucian relates there was a statue of Hera enthroned on lions, and one of Zeus standing on a bull, both made of gold, and between the two golden statues stood another golden symbol which was quite different from any other statue. He says that it had no definite shape but contained all divine forms. The Assyrians simply called it the sign,¹ but no one could give any information concerning its origin or its shape. On the summit of it rested a golden dove, the representative bird of Istar. We need not hesitate to assume that this so-called sign was simply a

¹ σημεῖον.

pillar, a *mazzeba*,² such as commonly served to indicate the divine presence in the primitive days of stone worship,³ when it was called by the Jews as well as the Phenicians "house of God," or Bethel.⁴

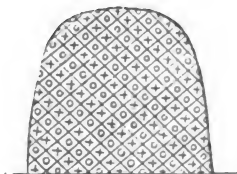


ISTAR.*



ISTAR.†

We have innumerable instances of such pillars representing Istar or Diana on coins and medals. Sometimes the sacred symbols of the deity to whom the pillar is dedicated are carved into it.



ASSYRIAN MATZZEBA COVERED WITH SOLAR DISCS AND CROSSES.

From Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, Plate LXXXIII, 2.

Incidentally we call attention to the trinity of the cult at Hierapolis. There were three emblems, the statues of Zeus and Hera and a pillar with a dove perched upon it, symbolizing the divine

מַצֵּבָה

* See the author's article on "Stone Worship," *Open Court*, XVIII, 45, 661.

† בֵּית־אֵל. Or transcribed into Greek *βασιλειον*.

* From a rock carving at Boghaz-Köi in Asia Minor.

† The similarity to Christianity becomes more apparent when we consider that the Holy Ghost, which the dove there represents, was for a time and in certain places regarded as feminine and the mother of Christ.

Father, the divine Mother, and an impersonal Bethel represented in the shape of a dove. We know that almost every temple of the Orient exhibited in the Holy of Holies a trinity of some kind—in Egypt mostly Osiris, Isis and Hor, and the persistence of tradition



A CHRISTIAN CARNELIAN IN THE
KIRCHER MUSEUM.

This shows the Good Shepherd, a ship, an anchor, a dove on a T cross and a fish on each side of the anchor. Through these symbols are scattered the letters IXΘΤΣ.



CHRISTIAN SYMBOLS.

Among them the dove on the ark and underneath Jonah's whale; on the left of the Good Shepherd Jonah under the gourd, and underneath seven sheep.

appears from the fact that all over China both the Buddhists and the Taoists have trinities in their shrines. The Buddhists call their trinity the triple gem and the Taoists "the three Holy Ones." When we would ask why there are three Holy Ones, not two, nor four,



THE TOMBSTONE OF EUTROPUS.

The occupant of this tomb was a sarcophagus maker. The inscription reads, "The Saintly and God Fearing Eutropus in peace. His son made it" (i. e., the tombstone). On the right hand is shown the coffin ornamented with four dolphins. Above it hovers a dove with an olive branch in his mouth.

no one can give us an authoritative answer, for the books of Taoism contain no information on the subject.

Concerning the animals held sacred by the worshipers of the Syrian goddess Lucian says: "Among the birds the dove was in their

opinion most holy. Even to touch it was deemed sin, and if this should happen unintentionally to any one he would be impure for a whole day. The doves make much use of their immunity, so much so that they live there and enter freely into the living rooms searching for food without fear."



ISTAR WITH DOVE.



ISTAR'S DOVE (DETAIL).

During the Hellenistic period.

Concerning the holy fish in Hierapolis Lucian says:

"Not far from the temple is a lake in which there are a great many holy fishes of different kinds; some of them are extraordinarily large and have names of their own. They come when called. While I watched them I found one among them who had an ornament of golden flowers on his fins. I saw him repeatedly and always with

wreaths and exhaling the odor of incense. Daily many people swim to it in order to pray there and deck it with fresh flowers."

One of the greatest festivals which attracts great crowds is what is called "the procession to the lake," because, as Lucian tells us, "on this day all the statues of the gods descend to the lake, among them Juno first, for the sake of the fish, lest Zeus see them before the same decoration. The pond is said to be very deep. I have not sounded it but it is said to be about 200 yards. In the middle of the pond stands a stone altar which at first sight seems to swim and move upon the water, and this is believed by many people, but it seems to me to rest on a high column. This altar is always covered her, for if that should happen, it is said that the fish in the lake



ROCK CARVING AT BOGHAZ-KÖI.

Bas-relief in the British Museum.

would die. Now he comes indeed to see them but the goddess prevents him, keeps him back, and does not cease urging him to return."

The custom of bathing the statues of the gods was quite a common practice, and, like baptism, is a ceremony based on the notion of the sanctity of water as the substance of life. We meet with the same custom even among the Teutons, of whom Tacitus gives us a vivid description saying that a goddess was ceremoniously bathed in a sacred lake of an island, and some archeologists believe they have discovered this locality in the now so-called Hertha lake on the Island of Rügen.

Wieland, the German translator of Lucian's complete works, makes this comment on the Syrian goddess (First edition, Vol. V. pp. 347-348) :

"Since Lucian often leaves our curiosity unsatisfied in this rather desultory account of the Syrian goddess, it may not be unwelcome

to many readers if I endeavor to throw further light upon this mysterious goddess, her temple and some of its peculiarities, so far as I have the means at hand. Larcher, in his essay *Memoire sur Venus* (p. 16 f.), says: "The Syrian goddess was regarded as a Venus, and it is the more probable that she was a Venus since she was thought of as nature itself, or at least as the first cause which brought forth from moisture the beginnings and seeds of all created things. Hyginus likewise asserts that this goddess was Venus. He says that "an egg of extraordinary size fell into the Euphrates from heaven; the fishes rolled it to the bank; the doves hatched it and Venus came out of the shell and was henceforth called the Syrian goddess. At her request Jupiter, wishing to do honor to her virtues, transferred the fishes to a place among the stars, and because of this the Syrians include the fishes and doves among the gods, and do not eat them." According to Strabo the goddess was called Atergatis, and according to Eratosthenes, Derketo. He says that she fell at night into a lake near Bambyce (which according to Ælianus and Appianus is Heliopolis) and was saved by the great fish.'

"So far Mr. Larcher. This last legend, as may be assumed of all fabulous traditions of the ancient world, had an historical foundation according to the geographer Mnaseas as cited by Athenæus. Mnases said that Atergatis was a Syrian queen and had been so fond of fish that she forbade her subjects to eat fish under the heaviest penalties, but on the other hand commanded them to deliver all they caught to her own kitchen. This in his opinion is the origin of the abstinence from fish which became an article of religion with the Syrians, and also the origin of the custom to worship silver or gold fishes of Atergatis, deified by later generations, when they had some important request to make of her. He also states as a positive fact (although Lucian makes no mention of it) that real boiled and baked fishes were placed daily before the goddess and were afterwards eaten by the priests as her representatives in her name, a circumstance to which I would have been willing to swear even before I knew of this passage in Athenæus; for it is absolutely incredible that some hundreds of priests (whose maintenance demanded a great amount and variety of provisions) would have left unused a lake full of the finest fish and would not have been crafty enough to have combined the sanctity of these fishes (by which they were merely secured against the profane palates of the laity) with the interest of their own fastidious tastes."

Wieland's utilitarian explanation of the sacramental eating of

the fish by the priests is beside the mark, for it substitutes a modern culinary motive and underrates the power of religious tradition.

For the sake of completeness we will quote what Prof. W. R. Smith has to say on the dove:

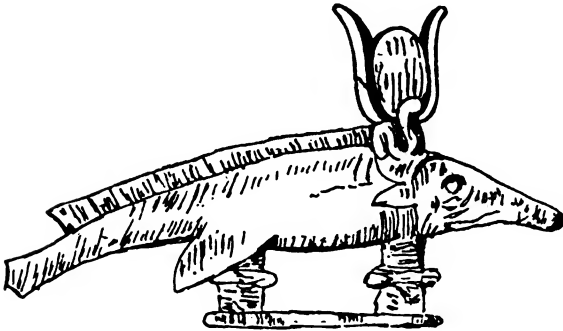
"The dove, which the Semites would neither eat nor touch, was sacrificed by the Romans to Venus; and as the Roman Venus-worship of later times was largely derived from the Phenician sanctuary of Eryx, where the dove had peculiar honor as the companion of Astarte, it is very possible that this was a Semitic rite, though I have not found any conclusive evidence that it was so. It must certainly have been a very rare sacrifice; for the dove among the Semites had a quite peculiar sanctity, and Al-Nadim says expressly that it was not sacrificed by the Harranians. It was, however, offered by the Hebrews, in sacrifices which we shall by and by see reason to regard as closely analogous to mystical rites; and in Juvenal, VI, 459 ff., the superstitious matrons of Rome are represented as calling in an Armenian or Syrian (Commagenian) haruspex to perform the sacrifice of a dove, a chicken, a dog, or even a child. In this association an exceptional and mystic sacrifice is necessarily implied.

"When an unclean animal is sacrificed it is also a sacred animal. If the deity to which it is devoted is named, it is the deity which ordinarily protects the sanctity of the victim, and, in some cases, the worshipers either in words or by symbolic disguise claim kinship with the victim and the god. Further, the sacrifice is generally limited to certain solemn occasions, usually annual, and so has the character of a public celebration. In several cases the worshipers partake of the sacred flesh, which at other times it would be impious to touch. All this is exactly what we find among totem peoples. Here also the sacred animal is forbidden food, it is akin to the men who acknowledge its sanctity, and if there is a god it is akin to the god. And, finally, the totem is sometimes sacrificed at an annual feast, with special and solemn ritual. In such cases the flesh may be buried or cast into a river, as the horses of the sun were cast into the sea, but at other times it is eaten as a mystic sacrament. These points of contact with the most primitive superstition cannot be accidental; they show that the mystical sacrifices, as Julian calls them, the sacrifices of animals not ordinarily eaten, are not the invention of later times, but have preserved with great accuracy the features of a sacrificial ritual of extreme antiquity."

We notice here that the dove is sacred, but that the mere touch of it renders people impure because things sacred are what anthropologists now are in the habit of calling "tabu." In the same way

the same animal which serves as the emblem of the deity and is eaten sacramentally, will otherwise not be eaten, and its very touch renders unclean. This is specially true of the boar, the animal sacred to Adonis, and when among the Israelites the old Adonis cult had been abrogated the pig continued to remain tabu, only henceforth it was regarded as impure and its pristine sacred character was entirely lost sight of.

The Syrians are Semites kin in race to the Hebrews, and so it is but natural that some of their institutions should be similar to those. Lucian says of the Hierapolitans that they sacrificed bulls and cows, also goats and sheep; but that only the swine are neither offered nor eaten, since they look on them as an abomination, and



THE OXYRHYNCHOUS WITH SOLAR DISK.

From a bronze in the Louvre.



ISIS AND THE FISH.

some believe that this did not happen on account of disgust, but because this animal was originally holy.

The pig was deemed a most effective offering not only among the Semites but also in Greece where we find it used as an expiatory sacrifice in the Eleusinian mysteries.

The sacredness of the dove and the fish were not limited to Hierapolis. The dove was the bird of both Venus and Diana all over the lands of classical antiquity, and the fish was the emblem of the second person of the old Babylonian Trinity since its Sumerian and its remotest prehistoric ages, and this fish deity was a mediator between God and man. To him was attributed in Babylonia all knowledge, all civilization, all religion, all morality, as much as in

Egypt to Osiris. Folklorists assume that this fish was the sun who was regarded as rising from the waters in the east and sinking back into the waters in the west, and that during the night he lived in the depths of the ocean. Some features of Oannes reappear in Ea, the god of the ocean and of water.

Similar ideas in which the fish is regarded as sacred, have prevailed in many other countries. We know that in some provinces of Egypt certain fish were sacred, and among them we especially know the large Oxyrhynchus, which was distinguished among the scaled creatures by its extreme fertility. It was represented in Egypt as carrying the solar disk on top of its head, which indicates its connection with sun worship. Isis herself was represented as the fish goddess, bearing on her head the emblem of a fish.

ON THE FOUNDATION AND TECHNIC OF ARITHMETIC.*

BY GEORGE BRUCE HALSTED.

Decimals.

IT is the characteristic of our positional notation for number that shifting a digit one place to the left multiplies it by the base of the system. The zero enables us to indicate such shifting. Thus since our base is ten, 1 shifted one place to the left, 10, becomes ten; two shifted two places to the left, 200, becomes two hundred.

Inversely, shifting a digit one place to the right divides it by the base of the system. Thus 3 in the thousands place, 3000, shifted one place to the right becomes 300.

We now create that this shifting to the right may go on beyond the units place with no change of meaning or effect.

In order to write this, we use a device, a notation to mark or point out the units place, a point immediately to its right called the decimal point or unital point. The decimal point appears first in 1617 on page 21 of Napier's *Rabdologiae*. Thus 4 shifted one place to the right becomes 0.4 and of course means a number which multiplied by the base gives 4. Such numbers have been called decimals. Their theory is independent of the base, which might be say 12 or 2, in which case the word decimals would be a distinct misnomer.

If however the base be ten, then shifting a digit one place to the left multiplies it by ten. But this is accomplished for every digit in the number simply by shifting the point one place to the right. Thus .05 is tenfold .005. If our unit is a dollar, \$1, then the first place to the right will be dimes. Thus \$0.6 means six dimes. The next place to the right of dimes means cents. Thus \$.07 means seven cents. The next place to the right of cents means mills. Thus \$.008 means eight mills.

* Continuation of an article appearing in the February and March numbers.

Ten mills make a cent. Ten cents make a dime. Ten dimes make a dollar.

In general we name these basal subunitals so as to indicate by symmetry their place with reference to the units column. As the first column to the left of units is tens, so the first column to the right of units is called tenths. As the second column to the left of the units column is called hundreds, so the second column to the right of the units' column is called hundredths. As the third column to the left of the units column is called thousands, so the third column to the right of the units column is called thousandths.

But these names need not be used in reading a subunital. Thus 0.987 may be read: Point, nine, eight, seven.

One-tenth is a number ten of which are together equal to a unit.

The word "and" connecting the different parts of a number is generally dropped; in English, however, it is retained after the hundreds (Homersham Cox, *Arithmetic*, p. 9).

If an integer be read by merely pronouncing in succession the names of its digits, as in reading 7689 as seven, six, eight, nine, we do not know the rank and so all the value of any figure read until after all have been read.

Hence the advantage of reading 7689 seven thousand six hundred and eighty-nine. But in reading the decimal .7689 as "point, seven, six, eight, nine" we know every thing about each figure as it is read, which on the contrary we do not know if it be read seven thousand six hundred and eighty-nine ten-thousandths.

Moreover such a habit of reading decimals detracts from our confident certainty of understanding integers step by step as read. There may be coming at the end a wretched subunital designation like this "ten-thousandths" to metamorphose everything read.

So always read decimals by pronouncing the word *point* and the names of the separate single digits.

Read 7000.008 seven thousand, point, nought, nought, eight.
Read .708 point, seven, nought, eight.

Sum and Difference.

To add decimals, write the terms so that the decimal points fall precisely under one another, in a vertical column. Then proceed just as with integers, the point in the sum falling under those of the terms.

Just so it is with subtraction.

Product.

In multiplying decimals remember we are dealing simply with a symmetrical completion, extension of positional notation to the *right* from units' place. Realize the perfect balance resting on the units' column. 4321.234.

A shift of the decimal point changes the rank of each of the digits. So to multiply or divide by any power of ten is accomplished by a simple shift of the point.

Thus 98.76×10 is 987.6. Just so $98.76/10$ is 9.876, and is identical with 98.76×0.1 . Twice this is $98.76 \times 0.1 \times 2$ or $98.76 \times 0.2 = 19.752$.

So to multiply by a decimal is to multiply by an integer and shift the point.

Hence the rule, useful for check, that the number of decimal places in the product is the sum of the places in the factors. There is no need for thinking of tenths as fractions to realize that two-tenths of a number is twice one-tenth of it.

In multiplying decimals, write the multiplier so that its point comes precisely under the point in the multiplicand, and in vertical column with these put the point in each partial product. The figure obtained from multiplying the *units* figure of the multiplicand must come precisely under the figure by which we are multiplying.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 1293.015 \\
 132.02 \\
 \hline
 129301.5 \\
 38790.45 \\
 2586.030 \\
 25.86030 \\
 \hline
 170703.8403
 \end{array}$$

Here, beginning to multiply by the 1, think five while writing it two places to the left of the figure multiplied because the 1 is two places to the left of the units column. Proceed to multiply by the 3, thinking *fifteen*; 3, four; nought; nine; *twenty-seven*; etc.

Rule: Multiplying shifts as many places right or left as the multiplier is from the units column.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 41.27 \\
 .03 \\
 \hline
 1.2381
 \end{array}$$

Here think *twenty-one* while writing the 1 two places more to the right than the 7 because the 3 is two places to the right of the units column.

Quotient.

In division of decimals place the decimal point of the quotient precisely over the decimal point of the dividend and, when the divisor is an integer, the first figure of the quotient over the last figure of the first partial dividend.

Rule: The first figure of the quotient stands as many places to the left of the last figure of the first partial dividend as there are decimal places in the divisor.

638
.021)13.4

8 Here the quotient 638 is an integer.

17

2 The sign + at the end of a number means there is a remainder, or that the number to which it is attached falls short of completely, exactly expressing all it represents, though increasing the last figure by unity would overpass exactitude and so should be followed by the sign - (minus).

6+
2.1).0134

8

Thus $\pi = 3.14+$ and

$\pi = 3.1416-$

When there is a remainder we may get additional places in the quotient by annexing ciphers to the dividend and continuing the division.

63
.21)13.4

8 The phrase "true to 2 (or 3, etc.) places of decimals" means that a closer approximation can not be written without using more places.

17

Thus as a value for π , 3.14 is true or "correct" to two places of decimals, since $\pi = 3.14159+$; while 3.1416 is true to four places.

As an approximation to 1.235 we may say either 1.23 or 1.24 is true to two places of decimals.

FRACTIONS.

Principle of Permanence:

For the new numbers hold the old laws.

1st. Every number combination which gives no already existing number, is to be given such an interpretation that the combination can be handled according to the same rules as the previously existing numbers.

2d. Such combination is to be defined as a number, thus enlarging the number idea.

3d. Then the usual laws (freedoms) are to be proved to hold for it.

4th. Equal, greater, less are to be defined in the enlarged domain.

This was first given by Hankel as generalization of a principle

given by G. Peacock, British Association, III, London, 1834, p. 195. *Symbolic Algebra*, Cambridge, 1830, p. 105; 2d ed., 1845, p. 59.

Fractions.

If unity in pure number be considered as indivisible, fractions may be introduced by conventions. Take two integers in a given order and regard them as forming a couple; create that this couple shall be a number of a new kind, and define the equality, addition, and multiplication of such numbers by the conventions,

$$\begin{aligned} a/b &= c/d \text{ if } ad = bc; \\ a/b + c/d &= (ad + bc)/bd; \\ (a/b)(c/d) &= (ac)/(bd). \end{aligned}$$

The preceding number is called the *numerator* of the fraction; the succeeding number, the *denominator*.

Fractions have application only to objects capable of partition into portions equal in number to the denominator. No fraction is applicable to a person.

In accordance with the principle of permanence, we create that the compound symbol of the form a/b , two natural numbers separated by the slant, shall designate a number. Either the symbol or the number may be called a *fraction*. The slant is to stand for the division of a by b , of the preceding by the succeeding number, where this is possible. When a is exactly divisible by b , that is, without remainder, the fraction designates a natural number.

When a is a multiple of b , and a' of b' , the equality $ab' = a'b$ is the necessary and sufficient condition for the symbols a/b , a'/b' to represent the same number. By this same condition we define the equality of the new numbers, the fractions.

A fraction is *irreducible* when its numerator and denominator contain no common factor other than 1.

To compare two fractions, reduce them to a common denominator, then that which has the greater numerator is called the greater.

A *proper* fraction is a fraction with numerator less than denominator. It is less than 1.

Subtraction is given by the equality $a/b - a'/b' = (ab' - a'b')/bb'$.

Division is taken as the inverse of multiplication, hence $(c/d)/(a/b)$ means to find a number whose product with (a/b) is (c/d) . Such is $(c/d)(b/a)$.

$$\text{So } (c/d)/(a/b) = (c/d)(b/a) = bc/ad.$$

1°. This last expression may be considered simply a more compact form of the first, obtained by reducing to a common denominator and cancelling this denominator. This compact form can be obtained by a procedure sometimes called the rule for division by a fraction: *Invert the divisor and multiply.*

2°. If we interchange numerator and denominator of a fraction we get its *inverse* or *reciprocal*. So the inverse of a is $1/a$.

$$(a/b)(b/a) = 1.$$

Now $(x/y)/(a/b)$ means to find a number which multiplied by a/b gives x/y and so the answer is $(x/y)(b/a)$. Hence: *To divide by a fraction, multiply by its reciprocal.*

3°. Again to find $(a/b)/(c/d)$, note that c/d is contained in $1/d/c$ times, and hence in a/b it is contained $(a/b)(d/c)$ times.

Fractions Ordered.

A *reduced* fraction is one whose numerator and denominator contain no common factor.

The fractions arranged according to size are an ordered set, but not well ordered; for no fraction has a determinate next greater fraction, since between any two numbers, however near in size, lie always innumerable others.

But all reduced fractions can be arranged in a well-ordered set arranged according to groups in which the sum of numerator and denominator is the same:

$1/1, 1/2, 2/1, 1/3, 3/1, 1/4, 2/3, 3/2, 4/1, 1/5, 5/1, 1/6, 2/5, 3/4, 4/3, 5/2, 6/1, \dots$

Thus they make a simply infinite series equivalent to the number series.

Proper fractions can be arranged by denominators:

$$\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}, \frac{2}{3}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{3}{4}, \frac{1}{5}, \frac{2}{5}, \frac{3}{5}, \dots$$

To turn a fraction a/b into a decimal $c/10^k$ must give $a10^k = bc$, where c is a whole number. Since a/b is in reduced form, therefore a and b have no common factor. So 10^k must be exactly divisible by b . Thus only fractions with denominator of the form $2^n 5^m$ can be turned exactly into decimals.

Fractions may be thought of as like decimals in being also subunitals. The unit operated with in a fraction, the fractional unit, is a subunit, and the *denominator* is to tell us just what subunit,

just what certain part of the whole or original or primal unit is taken as this subunit; while the *numerator* is the number of these subunits. Thus $3/10$ is a three of subunits ten of which make a unit. Thus, like an integer, a fraction is a unity of units (or one unit), but these are subunits. Different subunits may be very simply related, as are $1/2$, $1/4$, $1/8$.

To add $3/4$ and $1/2$ we first make their subunits the same by bisecting the subunit of $1/2$, which thus becomes $2/4$. Then $3/4$ and $2/4$ may be counted together to give $5/4$.

Fractions having the same subunit are added by adding their numerators, the same denominator being retained since the subunit is unchanged. The like is true of subtraction.

To add unlike fractions change to one same subunit. The technical expression for this is "reduce to a common denominator."

Since we already know that to be counted together the things must be taken as indistinguishably equivalent, the procedure of changing to one same subunit is crystal clear.

To change a half to twelfths is simply to split up the one-half, the first subunit, into subunits twelve of which make the whole or original unit.

Thus, operatively, to express a fraction in terms of some other subunit; the procedure is simply to multiply (or divide) numerator and denominator by the same number.

Thus $1/2 = (1 \times 6) / (2 \times 6) = 6/12$. So $6/12 = (6/3) / (12/3) = 2/4$. This principle in the form: "The value of a fraction is unaltered by dividing both numerator and denominator by the same number," is freely applied in what is technically called "reducing fractions to their lowest terms."

It should be applied just as freely and directly in the form: "The value of a fraction is unaltered by multiplying both numerator and denominator by the same number." Thus the complex fraction $(2+2/3) / (3+2/9)$, multiplying both terms by 9, gives at once $24/29$. Again $(3 \text{ feet } 5 \text{ inches}) / (2 \text{ feet } 7 \text{ inches})$, multiplying both terms by 12, gives $41/31$.

$13\frac{1}{4}$ To subtract $7\frac{3}{4}$ from $13\frac{1}{4}$, that is to evaluate
 $7\frac{3}{4}$ $13\frac{1}{4} - 7\frac{3}{4}$, think $3/4$ and two-fourths make $5/4$, carry 1;
 $5\frac{2}{4}$ 8 and five make thirteen.

Division of a Fraction by an Integer.

The 1 in $1/n$ is the subunit, the n specifying what particular subunit. In division of a fraction by an integer we meet the same limitation which theoretically led to the creation of fractions; namely

$2/5$ is no more divisible by three than any other two. But here we can easily transform our fraction into an equivalent divisible by 3. Just trisect the subunit. Thus $2/5$ becomes $6/15$, which is divisible by 3 giving $2/5$.

Such result is always at once attained simply by multiplying the given denominator by the given integral divisor. Hence the rule: To divide a fraction by an integer, multiply its denominator by the integer.

RELATION OF DECIMALS TO FRACTIONS.

6.214	Fractions may be freely combined with decimals.
$3\frac{1}{3}$	Thus $1/24 = .04\frac{1}{6}$.
18.642	1 meter = 39.37 inches = 3 feet $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches.
$2.071\frac{1}{3}$	In finding the product of a decimal and a fraction
$20.713\frac{1}{3}$	use the fraction as multiplier.

1st. *Conversion of Decimals Into Fractions.*

By our positional notation, 0.1 means one subunit such that ten of them make the unit. But just this same thing is meant by $1/10$. Therefore any decimal may be instantly written as a fraction; e. g., $0.234 = 2/10 + 3/100 + 4/1000 = 234/1000$.

2d. *Conversion of Fractions Into Decimals.*

First Method.

Any fraction equals the quotient of its numerator divided by its denominator. Consider the fraction, then, simply as indicating an example in division of decimals, and proceed to find the quotient.

Thus for $1/2$ we have:

$$\begin{array}{r} .5 \\ 2)1.0 \end{array} \text{ So } 1/2 = 0.5.$$

For $3/4$ we have:

$$\begin{array}{r} .75 \\ 4)3.00 \end{array} \text{ So } 3/4 = 0.75.$$

For $7/8$ we have:

$$\begin{array}{r} .875 \\ 8)7.000 \end{array} \text{ So } 7/8 = 0.875.$$

Second Method.

Apply the principle: The value of a fraction is unaltered by multiplying both numerator and denominator by the same number.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Thus } 7/8 &= 7/(2 \times 2 \times 2) \\ &= (7 \times 5 \times 5 \times 5)/(2 \times 5 \times 2 \times 5 \times 2 \times 5) \\ &= 875/1000 = 0.875. \end{aligned}$$

Considering the application of this second method to $1/3$, we see there is no multiplier which will convert 3 into a power of 10, since 10 contains no factors but 2 and 5. Ten does not contain 3 as a factor, so we cannot convert $1/3$ into an ordinary decimal. We cannot, as an example in division of decimals, divide 1 by 3 *without remainder*. But we can freely apply remainder-division, at any length. Thus

$$\begin{array}{r} .333 \\ 3 \overline{)1.} \\ \underline{.3} \\ .1 \\ \underline{.03} \\ .001 \end{array}$$

The procedure is recurrent, and if continued the 3 would simply recur.

$\begin{array}{r} .142857 \\ 7 \overline{)1.} \\ \underline{.7} \\ .3 \\ \underline{.21} \\ .6 \\ \underline{.56} \\ .4 \\ \underline{.35} \\ .1 \end{array}$	<p>In division by n, not more than $n-1$ different remainders can occur. But as soon as a preceding dividend thus recurs, the procedure begins to repeat itself. Here then this division by 7 must begin to repeat, and the figures in the quotient must begin to recur.</p>
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If the recurring cycle begins at once, immediately after the decimal point, the decimal is called a pure recurring decimal. As notation for a pure recurring decimal, we write the recurring period, the repetend, dotting its first and last figures; thus $1/11 = .\dot{0}\dot{9}$; $1/9 = .\dot{1}$.

Every fraction is a product of a decimal by a pure recurring decimal. Thus $1/6 = (1/2)(1/3) = 0.5 \times .\dot{3}$.

To convert recurring decimals into fractions:

$$\begin{array}{l} .\dot{1}\dot{2} \times 100 = 12.\dot{1}\dot{2} \\ .\dot{1}\dot{2} \times 1 = .\dot{1}\dot{2} \quad \text{Therefore subtracting,} \\ \hline .\dot{1}\dot{2} \times 99 = 12 \\ .\dot{1}\dot{2} = 12/99 = 4/33 \end{array}$$

Rule: Any pure recurring decimal equals the fraction with the repeating period for a numerator, and that many nines for denominator.

Base.

The base of a number system is the number which indicates how many units are to be taken together into a composite unit, to be named, and then to be used in the count instead of the units composing it, this first composite unit to be counted until, upon reaching

as many of them as units in the base, this set of composite units is taken together to make a complex unit, to be named, and in turn to be used in the count, and enumerated until again the basal number of these complex units be reached, which manifold is again to be made a new unit, named, etc.

Thus twenty-five, twain ten + five, uses ten as base. Using twelve as base, it would be two dozen and one. Using twenty, it would be a score and five. In positional notation for number, a digit in the units' place means so many units, but in the first place to the left of units' place it means so many times the base, while in the first place to the right of the units' place it means so many subunits each of which multiplied by the base gives the unit. And so on, for the second, etc., place to the left of the units' column, and for the second, etc., place to the right of the units' column.

It is the systematic use of a base in connection with the significant use of position, which constitutes the formal perfection of our Hindu notation for number. The actual base itself, ten, is a concession to our fingers.

Compare these subunital expressions for the fundamental fractions, to base ten, to base twelve, to base two.

DECIMALLY.	DUODECIMALLY.	DUALLY. [IN THE BINARY NOTATION.]
$1/2 = 0.5$	$1/2 = 0.6$	$1/2 = 1/10 = 0.1$
$1/3 = .\dot{3}$	$1/3 = 0.4$	$1/3 = 1/11 = .\dot{0}1$
$1/4 = 0.25$	$1/4 = 0.3$	$1/4 = 1/100 = .01$
$1/6 = 0.1\dot{6}$	$1/6 = 0.2$	$1/6 = 1/110 = .\dot{0}01$
$1/8 = 0.125$	$1/8 = 0.16$	$1/8 = 1/1000 = .001$
$1/9 = .\dot{1}$	$1/9 = 0.14$	$1/9 = 1/1001 = .\dot{0}00111$

MEASUREMENT.

Says Dr. E. W. Hobson: "It is a very significant fact that the operation of counting, in connection with which numbers, integral and fractional, have their origin, is the one and only absolutely exact operation of a mathematical character which we are able to undertake upon the objects which we perceive. On the other hand, all operations of the nature of measurement which we can perform in connection with the objects of perception contain an essential element of inexactness. The theory of exact measurement in the domain of the ideal objects of abstract geometry is not immediately derivable from intuition."

Arithmetic is a fundamental engine for our creative construction of the world in the interests of our dominance over it. The

world so conceived bends to our will and purpose most completely. No rival construct now exists. There is no rival way of looking at the world's discrete constituents. One of the most far-reaching achievements of constructive human thinking is the arithmetization of that world handed down to us by the thinking of our animal predecessors.

Why Count?

In regard to an aggregate of things, why do we care to inquire "how many"? Why do we count an assemblage of things? Why not be satisfied to look upon it as an animal would? How does the cardinal number of it help?

First of all it serves the various uses of identification. Then the inexhaustible wealth of properties individual and conjoined of exact science is through number assimilated and attached to the studied set, and its numeric potential revealed. Mathematical knowledge is made applicable and its transmission possible.

Thus the number is basal for effective domination of the world social as well as natural.

Number arises from a creative act whose aim and purpose is to differentiate and dominate more perfectly than do animals the perceived material, primarily when perceived as made of individuals. Not merely must the material be made of individuals, but primarily it must be made of individuals in a way amenable to treatment of this particular kind by our finite powers. Powers which suffice to make specific a clutch of eggs, say a dozen, may be transcended by the stars in the sky.

Number is the outcome of an aggressive operation of mind in making and distinguishing certain multiplex objects, certain manifolds. We substitute for the things of nature the things born of man's mind and more obedient, more docile. They, responsive to our needs, give us the result we are after, while economising our output of effort, our life. The number series, the ordered denumerable discrete infinity is the prolific source of arithmetic progress. Who attempts to visualize 90 as a group of objects? It is nine tens. Then the fingers tell us what it is, no graphic group visualization. First comes the creation of artificial individuals having numeric quality. The cardinal number of a group is a selective representation of it which takes or pictures only one quality of the group but takes that all at once. This selective picture process only applies primarily to those particular artificial wholes which may be called discrete aggregates. But these are of inestimable importance for human life.

The Measure Device.

The overwhelming advantages of the number picture led, after centuries, to a human invention as clearly a device of man for himself as the telephone. This was a device for making a primitive individual thinkable as a recognizable and recoverable artificial individual of the kind having the numeric quality, having a number picture. This is the recondite device called measurement.

Measurement is an artifice for making a primitive individual conceivable as an artificial individual of the group kind with previously known elements, conventionally fixed elements, and so having a significant number-picture by which knowledge of it may be transmitted, to any one knowing the conventionally chosen standard unit, in terms of this previously known standard unit and an ascertained number.

From the number and the standard unit for measure the measured thing can be approximately reproduced and so known and recovered. No knowledge of the thing measured must be requisite for knowledge of the standard unit for the measurement. This standard unit of measure must have been familiar from previous direct perception. So the picturing of an individual as three-thirds of itself is not measurement.

All measurement is essentially inexact. No exact measurement is ever possible.

Counting Prior to Measuring.

Counting is essentially prior to measuring. The savage, making the first faltering steps, furnished number, an indispensable prerequisite for measurement, long ages before measurement was ever thought of. The primitive function of number was to serve the purposes of identification. Counting, consisting in associating with each primitive individual in an artificial individual a distinct primitive individual in a familiar artificial individual, is thus itself essentially the identification, by a one-to-one correspondence, of an unfamiliar with a familiar thing. Thus primitive counting decides which of the familiar groups of fingers is to have its numeric quality attached to the group counted. To attempt to found the notion of number upon measurement is a complete blunder. No measurement can be made exact, while number is perfectly exact.

Counting implies first a known ordinal series or a known series of groups; secondly an unfamiliar group; thirdly the identification of the unfamiliar group by its one-to-one correspondence with a

familiar group of the known series. Absolutely no idea of measurement, of standard unit of measure, of value is necessarily involved or indeed ordinarily used in counting. We count when we wish to find out whether the same group of horses has been driven back at night that was taken out in the morning. Here counting is a process of identification, not connected fundamentally with any idea of a standard measurement-unit-of-reference, or any idea of some value to be ascertained. We may say with perfect certainty that there is no implicit presence of the measurement idea in primitive number. The number system is not in any way based upon geometric congruence or measurement of any sort or kind.

The numerical measurement of an extensive quantity consists in approximately making of it, by use of a well-known extensive quantity used as a standard unit, a collection of approximately equal, quantitatively equal, quantities, and then counting these approximately equal quantities. The single extensive quantity is said to be numerically measured in terms of the convened standard quantitative extensive unit.

New Assumptions.

For measurement, assumptions are necessary which are not needed for counting or number. Spatial measurement depends upon the assumption that there is available a standard body which may be transferred from place to place without undergoing any other change. Therein lies not only an assumption about the nature of space but also about the nature of space-occupying bodies. Kindred assumptions are necessary for the measuring of time and of mass.

Now in reality none of these assumptions requisite for measurement are exactly fulfilled. How fortunate then that number involves no measurement idea!

But still other assumptions are made in measurement. After this device for making counting apply to something all in one piece has marked off the parts which are to be assumed as each equal to the standard, their order is unessential to their cardinal number. But it is also assumed that such pieces may be marked out beginning anywhere, then again anywhere in what remains, without affecting the final remainder or the whole count. Moreover measurement, even the very simplest, must face at once incommensurability. Whatever you take as standard for length, neither it nor any part of it is exactly contained in the diagonal of the square on it. This is proven. But the great probabilities are that your standard is not exactly contained in anything you may wish to measure. There is a re-

mainder large or small, perceptible or imperceptible. Measurement then can only be a way of pretending that a thing is a discrete aggregate of parts equal to the standard, or an aliquot part of it. We must neglect the remainder. If we do it unconsciously, so much the worse for us.

No way has been discovered of describing an object exactly by counting and words and a standard. Any man can count exactly. No man can measure exactly.

Arithmetic applies to our representation of the world, to the constructed phenomena the mind has created to help, to explain, its own perceptions. This representation of things lends itself to the application of arithmetic. Arithmetic is a most powerful instrument for that ordering and simplification of perception which is fundamental for dominance over so-called nature.

Measurement may be analysed into three primary procedures: 1°. The conventional acceptance or determination of a standard object, the unit of measure. 2°. The breaking up of the object to be measured into pieces each congruent to the standard object. 3° The counting of these pieces.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

THE UNIVERSITY AS A POLITICAL FACTOR.

BY HOWARD T. LEWIS.

A CERTAIN eminent politician, upon being asked what influence the average college undergraduate in this country exerts upon politics, answered shortly, "None." Then he went on to say, "The intelligent college graduate, after he has been out in the world for a time usually comes to exert an influence second only to the daily newspaper. But so far as the undergraduate is concerned, his influence is *nil*, save, of course, in those small towns where the voting strength of the undergraduates is sufficient to materially influence the outcome of the local elections."

There can be but little doubt but that the sentiment of the general public is very largely in accord with that expressed by this gentleman. In fact, many people go farther than this, and believe that not only is the actual influence of the undergraduate a negligible quantity, but that he is not even interested in political matters of any sort. The latter view, however, will scarcely be held by any one conversant with the actual situation. But to the thinking man, who is always apt to compare American conditions with those elsewhere, it would nevertheless seem to be a fact that the average American undergraduate does not exert the influence on or manifest the same interest in the political affairs of the nation as does his European cousin.

We are all willing to grant that at the time of those great crises of our history—the Revolution and the Civil War—students left the college halls by hundreds and volunteered to serve in the defense of what they believed to be right. We are forced to admit as a matter of history that the great majority of our real statesmen have been college graduates. Yet it seems peculiar that in a land where political affairs have been so much a matter of public opinion, and where questions of such tremendous import are left to the decision of the general public, that, for some reason or other, the college

men actually enrolled as undergraduates have not taken a more active part in the affairs of the day.

We read with intense interest of the student insurrections of 1848 in Germany and Austria. Even in our own day the Italian, Russian, French, and German student riots form seemingly conclusive proof of the superior influence of and interest among the students of those countries over their American counterpart. We may, indeed, believe that these insurrections are merely the expression of popular sentiment, that the students lead them only because of their exuberance of spirit and usual fearlessness of consequences. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the students do lead the demonstrations. Sometimes they have been aided by the populace, it is true, but in more cases than one they have actually achieved momentous results through their own efforts. Naturally, aside from the lawlessness of the affair, such a comparison tends to throw discredit upon the American undergraduate, and most of us are prone to believe that in this respect, at least, he is not equal to the European student.

It would hardly seem to be out of place, therefore, at a time when the colleges and universities are attracting so much attention, to inquire what the reason for this seeming apathy can be, and we believe that before we are through, three facts will stand out pre-eminently. First, the difference between the American and European students in this respect is due to entirely different circumstances; second, the apathy in America is only on the surface, and beneath it lies a keen interest and an unquestionable influence; and third, the indications for the future point to an increasing interest and influence.

Since the comparison is most commonly drawn with the German universities, it would be well to investigate the problem by selecting these as typical for our purposes. It is essential to understand at the very beginning that the students as such have never been the primary instigators of the student riots of central Europe. They have been merely the outward manifestations of a deeper power lying behind them, namely, the professors in the universities. Investigation reveals that they, and **not** the students themselves, were usually the promulgators of **reform** and of opposition to established institutions. As an **educated** man, a specialist in his line, and usually a liberal in his **political** **beliefs** whatever his religious convictions may have been, **the** **university** professor could, with a comparative degree of safety, teach **doctrines** under the guise of ordinary instruction which might well have cost another man his

life. The fact has been frequently commented upon that doctrines have been taught at the University of Berlin which, if carried into effect, would mean the destruction of the Imperial Palace just across the street. Consider the effect of this sort of thing upon the average college student who is plastic in mind, yet earnest and enthusiastic. More or less unconsciously, he formed deep-rooted convictions which later became fruitful sources of unrest, dissatisfaction, and intense activity.

Another thing to be considered is that the origin of the universities in Germany had much to do with the interest manifested by the students in political affairs. There the higher schools were founded by the government and were patronized, even to the present day, chiefly by the upper classes who are always leaders in political life and the ones most interested in it. Hence it is but natural that the advanced thinker, whether student or teacher, should belong to the class accustomed to political influence and most vitally interested in reform. Is it to be wondered at, therefore, that these men should become somewhat impatient if checked in the carrying out of their convictions? The realization of their strength, the memory of at least partial success in the past, and last but not least the fact that coeducation was a thing unknown, are inherent factors in the situation in Germany that are not to be forgotten.

Here a vital difference exists between American and German conditions. The universities of this country, with exception of the state universities which are of a distinctly western origin of a later period, have been founded by religious organizations, and nowhere in the world are religion and politics so widely separated as in America. Moreover, education has always been more widely diffused here than in Europe, and reform movements have in consequence been more general.

Again, the educational ideal among the German universities is different from that prevailing in this country. Among them higher education is regarded as synonymous with intense specialization and research far more than in this country. This renders it not unusual or a thing to be severely criticized, as is the case even to-day in our country, if the professor be a staunch advocate of reform in his particular field. Confining his attention to a more or less limited field of investigation, it would indeed be peculiar if with the thorough understanding of his subject in all its bearings and ramifications which years of study would naturally give, he did not see the weaknesses of its present state and persistently teach reform. In America, on the other hand, a college education is made simply the foundation

of a more technical training which is to follow; in other words, it is a liberal education. The American university has ever been, until recent years, an institution primarily of instruction, not of investigation. The university professor, like any other teacher, was supposed to keep to facts as they had been taught in days gone by, not to develop a plan or theory of his own, or indeed even to raise any question which might reflect unfavorably upon the educational orthodoxy of the times. The days when a distinguished college president could say to a newly-elected instructor in history who wished to promulgate original work, "My dear young friend, you have been called here as a teacher of history, not as a revolutionist," have gone, it is true, but not so very long ago after all, and the tendency still lingers. So the American professor, even though he have deep convictions regarding political and social questions, never dared voice them for fear of dismissal by a bigoted board of trustees, or if they failed to note his "heresy," lest either his fellow instructors or the general public would make it too uncomfortable for him to remain.

A third factor which influenced the situation lay in the fact that, contrary to the American custom, the German student did not remain long at one university. It is therefore quite the natural thing to expect that advanced views on contemporary history were not confined to the students of any one particular university, but spread rapidly and were absorbed by the entire student world. Thus in the very nature of the German educational system lay the seed from which dissension and discontent were spread, and as an inevitable result the universities became the very hot-beds of liberalism and reform.

Is it to be wondered at, then, that the German students became impatient, sometimes even blind and desperate through despair of ever effecting their reforms, and that they occasionally rose in open rebellion against what they considered tyranny and stagnant conservatism! Perhaps, indeed, it was the only way by which they could have made themselves heard effectively. Be that as it may, it was such an insurrection that caused the fall of Metternich, and changed the map of Europe.

As a fourth fact enabling us to understand the student riots in Europe, it is well to note that a student insurrection such as the older countries have not infrequently experienced could never have effected reform elsewhere than under a despotic form of government. A democracy would never have been profoundly influenced by disturbances of this kind. Bearing this fact in mind, it will be easier to understand why such methods of reform have not been employed

in America, for let it be remembered that permanent reform can never be secured by attempting to browbeat the chosen representatives of the people, and that it can only be secured by peacefully appealing to the voters at the poles.

Finally, it is only just to remember that in the light of subsequent history the principles for which the European students have stood have generally proven a genuine advance. Moreover, there were always those among the nobility, though not university men themselves, who were liberal minded and sympathetic, ready to accept the new thought. Beneath the student classes lay the peasantry, largely ignorant, it is true, yet not without those who could reason for themselves and appreciate new ideas. Thus the student class formed an entering wedge between the upper and lower classes, and could in time secure an influence over the older nobility above and the peasantry below. Herein lies a fact which cannot be overlooked.

It is therefore apparent, even from this brief survey, that essential differences exist between the relation which the undergraduate bears to politics in the old world and the new. The origin, ideals and nature of the universities themselves, the character of the government under which they operate, and the composition of the student body are so different that no comparison can be drawn between the two. It is therefore both illogical and unfair to rate the American beneath the European merely on the basis of outward manifestations of interest.

But is it true that the American student has neither interest nor influence in politics? Despite these powerful factors favoring the German undergraduate, his American cousin has really done more toward the attainment of political advance than many of us are apt to think. The influence of college graduates lies beyond the pale of this discussion, since we are treating solely of the undergraduate. The fact, for instance, that every chief justice of the Supreme Court (save only John Marshall, who ceased his course at the College of William and Mary at the outbreak of the Revolution) have been college graduates, as were Thomas Jefferson, the draftsman of the Declaration of Independence, and Payton Randolph, the first president of the Continental Congress, although interesting, does not bear upon the subject in hand.

Yet an historian of no mean ability has said that the Revolution would have been postponed half a century had it not been for Harvard College. Political clubs have been in existence in our universities almost continuously from the days of 1875 down to the present

hour, and one can hardly measure their influence, direct and indirect. The American Republican College League of but a few years since was organized by the chairman of the Republican Central Committee, its proceedings sanctioned, and its work aided. Prohibitionists and socialists as well as republicans and democrats, have well-organized clubs in nearly every college and university in the land. That their influence is considerable is well attested by the fact that in probably every college town in America the attempt has at some time or other been made to debar the students from voting in that town. It is not at all uncommon during the various campaigns for the party organizations to send out men from the undergraduate colleges to speak in behalf of their candidates. And so, in spite of declarations that "the college graduate is too much of a gentleman to be a successful politician," or of an equally intelligent critic that "college men are not of a sufficiently practical turn of mind to attract public attention or to deserve public trust," the fact still remains that the college students of America form a political force of actual and potential power that cannot be spoken of lightly.

And what of the future? We can but recognize the tendency to-day through the college world, whatever we may think of the past. Everywhere men are coming to recognize more and more that politics is a profession, not "a job." In Germany this has long been recognized and accepted, and men there study to enter political life even as men here do to enter medicine or the ministry. It is a law of civilization that with greater development comes greater complexity in national institutions. So it comes to be increasingly true that in all government, whether monarchy or democracy, specialists are needed just as truly as in engineering or surgery. It is well that we are fast coming to learn this truth. More and more we are realizing the necessity of putting educated specialists in positions where their education and knowledge will count for the most. Tariff schedules, railroad rates and tax commissions are being made up more and more of men who know, instead of inexperienced legislators. Governor Wilson of New Jersey, Professor Seligman of Columbia, Professors Ely and Meyer of Wisconsin, ex-president Eliot of Harvard are well-known instances illustrative of this tendency. The commission form of government for cities is but another evidence of this fact. So an ever increasing number of men are specially preparing themselves for the various departments of governmental activity—forestry, consular service, and so forth—through the medium of the college course.

Equally important with greater specialization for the political

leaders of the future is a close and strong bond with the people they would lead. More and more will this be true as the American people come to realize to the fullest extent their political responsibility and become more and more sensitive to changes of policy on the part of their representatives. Recognizing this, and seeking to strengthen this bond of union, the universities of to-day are expanding in both directions—toward greater specialization on the one hand, and toward a utilitarian ideal on the other (note in this connection the growth of university extension departments)—so that as time goes on, though there may be fewer people who actively engage in politics, yet will the people as a whole be in closer touch with their representatives and their work.

This then is one of the brightest signs of our modern life: a deep and influential interest on the part of college men in the affairs of government, an interest which is daily growing and making itself felt, and one that can but filter down to those less fortunate people to whom circumstances close the college doors; a recognition of the great truth that politics must become a profession, even as medicine, law and engineering are professions; an ever strengthening bond of sympathy and purpose between the public servant and his constituents. And as a last thought, let us not forget the inestimable value of the small college in this direction, whose growing popularity and increasing power for service prophesies well for the rounded development of the independent leader of the future, who, using the party organization as a means, and the service of his fellowmen as an end, becomes thereby the true patriot and scholar.

THE RUSSIAN FISH-EPIC.

BY THE EDITOR.

THERE is a Russian fairy tale of a hero named Ivan on whom the demand was made to search for the Sultan's lost ring which had fallen into the sea and lay hidden there in a small casket. On his little magic hump-backed horse Ivan arrived in the middle of the ocean, and there he saw a whale that could not move because he had swallowed "a whole navy." A forest had grown upon his back and women were searching in his mustache for mushrooms. Ivan told the whale about his quest, and the whale called a meeting of all the fishes, but not one could give any information except the little perch, who as was his wont, happened to be engaged in a fight with some other fish. He discontinued the combat for a moment to hunt for the casket, and was successful in his search but found that he was not strong enough to lift it. Numerous shoals of herrings come to his aid but in vain. At last two dolphins lifted the casket out of the ocean, and Ivan received the desired ring.

With the discovery of the gem the whale's curse came to an end. He vomited up the navy which he had swallowed, whereupon he became able to move again, and the little perch betook himself once more to the pursuit of his enemies.

The fish occupies a more prominent place in Russian folklore than in that of any other country. In fact an animal epic has been worked out in Russia, and in it the little perch plays about the same part as Reynard the fox in the German fable, and Br'r Rabbit in Uncle Remus's negro tales. Though small, the perch is bold and aggressive. On account of his sharp spikes he is feared by the other fish, even the larger ones, and succeeds in banishing them from his empire. On the authority of Angelo de Gubernatis in his *Zoological Mythology* we summarize the story as follows:

This war of the little perch with its adversaries has had in popular Russian tradition its Herodotuses and its Homers who have

celebrated its praises both in prose and verse. In the third book of his stories Afanassieff gives the description of the judgment of the little perch (*jorsh*) before the tribunal of the fishes from a manuscript of the last century. The bream (*lešč*) accused the perch, the wicked warrior, of wounding all the other fishes with his rough bristles, and compelling them to forsake the Lake of Rastoff. The perch defended himself by saying that he was strong in virtue of his native vigor; that he was not a brigand, but a good subject, who was known everywhere and highly prized on the table by great lords who ate him with satisfaction. The bream appealed to the testimony of other fishes, and some of them bore witness against the little perch, who thereupon made complaint that the other fishes in their overweening importance wished to ruin him and his companions, taking advantage of their small size. The judges called also upon the bass, the eel-pout, and the herring to testify. The bass sent the eel-pout, and the eel-pout excused himself for not appearing, pleading that his belly was fat, and he could not move; that his eyes were small, and his vision imperfect; that his lips were thick, and he did not know how to speak before persons of distinction. The herring testified in favor of the bream and against the little perch.

Among the witnesses against the perch the sturgeon also appeared. He maligned the perch, alleging that when he attempted to eat its flesh he was obliged to spit out more than he could swallow. He complained also that one day when they were going by the Volga to Lake Rastoff, the little perch called him brother and deceived him in order to induce him to retire from the lake, saying that he also had once been a large fish, so large that his tail was like the sail of a ship, and that he had only become so small after he had entered Lake Rastoff. The sturgeon went on to say that he had therefore been afraid and had remained in the river where his sons and companions died of hunger, while he himself was reduced to the last extremity. Moreover he adduced another grave accusation against the perch, who compelled him to go ahead in order that he might fall into the fisherman's hands, cunningly hinting that elder brothers should go before the younger ones. The sturgeon confessed that he gave way to this graceful flattery, and entered into a weir made to catch fish, which he found to be similar to the gates of great lords' houses—large when one goes in, but small when one wishes to leave. He fell into the net and the perch saw him and cried out in derision, "Suffer for the love of Christ!"

The deposition of the sturgeon made a great impression upon

the minds of the judges, who gave orders to inflict the knout upon the little perch and to impale him in great heat, as a punishment for cheating. The sentence was sealed by the crayfish with one of his claws, but the perch declared the sentence to be unjust, spit in the eyes of the judges, jumped into the briar brake, and disappeared from the sight of the fishes, who remained lost in shame and mortification.

There is another version of this fish epic which differs considerably in all its details but the characterization of the perch is the same. Gubernatis relates it thus:

The turbulent perch entered Lake Rastoff and took possession of it. Called to judgment by the bream, he answered that from the day of St. Peter to that of St. Elias the whole lake was on fire, and cited in proof of this assertion that the roach's eyes are still red from the effects, that the perch's fins are also still red, that the pike became dark-colored in consequence and the eel-pout black. These fishes when called upon to testify either did not appear, or else denied the truth of these assertions. The perch was arrested and bound, but it began to rain, and the judgment place became muddy. The perch escaped, and swimming from one rivulet to another arrived at the river Kama where he was discovered by the pike and sturgeon who took him back to be executed.

The perch thus arrested and brought to judgment, demanded permission to take a constitutional for only one hour in Lake Rastoff; but after the expiration of the appointed time he neglected to come out of the lake, and annoyed the other fishes in every way, stinging and provoking them. The fishes had recourse for justice to the sturgeon, who sent out the pike in search of the offender. The little perch was finally found among the stones; but he excused himself by saying that it was Saturday, and that there was a festival in his father's house, and so he advised the pike to take a constitutional in the meanwhile and enjoy himself; although the morrow would be Sunday, he promised to present himself then before the judges.

The analogy between the smartness of the perch and of Reynard the Fox is very remarkable.

Meanwhile the perch made his companion drunk and then shut him in a straw stack where the inebriated fish was left to die. On the morrow the bream came to take the little perch from among the stones, and to bring him before the judge. The defendant demanded an ordeal, a judgment of God. He advised his judges to put him in a net and if he stayed in the net, he would be guilty, but

if he came out he would be proved innocent. This they did, and the perch jerked about in the net so much that he escaped. The judges acquitted him, and gave him entire liberty in the lake. The story ended with many incidents of revenge which the perch took upon the other fishes, whereby he continued to prove his astuteness in constant efforts to prey upon them.

MISCELLANEOUS.

DID THE SANHEDRIN EXIST AT THE TIME OF JESUS?

In the article "The Indispensability of Bible Study" in the January *Open Court* the statement is made that the Sanhedrin had been abolished by Herod in 40 B. C. and was only reinstalled by Agrippa I in 42 A. D. Josephus relates (*Ant.* XIV, 9, 4) that when Herod became king he killed all the members of that Sanhedrin before which he had stood on trial for having killed the Jewish robber-chief Hezekiah, except Semeas, who took such a bold stand against Herod on the occasion of the trial. But by this act he did not abolish the institution of the Sanhedrin altogether. This is proved by *Ant.* XV, 6, 2, which tells us that Hyrcanus II was in correspondence with the governor of Arabia, Malchus, in order to find there an asylum for himself in the expectation that Herod would not perhaps receive the kingship the second time from Octavian as he had received it from Cæsar, upon which Hyrcanus would again become king. The passage then further relates that Herod found out the matter and when Hyrcanus denied it, "Herod showed his letter" (the one sent by Hyrcanus to Malchus) so says Josephus, "to the Sanhedrin." This was not the same Sanhedrin Herod had punished. Evidently of course Herod always saw to it that ever afterwards the Sanhedrin was composed of men who were submissive to him, but he did not abolish the institution entirely. I hardly think that Herod, though he did many high-handed things which embittered the Jews, would have dared to abolish entirely the highest religious tribunal of the Jews. Who would have conducted the religious and ordinary civil affairs which were both closely bound together in the Jewish people, if there had not been a Sanhedrin under Herod and, after the Herodian family had lost the kingship till Agrippa I, under the Roman governors? Upon what authority is the assertion based that the Sanhedrin was only reinstalled by Agrippa I?

There is also another statement made which is misleading. Rabbi Drucker refers to Lev. x. 6 and xxi. 10 which say that high priests should not rend their clothes, as was done in the trial of Jesus. But both passages according to the context refer to the rending of clothes as a sign of mourning. The gospels are not the only writings which relate that high priests rent their clothes on other occasions than that of mourning. Josephus relates in *Bell. Jud.* XV, 15, 4 that when the procurator Florus intentionally did everything to inflame the Jews to revolt, the high priests in great agitation with rent clothes begged the people to desist from all rash deeds. In Macc. xi. 71 the high priest Jonathan in a state of great agitation, when he and a few about him are left alone and the rest of his men flee before the enemy, throws dust upon his head, just as the high priests did in the case of Florus, and rends his clothes.

Of course the fact that the Sanhedrin existed at the time of Jesus does not solve the question of the irregularities connected with the trial of Jesus. Still W. Bousset (in *Jesus*) says rightly: "We must not judge the tumultuous proceedings against Jesus according to the regulated way of the Jewish law as we see it in later sources." Josephus relates a very similar trial before the Sanhedrin which was later condemned by the people. It was when the high priest Ananus brought James the brother of Jesus and others before the Sanhedrin and had them stoned. In the heat of passion even high legal courts have not always been entirely regular in their proceedings during the course of human history, especially where the court is accuser and judge at the same time as often happened in ancient times.

Regarding the trial of Jesus I would call attention to the following points. The gospels are evidently striving to put all the blame on the Jews and to exonerate Pilate as much as possible. It is very questionable though whether Pilate did not play a more active rôle in the case of Jesus. Pilate was not the man to care much whether one Jew more or less was sacrificed in his efforts to quell Jewish tumults. When he heard about the enthusiasm for Jesus among the people he may have thought that it would be better to put Jesus out of the way right at the start before the enthusiasm would spread further, just as Herod Antipas did with John the Baptist, as Josephus tells us. In this matter he may have found support from the side of the high-priestly aristocratic party, consisting to a great extent of the Sadducees: that political party among the Jews who since the time of the Maccabees were never so strict about the national law and religion as the Pharisees, and were open to foreign influences and relations if only by this their people would prosper and especially they themselves. To sacrifice the Galilean Jesus, who through the enthusiasm for him among the people might create disturbances to the injury of the Jewish state in its relations to the Roman government, may have seemed to the aristocratic party in Jerusalem a very wise political course. The discussion in the Sanhedrin in John xi, though very probably imaginary, may not be entirely wrong in giving the views of the aristocratic party in regard to Jesus. "It is peculiar," says Bousset, "that in the last days of Jesus his old opponents, the Pharisees and scribes, entirely leave the stage, and their place is taken by the high priest and the sanhedrin." (At least scribes take a subordinate position, perhaps only as legal advisers regarding the claims of Jesus, in the council of the high priests. Only the entirely idealizing Fourth Gospel mentions Pharisees on that occasion.) The high priest at that time was Caiaphas, who according to Josephus held his position, in which he had been placed by Gratus the predecessor of Pilate, very much longer than most of the high priests under Roman dominion. He was first deposed by Vitellius who had also previously deposed Pilate after his governorship of ten years. Caiaphas

sacrificed the Galilean and even played him into the hands of Pilate. What was the poor Galilean to them, who surely had said many things derogatory to them? And even if we except all motives of self-interest which may have led the aristocratic party, they might easily represent to themselves the delivery of Jesus into the hands of Pilate as a patriotic act, since it did away with a disturbing element among the people who had been in an excited state of mind ready to break loose ever since they had come under the Roman dominion. And who will deny that there was a good reason for the Sadduceic idea that the people should be kept in a quiet state of mind? Was it not the Pharisaic party, or at least its ultra elements, which rejected all compromises with foreign ideas, that finally drove the Jewish people to the destruction of its state?

Another point in connection with the trial of Jesus is also this that the Sadduceic party was "very rigid in judging offenders above the rest of the Jews," as Josephus says (*Ant.*, XX, 9, 1). All these things may give us something of an insight into the trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrin, though they may not fully explain the matter. The death of Jesus was surely brought about through the instrumentality of only a small though influential circle of men in Jerusalem and partly perhaps, as said, by even well meant and patriotic motives seeking the peace of the state. The release of Barrabas, to the demand of which "the crowd" had been persuaded, as Mark gives it, was perhaps only a sop to the multitude to quiet them. The Galilean evidently seemed to be the more dangerous one to the aristocratic party. The words which the haughty Roman in his contempt of the Jewish people put over the head of Jesus, "The King of the Jews," may have stung the men deeply who had lent a willing hand to the execution of Jesus, but they choked it down, for the fatherland had once more been saved.

A. KAMPMEIER.

ASHVAGHOSHA'S "AWAKENING OF FAITH."

Ten years ago the Open Court Publishing Company published a translation by Teitaro Suzuki of *Ashvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana*. The little treatise was written in its original Sanskrit in the first century of the Christian era and is perhaps the most important post-canonical exposition of the Buddhist faith. It may be compared to Bishop Anselm's *Cur deus homo*, and it is recognized by all Buddhists as an authoritative exposition of their faith; but strange to say it is lost in its original Sanskrit and is preserved only in several Chinese translations. We consider it a strange neglect of European scholars that this book remained untranslated until 1900, but in the meantime two other translations have appeared, one in French, and another English version by a Christian missionary, the Rev. Timothy Richard (Shanghai, 1907). Dr. Richard's translation lies now before us and we learn from the preface that it had been finished before Mr. Suzuki's work appeared in print. Thus we may consider the two translations as independent. Dr. Richard has only made good use of the critical comments and other information contained in Suzuki's preface.

It will be the more interesting to compare the two translations since they have been made by men of different race, different religious convictions and different attitudes. Mr. Suzuki is a Buddhist, while Dr. Richard is a Chris-

tian missionary belonging to the Baptist church. Mr. Suzuki is bent on making known this important book of his faith, while Dr. Richard has been so much pleased with the Christian ideas contained in Ashvaghosha's philosophy that he is inclined to discover Christian influence in its doctrines. Dr. Richard tells how he came to translate the book. He says:



DR. TIMOTHY RICHARD.

"In 1884 I visited Nanking in company with my revered friend, David Hill, to see the Viceroy, and tried to persuade him to interest himself in securing religious freedom for Christians and immunity from persecution. Whilst there, I sought for some Buddhist books which I could not procure in the North of China. I learnt that a Buddhist Book Society had been started

in Nanking, Soochow, and Hangchow, three of the leading cities in Central China, in order to replace those destroyed during the Tai Ping Rebellion. Of the three societies, the most important was that at Nanking, and the prime mover of the whole three societies lived there. His name was Yang Wên Hui. I called on him and found him the most intelligent Buddhist I had ever met. He had been several years in Europe as treasurer to the Chinese Embassy when Marquis Tseng represented China in England and France. Mr. Yang had had interviews with Max Müller and Julien and Bunyiu Nanjio of Tokio, who had studied under Max Müller. Thus, besides being well acquainted with the Buddhist authorities in China, he was personally acquainted with the best authorities in Europe and Japan. Mr. Yang was not a Buddhist priest, but a Confucianist with the B. A. (*siutsai*) degree and was only a lay Buddhist.

"I said to him, 'How is it that you, with a Confucian degree, should have ever become a Buddhist?' His answer was striking: 'I am surprised that you, a missionary, should ask me that question, for you must know that Confucianism shirks some of the most important questions. It only deals with human affairs now, not with the superhuman.' 'But do you mean to say that Buddhism answers those questions?' He said, 'Yes.' 'Where?' I asked again. He answered, 'In a book called the *Awakening of Faith*. That book converted me from Confucianism to Buddhism.' 'Have you that book for sale here?' I asked. 'Yes,' he replied, and brought the book and laid it in my hands. Finding him to be most thoroughly conversant with the relative value of the various Buddhist books, I asked him to select for me some dozen works which he considered most important. Having paid for them, I returned to my inn. Shortly after, the box containing all my purchases arrived. I looked for the book on the *Awakening of Faith* and began reading it and sat up reading it till the small hours of the morning. I cried to my friend Hill, who was also sitting up late at work, 'This is a Christian book and most interesting.' 'Christian?' my friend cried with great doubt. 'You are reading your own thoughts into the book!' 'Well then,' I said, 'how do you explain these passages?' pointing to some to which there was no ready explanation.

"Three months later I was in a bookseller's shop in Edinburgh, and looking through his new books I came across Beal's little book on Buddhism lately published. Turning up a certain chapter in it, I found that he referred to the *Awakening of Faith* as a Pseudo-Christian book which it was desirable to have translated.

"Years passed by. In 1891 I was transferred to Shanghai. Shortly after, I met my friend Mr. Yang again, and I told him that I had read the *Awakening of Faith* with great interest, but that frequently I came across philosophical terms which no existing dictionary explained and which even excellent Chinese scholars could not explain. If he could spare some of his time to come to Shanghai, I would spare some of my time to translate it with his help. He readily agreed and was delighted to have the book made known to those interested in Buddhism in the West. Thus the book was translated into English in 1894. But it was not published then, as I wished to have leisure time to revise it before publication. That time of leisure has never come. Six years later (1900) Suzuki's translation into English was published by the Open Court Co., Chicago. His translation bears the mark of one who has spent much study on the subject. In his introduction, he quotes a large num-

ber of different authorities about Ashvaghosha. But as he approaches the subject from the non-Christian point of view, the light which comes from a comparison between it and Christianity is denied him. He dwells more on his philosophical 'suchness' or on his psychological theory of 'triple personality' and only on one religious characteristic 'faith,' apparently unconscious of its incalculable importance as a religious eirenicon between the East and the West. Though I have had no time to revise this translation of mine, I publish it because I believe it is capable of producing brotherhood amongst men, and mutual respect among religious teachers, when it is properly interpreted in the light of Christianity."

On a superficial comparison of the two translations we find some passages of Dr. Richard's version, especially the opening and closing hymns, rather freely rendered, and the Buddhist term "Tathagata," a common appellation of the Buddha or the Enlightened One, is translated by "the Incarnate God," while the "abode of Buddha" is rendered the "abode of God." We can not deny that these terms closely correspond to one another in Buddhism and Christianity, although it does not seem advisable to introduce Christian terms into the translation of a Buddhist work.

We do not believe that it is justifiable to consider Ashvaghosha's "Awakening of the Faith" as a pseudo-Christian treatise, but we do believe that the book exhibits in marked features the underlying religious psychology which gave birth to Christianity in the West and to Buddhism in the East. Their similarities need not be explained by historical connection but are founded in the innermost nature of man in his relation to the cosmos.

We learn that Dr. Richard has done much work in China in spreading Christian knowledge among Buddhists and Confucianists. He has founded and upheld with great difficulty under precarious conditions the "Christian Literature Society for China," and his work is distinguished by great breadth of mind, because he does not approach other religionists in a hostile spirit but gladly recognizes in **them what is good and true**. He has acquired many friends among the native Chinese, especially **the Buddhists**.

So great an authority as J. Estlin Carpenter **writes as follows** in a letter to a personal friend of Dr. Richard:

"The views of Dr. Richard and the Rev. A. Lloyd deserve the utmost respect, for they are of course in possession of sources closed to a Western student like myself who has no knowledge of Chinese. But I am not yet convinced of any influence from Christianity in the development of Mahayana Buddhism. The scriptures of the school, such as the 'Lotus of the Good Law,' or Ashvaghosha's own works, seem to me to have been produced at a date too early for any Christian teaching to have made its way so far east. On this head, however, I wait with great interest for the fuller evidence promised by Mr. Lloyd. Did we not know that India had already before our era developed a religion of faith and love, as seen in the oldest parts of the Bhagavad Gita, there might be reason for suspecting the presence of foreign influences. But at present it seems to me that the rise of Theistic Buddhism can be fully explained from the contact with kindred faiths in Brahmanism. The spectacle of different races advancing towards similar ideas, whether independently or by mutual suggestion from East and West, is full of interest and must continue to exercise our thoughts for many a long day. But it is by such work as that of Dr. Richards that the native point of view is supple-

mented; and I must again express my gratitude to you for communicating this book to me."

Dr. Carpenter disclaims to be an authority on account of his lack of Chinese scholarship, but the question of the independent origin of the Mahayana doctrine is to be decided by the facts brought to light through Sanskrit and Pali scholarship in which he excels, and sinology having only second-hand and post-Christian information concerning Buddhism, can throw only a little light of secondary evidence on the subject.

In comparing the two translations, Mr. Suzuki's version is distinguished by scholarship and is more faithful to the original, Dr. Richard's, however, has the advantage of containing the Chinese text which will be welcome to sinologists who wish to fall back on the original. Though we do not recommend the use of Christian equivalents in place of Buddhist terms, still the Christianization of the essay will be helpful to many. At any rate a comparison of the two translations thus made independently of each other will serve to reach a meaning still closer to the original, and the Open Court Publishing Company will be glad to procure copies of both editions for readers interested in such studies.

TRUE AND FALSE FREEDOM.

BY ARTHUR B. FRIZELL.

When a country-bred boy leaves the farm for the city, he rejoices at thought of the freedom which the new life offers. He is to be released from the necessity of early rising, independent of changing weather, free to get rich quick and spend money in agreeable ways. But with larger knowledge of the world comes a change in his thinking. Spending money without restraint means becoming a slave to one's appetites. Getting rich turns out to be a slow process, to which, moreover, many are called but few are chosen. Even a moderate degree of success involves submission to a far more rigid routine than the farmer knows and one which eventually becomes a hundred times more irksome than patient waiting on seasons of sowing and reaping. The successful capitalist is apt to think of the years when the song of the birds at daybreak called him to hard but healthful labor as a period of freedom compared with which those of his financial achievements seem one of gilded bondage, while the multitudes of the unsuccessful feel that they have followed a will-o'-the-wisp, sacrificing true freedom for false.

Few can witness an athletic exhibition without envying the bodily freedom of the performer; the circus rider or tumbler, the baseball pitcher, the ballet dancer seem independent of restraints which untrained muscles impose on our motions. Now if we stop to ask how the athlete's freedom is obtained, we find that it is by patient strenuous exercise. He relinquishes the false freedom of caprice, the liberty to do always what is most pleasant, to attain to a state of real liberty where the muscular activities are obedient to his will.

In the student's life a false view of freedom is sometimes fostered by excessive specialization, the freedom to study those things only which appear easy, interesting or commercially profitable and retain the liberty to think as you please about other questions. One who specializes in this way gains possession of isolated facts or of a microscopic field or a special way of thinking. He loses the wider view of our known universe as a connected whole no part of which is exempt from the constraining power of law.

Now we are not free to regard even the material universe as a product of blind chance. Neither can we justify ourselves in taking such a position with respect to the moral or the spiritual world. In all these fields there are indications of law which we may not ignore without intellectual dishonesty. A scientist feels that he is not dealing honestly with himself if he persists in holding an opinion contrary to the evidence of the facts or without putting it to the test of experiment when this is possible.

In the religious literature of the race is collected a vast mass of undeniable facts of spiritual experience. To ignore these facts is to subject oneself to the most insidious species of tyranny that can be set up in the human mind.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE CHRIST MYTH. By *Arthur Drews*. Translated by *C. Delisle Burns*. London: T. Fisher Unwin. Pages, 300. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

Arthur Drews has created a stir in Germany by his lectures on the "Christ Myth," a theory mainly based on the speculation of an American scholar, Prof. William Benjamin Smith of Tulane University.

Prof. Smith claims the existence of a pre-Christian Jesus-divinity who was worshiped as a Saviour-God or guardian spirit, but who later on was humanized in the form of Jesus with whom we have become acquainted in the Gospels. Whether or not this latest theory in higher criticism be correct, the book contains an enormous wealth of material with regard to the influence of Persia on the belief of a Messiah, the Hellenic ideal of a mediator as advocated by Philo, the idea of a suffering Messiah, his birth, his self-offering, his being the Lamb, his death on the cross, the significance of the cross and other symbols—all these factors were combined in the Christian Jesus who is known to us in several documents, the Pauline epistles, the synoptic Gospels, and the Johannine Jesus which is nearest to the gnostic Christ-conception. All these items are discussed by Drews who concludes his book with a statement of the religious problems of the present day.

The *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, the leading organ of critical and scientific Protestant theology in Germany, founded by E. Schürer, and continued under the joint editorship of Adolf Harnack of Berlin, Hermann Schuster of Hanover, and Arthur Titius of Göttingen, announces its intention to extend its interest in the future into more varied and comprehensive fields. Besides the historic philological investigations pertaining to the realm of theology it will now devote itself also to the history of religion in general, directing its attention critically and fundamentally to all parts of this wide domain. The relations of religion to modern spiritual life are also to be attentively followed. In accordance with the constant increase of international good feeling, the literature of foreign countries will henceforth be given more consideration than formerly and the work of foreign scholars will be reviewed. Important scientific enterprises of significance for the history of religion will be reported in brief authentic communications and the cooperation of interested scholars of every nationality will always be welcome.

Such communications of a scholarly character and contributed manuscripts should be addressed to Professor D. Titius, Göttingen.

THE CHRIST MYTH

BY

ARTHUR DREWS, Ph.D.

Professor of Philosophy at Karlsruhe.

300 pages. Cloth, price \$2.25 net, post paid

THIS book is an able attempt to show that the origin of Christianity can be accounted for without the assumption of an historical Jesus. By a comparison of the myths current in the early Christian period with the Pauline Epistles and the Gospels the author reaches the conclusion that Jesus was not an historical figure but the suffering God of a Jewish sect, to whom the metaphysical speculation of St. Paul gave universal significance.

As a scientific and well-documented study in comparative religion the work is likely to be of much interest, even to those who are not able to accept the author's more extensive views.

"'Die Christusmythe,' by Arthur Drews, has stirred the heart of Protestant Germany and roused it into keen opposition. It is an essay in Christian mythology on lines similar to those followed in Mr. J. M. Robertson's 'Pagan Christs' and 'Christianity and Mythology.' Only faint echoes of the controversy which Drews has called forth have reached our shores, but with the appearance of an English version his book is not unlikely to become a storm center of Christian thought here as elsewhere. As an illustration of the importance of the 'Drews' controversy in Germany we may mention that large popular meetings have been held in various places at which the question 'Hat Jesus gelebt?' has been discussed by scholars of the first rank."—The Inquirer.

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THE MUTATION THEORY: Experiments and Observations on the Origin of Species in the Vegetable Kingdom.—Vol. II. The Origin of Varieties by Mutation. By Hugo de Vries.

Professor Farmer and his coadjutor Mr. Darbishire are to be congratulated on the completion of their translation of Professor de Vries's "Mutation Theory," the first volume of which was noticed in *The Athenaeum* of May 7th, 1910. The excellence of the translation referred to then is maintained in the concluding volume, and the English version of this important work will be of great assistance to those biologists who are unable to read the original.

In the present volume the author deals with the origin of varieties, and the explanation of them which the mutation theory affords. Although the facts and experiments recorded are drawn almost entirely from the vegetable kingdom, Professor de Vries believes that the principles upon which they are founded are equally applicable to animal organisms. The keystone of his argument is the contention that the hereditary characters of a species, transmitted from generation to generation, are transmitted, not as a composite whole, but as separable unit-characters, which are liable to change and variation in regard to the appearance or form of the units. It is these partial changes in the new generation which constitute varieties. Professor de Vries represents his idea as a struggle between two antagonistic characters—one being the original or normal character of the species; the other, the new character or anomaly. In such a contest the normal character may be active and the anomaly latent or semi-latent through various grades until the position is reversed, the normal character becoming latent and the anomaly active, thus producing a new variety of the original species which is maintained without further selection. The older or specific character is intensified by unfavorable condi-

tions, while the anomaly or younger character is intensified by favorable ones, and the most susceptible stage seems to be that of the young embryo in the ripening seed.

The author believes that the real difference between the terms "species" and "variety" corresponds to the difference between the formation of a new character and the simple transposition of a pre-existing one. Those forms which arise from the production of a new character he would regard as species; those which depend upon its latency or activity he would term varieties. According to this view, he would look upon Mendelian hybrids as retrogressive or degressive mutations, i. e., true varieties, and unisexual hybrids as progressive mutations, or elementary species; this opinion is supported to some extent by the fact that the latter are much less fertile than the former. He claims that the extinction of large groups of species proves that the variability resident in them was insufficient to adapt them to a changing environment, and that ordinary fluctuating variability is linear, oscillating only in a plus or minus direction, whilst adaptations demand a variability in all directions. Natural selection, he says, "is a sieve. . . . How the struggle for existence sifts is one question; how that which is sifted arose is another." Further, the first insignificant beginnings of new characters do not come under the operation of natural selection, since they are of no value in the struggle for existence; hence there is some justification for the conclusion that every organ must have originated from a mutation, and not through fluctuating variations.

It has been impossible to give more than a brief outline of some of the main arguments by which Professor de Vries supports his theory. They have been before the scientific world for some years, and it may be said that, aided by the work of Professor Bateson and the discoveries of the Mendelian school, they have continued to gain adherents. In this volume, in particular, they are supported by an

array of facts and experimental observations which cannot lightly be passed over. The truth of the hypothesis of the existence of unit-characters is now generally conceded, and there is little doubt that the distinction Professor de Vries draws between the value of fluctuating and discontinuous variations in progressive evolution is a real one. On the other hand, some varieties are not constant when expected to be so, and there is always the difficulty of transgressive variability, which produces forms, apparently transitional, whose true nature is only revealed by breeding experiments. Many of these changes, also, appear to depend to a considerable extent on external conditions—cultivation and so forth. The author states: "Fluctuating variability is a phenomenon of nutrition, whereas mutability is the result of hitherto unknown causes." If the causes are unknown, is he certain that he can exclude nutrition? And if cultural conditions cannot be excluded in the observations of mutability so far made, would mutability have occurred under natural conditions?

Sir W. T. Thiselton-Dyer concluded, after observing a number of mutations in cultivated plants, that the specific stability at the beginning of the experiments was such that the changes would not have occurred in nature: in fact, that it was a question of external conditions and environment. It may safely be said that the more the life-habits of a plant are disturbed, the more probably will mutability ensue. Professor de Vries's attempt to locate the unit-characters by his theory of Intracellular Pangenesis is too speculative to be of much use. It is possibly true that the evidence adduced in support of the theory of mutation suggests that some such explanation would fit the facts, but a final judgment must depend not so much upon the applicability of any theory as on proof of its accuracy.

In spite, however, of these criticisms, the book is one to be read, and read again.

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN

New York.

INTRACELLULAR PANGENESIS: By Hugo de Vries. Translated by C. Stuart-Gager. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1910. Pp. 300. Cloth, \$3.00.

"Any new book by Hugo de Vries is bound to be read with interest, not only because of the part which the author has played in giving us the mutation theory, but also because it may help to settle some other more doubtful points in that theory. In 1868 Darwin himself wrote to J. D. Hooker: 'I feel sure if Pangenesis is now still-born, it will, thank God! at some future time reappear, begotten by some other father and christened by some other name.' Had Charles Darwin lived, he would have seen how successfully Hugo de Vries revealed the great truth contained in his well-abused *Hypothesis of Pangenesis*. Although it can never be absolutely demonstrated as true, the formulation of the hypothesis of intracellular pangenesis marks the beginning of the greatest and most important forward step made in the study of the origin of species since 1849. Indeed, it led up directly to the conception of mutation as one method of the origin of species, and resulted in permanently removing the entire question of organic evolution from the realm of ineffective speculation and establishing it upon the firm basis of experimentation. The importance of the hypothesis is admirably set forth by Professor Gager in his excellent preface in citing Strasburger's paper on *Typische und allotypische Kerntheilung*.

"Though it attracted little attention at the time of its appearance, an honorable place in the history of our science must be accorded to the paper published by De Vries (1889) under the title *Intracellular Pangenesis*. This essay is remarkable as a clear foreshadowing of that conception of unit-characters which was destined to play so large a part in the development of genetics."—An extract from *Mendel's Principles of Heredity*, by Bateson.

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A few copies of ZARATHUSHTRA, PHILO, THE ACHÆMENIDS AND ISRAEL, pp. 460+xxx, (Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co., 1906, price \$4.00 net), are still to be had of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. and of the leading booksellers in Oxford at 12s. 6d. "He treats his subject thoroughly and exhaustively... deep and patient studies." J. J. Modi, Head Priest of the Parsi Colaba, Bombay, in the *Parsi* of Bombay, 1900. — "A wealth of learning and thought." *Nation*, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1906.

AVESTA ESCHATOLOGY COMPARED WITH DANIEL AND REVELATIONS, by L. H. MILLS, (published by the Open Court Pub. Co., 1908, 50 cents net). SAGGI DI LETTURE, TENUTE ALL' UNIVERSITA DI OXFORD, SULLA RELIGIONE DELL' AVESTA, dal Prof. LORENZO MILLS. Being sections of lectures delivered in the University of Oxford, translated into Italian by an accomplished Italian man of letters upon his own initiative. Torino, 1909. To be had of G. Sacerdote, Turin, Italy. Pp. 75. Price, 2s.

The 31st volume of the *Sacred Books of the East*, the YASNA, VISPARAD, AFRINGAN AND GAH, pp. 400+xlvi, 1887 (same Author) is still to be had at 12s. 6d.; as is the ANCIENT MANUSCRIPT OF THE YASNA, collotyped in an unsurpassed manner in the actual size and color of the original, 770 photographs with Introductory Note by L. H. Mills, Ten guineas. This is the main document of the above-mentioned works, — for the presence of the original of it in the Bodleian, Mr. Mills is responsible, 1889.

"Professor Mills's name stands foremost in the ranks of those who have explored the field of Avestic literature." *The Rast Gofar*, Bombay, April 18, 1909. — "Beyond question our leading authority now living, on the Gâthas." *The Nation*, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1906. — (Mills (Earlier) of the Gâthas) Das Ergebniss einer erstaunlichen Arbeit sehr mannigfaltiger Art — unser Verständniss der Gâthas mächtig gefördert. *Gött. Gelehr. Anz.* May 13, 1893. "Insbesondere von Mills, der diese schwierigen Gedichte in gründlichster Weise behandelt hat." *Preussisches Jahrbuch*, 1897, Prof. Justi (Lexicographer). "Tous ceux qui s'occupent de l'interprétation des Gâthas rendront hommage à l'immense labeur scientifique de M. Mills... son livre reste un instrument indispensable pour l'étude." Prof. James Darmesteter, *Revue Critique*, September 18, 1893.

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NEW YORK TIMES BOOK
REVIEW

March 5, 1911.

DEATH AND RESURRECTION: Björklund's theory of a future life as presented in his last book. Pp. 224. Cloth, \$1.00.

Mr. J. E. Fries has translated into clear English Johan Gustaf Björklund's last work, "Death and Resurrection, from the Point of View of the Cell Theory," which was written three years before the author's death in 1903. The translator considers this book one of Sweden's most remarkable and interesting contributions to contemporary philosophy.

His theory of death and resurrection is a chain of argument put together by a man of remarkable reasoning powers and keen imagination. It is based partly on this fact: "Science has shown that man's body is renewed several times during life, and that even the bones, placed in the ground, soon 'arise,' through nature's forces themselves, and take part in the universal circulation of matter. In face of all the evidence of this truth, it is impossible to believe in the old doctrine of physical resurrection." He then quotes Granfelt: "The only lasting attribute of the soul during this process is the spiritual body, which assimilates, typically forms, and again secretes the earthly matter. It must be this spiritual body, then, that constitutes the combining element between man's earthly body and his glorified body in the eternal life."

The author's aim now is to show, if possible, that the spiritual body and these living units are necessary for man in a future existence, as here in time. The larger part of the book is given to an instructive and interesting discussion of the scientific grounds upon which materialism and idealism are built. His conclusion is that "life

is not a material force, but has a supernatural origin in a higher, immaterial world."

There is a mystical saying: "As in the microcosm, so in the macrocosm." And truly there is a strange analogy between ourselves and the world about us. We seem to be in many ways replicas of our great mother, the universe. Myth-making poets, describing sunrise or sunset, the passing of a Summer storm, or the changing of the seasons, have told, half unconsciously, some of the deepest secrets of the soul. Attempts to force secrets of this kind from nature are apt to reduce themselves to absurdity, but Björklund seems to have come on one of these deeper analogies. That he has developed it to its inevitable conclusion with the exactness of a mathematical problem one may well doubt, but the theory is highly interesting. Men are gradually changing their ideas of life. We recognize death in too many forms nowadays, not to count it as beneficent. Do we not die every day? Are we not compelled to replenish our lives? It is this death that enables men to

rise on stepping-stones
Of their dead selves to higher things.

THE INDEPENDENT

New York, Feb., 1911.

DEATH AND RESURRECTION: By Johan Gustaf Björklund. *Open Court*, \$1.00.

The translation into English of the views of the Swedish thinker Johan Gustaf Björklund on "Death and Resurrection" will interest many readers because of their basis in the cell-theory; but few will assent to the central and necessary postulate that "biology discovers and proves the existence of that spiritual body which humanity has surmised since prehistoric times."

The Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland

Table of Contents of "The Buddhist Review"

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Frontispiece:—Portrait of *Mrs. M. M. Hla Oung*.

Notice of *Mrs. M. M. Hla Oung*.

The Sutta Nipāta. A Collection of Old Buddhist Poems. From the German of Professor *Hermann Oldenberg*.

The Buddhism in Heraclitus. By *Dr. Edmund J. Mills, F.R.S.*

The Daily Life of a Lay-Follower of the Buddha. By *Alex. Fisher*.

The Message of Buddhism. By *D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.*

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THE SOCIETY has for its objects the extension of the knowledge of the tenets of Buddhism, and the promotion of the study of Pāli, a language allied to Sanskrit, in which the original Buddhist Scriptures are written. The Society publishes quarterly *The Buddhist Review*, and issues works on Buddhism, which are on sale to the general public at 46, Great Russell Street, London, W. C.

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PRESS COMMENTS

The Sphinx. January, 1910.

This is a book that no collector of magical literature can afford to pass by, and for that matter it ought to be in the library of every magician, whether amateur or professional, not for its exposes of tricks and illusions, for there is nothing new in that line, but for its wealth of historical and biographical matter on the noted men of the profession, from Tchatcha-em-ankh, B. C. 3766, down to Hermann, Kellar and Thurston, with more or less mention of scores of others whose names and work we are all familiar with. The physical beauty of the book is beyond compare, it is absolutely the finest made book I have in my immense library, and if "a thing of beauty is a joy forever," then this book will surely delight the senses of mind and eye for many a day. It should be bought and read and preserved as a literary treasure in magical lore.

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THE BALTIMORE NEWS

Feb. 7, 1911.

THE NAPOLEON MYTH. By Henry Ridgely Evans. With "The Grand Erratum," by J. B. Pérès, and Introduction by Paul Carus. Illustrated. Boards, 75c net. (3s. 6d. net.)

The dominance and persistence of Bonaparte as a subject and the unremitting way in which he haunts literature is at least interesting, and renders peculiarly significant his words, entered in his diary at St. Helena: "They may chop and suppress, but they will have a difficult time making me disappear altogether." A book unique in its way, entitled "The Napoleon Myth," by Henry Ridgely Evans, gives much interesting evidence that the Napoleonic legend and its impression will endure. "Legend makers 1800 years from now," said Mr. Evans, "will perhaps characterize him as a ruthless vandal from a barbarous island called Corsica, who swept over the civilized world carrying death and destruction. Many will express doubt that he ever lived. He

will appear in the light of a mythical hero, like King Arthur, and those who believe in the reincarnation of the soul upon earth will perhaps endeavor to show that Napoleon was identical with Rameses II., Alexander the Great and Charlemagne. Mr. Evans is the author of "The Old and the New Magic," "Hours With the Ghosts," etc.

THE DETROIT NEWS

Feb. 12, 1911.

THE FOUNDATION AND TECHNIQUE OF ARITHMETIC: By George Bruce Halsted. The *Open Court*, Chicago.

Students who think they learned everything interesting about arithmetic when they "graduated" from the grades, will be astonished to see how much they overlooked in their training in the subject when they read George Bruce Halsted's treatment of "The Foundation and Technique of Arithmetic." "In arithmetic," says the writer, "a child may taste the joy of the genius, the joy of creative activity," and he proceeds to prove his assertion most conclusively.

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"Then the abacus with pebbles to represent the fingers and a row of grooves for the row of men. Centuries of intellect using the decimal system, but struggling with it because unable to comprehend the possibility of the cipher to indicate position in the row of men or in the grooves of the abacus; centuries of struggling with other symbols, adopting Hindoo numerals, but failing to find a character which would indicate 'nothing' — to indicate that a position was empty. 'A Hindoo genius' created zero. Hindoo numerals have been traced back to the early part of the third century B.C.

"But," writes Mr. Halsted 'a whole millennium was yet to pass before the creation of the most useful symbol in the world, the naught, the zero, a sign for nothing, a mark for the absence of quantity, the cipher whose first known use in a document is in 738 A.D. This little ellipse, picture for airy nothing, is an indispensable cornerstone of modern civilization. It is an Ariel lending magic powers of computation, promoting our kindergarten babies at once to an equality with Cæsar, Plato, or Paul in matters arithmetical. This giving to airy nothing not merely a local habitation and a name, but a picture, a symbol, is characteristic of the Hindoo race whence it sprang. It is like coining Nirvana into dynamos.'

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"Our moderns are making romance out of arithmetic." — *Chicago Tribune* (Feb. 9, 1911).

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DAILY NEWS

Chicago, March 15, 1911.

"TRUTH ON TRIAL: AN EXPOSITION OF THE NATURE OF TRUTH: By Dr. Paul Carus. The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago; \$1.

"Truth on Trial: An Exposition of the Nature of Truth" is a controversial work by Dr. Paul Carus, in which he discusses the question of "Pragmatism" in philosophy and sets himself to refute the theories and arguments of the late Prof. William James. Dr. Carus' work is scholarly, temperate and deeply philosophic, if not convincingly final in his treatment of the subject. The book is dedicated to the memory of Prof. James "in friendly remembrance of courtesies exchanged in spite of radical differences of opinion."

THE ST. LOUIS MIRROR

March 16, 1911

William Marion Reedy, Editor.

A PHILOSOPHIC BOUT: If you want to enjoy the spectacle of one philosopher metaphorically mopping up the floor with another, get the book *Truth on Trial*, by Dr. Paul Carus (*The Open Court Co.*, \$1.00) and behold William James' Pragmatism reduced to smithereens. Dr. Carus is a monist, and the way he goes for Professor James' pluralism is a delight. There is nothing left of the philosophy that says "whatever will work out for good is right," when Dr. Carus is done with it. And the ordinary reader cannot help but see, when the dust of the melee has blown away, that while a truth may thus be determined experimentally, *truth* cannot. You wouldn't think there could be in these days such a ruction over philosophy, but upon examination you will find that if pragmatism were to prevail absolutely in our thinking there would be nothing to oppose to any wrong strong enough to work things around for goodness to itself. Pragmatism is no philosophy at all. It does not and cannot deal with eternalities and essence. It has value only as applied

to temporalities and accidents. Dr. Carus deserves much approval for his convincing onslaught upon materialism and expediency in thinking, for pragmatism is the new big name for the general trend of thought that makes the United States people the most dishonest folk the world has known since the Greeks worshiped their own craft and guile in the story of Ulysses. And Dr. Carus writes as lucidly as Professor James himself did; but—well, Dr. Carus has not made out a case as yet for his fervently upheld monism. "What is truth?" asked Pilate, and he has never been answered except by a sort of tragic aposiopesis in the event following the query—the rabble, to whom he surrendered, crucified it.

THE TYLER PUBLISHING CO.

Ann Arbor, Mich., Feb. 20, 1911.

RELIGIOUS SACRIFICES: By James B. Smiley. *The Open Court*, Chicago, Ill.

The *Open Court* magazine for February has two leading articles which will make a strong appeal to every Mason. "Animal Symbolism" by the editor, Dr. Carus, is rich in suggestion of correspondences. While most of the symbolism of Masonry is other than animal, the process by which the author traces the development in this particular field can be applied with profit to our own symbols, the most significant of which has come down from remote times. In "Religious Sacrifices," by James B. Smiley, sacrifices are roughly divided into two groups; those intended to appease the anger or invoke the gratitude of the Gods for the benefit of him who makes the sacrifices; and those intended for the comfort of the departed spirits of the dead. In the latter motive we find an almost universal belief in life of some sort beyond the grave, and the resurrection, not of the substance, but of the essence. With this idea we are in close touch from an allegorical standpoint, so that the article in question may have much significance to the thinking Mason.

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A GRECIAN JONAH.
(See page 279.)

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BUDDHIST TEXTS QUOTED IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

OUR somewhat provincial education has not yet made us realize that, at the time of Christ, India was one of the four great powers of the earth. The other three were China, Rome and Parthia. But India was the greatest intellectually, and her then most popular religion, Buddhism, was the dominant spiritual force upon the continent of Asia.

It is to be regretted that so few theologians and even Orientalists are acquainted with Pali literature. Our culture has too long been bounded by the River Euphrates, and the central fact of the world's religious history has not yet taken its place in the historical imagination of Europe and America. That central fact is this: The two greatest missionary religions, each emanating from a wonderful personality, started from the Holy Land of antiquity¹ and proceeded in opposite directions around the world. Each went as far as it could go until it reached the Pacific Ocean; and now, in Japan and the United States, these two great world-faiths are facing each other. Henceforth the Pacific Ocean, instead of the Mediterranean Sea, must be the center of our culture; and the two religions, instead of being enemies, must be friends.

It is well known that there are, in the New Testament, quotations from other literatures than the Hebrew and the books of its canon, as when Paul quotes the Greek poet Aratus² and Jude the apocryphal book of Enoch.³

¹ The region between the Ganges and the Nile. See *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, "Historical Introduction."

² Acts xvii. 28.

³ Jude, verses 14 and 15.

In the Gospel of Mark there is a quotation, as if from Scripture, which does not occur in the Old Testament, but which Rendel Harris discovered in a midrash on Genesis ascribed to Philo.⁴ It evidently emanates from some early commentary or apocryphal work known to the Evangelist.

"I say unto you that Elijah is come, and they have also done unto him whatsoever they listed, *even as it is written of him.*"—Mark ix. 13.

Nowhere does the Old Testament foretell that the second Elijah will be persecuted. The quotation is therefore apocryphal or extra-Judaic.

Scholars have long been accustomed to such quotations, and are not astonished thereat when they spring from the literature that surrounded the Judæans. But modern research has made it clear that a wider range of influence affected the composition of the New Testament than the books of the Hebrews, the Greeks and the Romans. Heretofore, these have been our three classic nations, and their common lake, the Mediterranean, has been our central sea; but since the acquisition of India by the English in 1757, and especially since that of the Philippines by ourselves, the sacred books of Asia have widened our horizon. The Pacific Ocean is now our central sea, and to our classical peoples we have added several more, with India first and foremost. We have found that India was the home of the ancient fable, the mother of Æsop and of the Arabian Nights. A folk-lorist has traced Indian fables in the Jewish Talmud, one of which can be dated at A. D. 118.⁵

Three stories in the Christian Apocryphal Gospels are also found in that great Buddhist apocryphal gospel, the *Lalita Vistara*,⁶ which contains a poetical account of Buddha's early life, and was translated into Chinese in the seventh century, while a legendary life of Buddha, closely akin, was translated in the sixties of the first century.

It has also been discovered that the life of Buddha was translated into the language of Persia quite early in our era, and worked up into a Christian romance called *Barlaam and Joasaph*. This ancient church novel was popular all over Europe throughout the

⁴ Philonis Judæi Alexandrini libri Antiquitatum, Quæstionum et Solutionum in Genesin. Basileæ, 1527, folio.

⁵ See *Æsop's Fables*; edited by Joseph Jacobs. London, 1889.

⁶ These stories are: the obeisance of idols to the divine child in a temple; his supernatural knowledge of the alphabet; and his being lost by his parents and found engaged in religious activity. These parallels are fully treated in my new edition of *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*. My attention was directed to them by the works of Pfeiderer and Van Eysinga.

Middle Ages, from Greece to Iceland, while so late as the eighteenth century a Jesuit bearing the historic name of Borgia translated it into the Tagalog of the Philippine Islands! The name Joasaph or Josaphat (for it is written both ways) has been proven to be a corruption of the Sanskrit Bodhisattva, a title of the youthful Buddha; and the Indian saint, under this disguise, was canonized by both Greek and Roman churches. On the twenty-sixth of August in the Eastern communion and on the twenty-seventh of November in the Western, we have the singular spectacle of Catholic priests commemorating the Hindu thinker as a Christian saint.

Now it has been cogently argued by a European scholar⁷ that if Christendom could thus borrow from Buddhism in the sixth century, it could do the same in the first, for the same channels of intercourse were open. Indeed at the time of Christ this intercourse was at its height, for the geographer Strabo, who was writing in the twenties of the first century, when the youthful Jesus was a carpenter in Galilee, saw one hundred and twenty ships prepared to sail from a Red Sea port to India.

If this be the case, we need not be astonished at the following Buddhist text embedded in the Gospel of John, that most mystic and recondite of the four, charged, as it is, with the philosophy of Ephesus and Alexandria, where the thought of all nations found a home.

MIRACULOUS WATER PROCEEDS FROM THE SAINT.

"He that believeth on me, *as the Scripture hath said*, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water."—John vii. 38.

"What is the Tathagato's knowledge of the twin miracle? In this case, the Tathagato works a twin miracle unrivalled by disciples: from his upper body proceeds a flame of fire *and from his lower body proceeds a torrent of water*. Again, from his lower body proceeds a flame of fire, and from his upper body a torrent of water."—*The Way to Supernal Knowledge*, I, 53.

The agreement is almost verbal between the Greek and the Pali, but the Evangelist has added the adjective "living." Still the passage cannot be found in the Old Testament.

Dean Alford, in his commentary, voices the despair of all the exegetes from the beginning, when he says: "We look in vain for such a text in the Old Testament, and an apocryphal or lost canonical book is out of the question." The learned dean interprets by making the body refer to the under part of the temple in an oracle of Ezekiel, wherein that mystic beholds rivers of living water pro-

⁷ Van Eysinga, in his work on Hindu Influence upon the Gospels. 1901 and 1904. New edition, 1909.

ceeding from beneath the holy place. But no such far-fetched theory is needful any longer, now that we have found a Buddhist oracle almost verbally coincident.

The Fourth Evangelist transfigures the passage, and converts the miraculous torrent of the magus into a spiritual river. The single adjective "living," with its prophetic associations, is enough to exalt the whole conception into a loftier sphere. At the same time we must remember that the Buddhists also found mystical meanings in their scriptures, and produced their Philos and their Origens, as we shall some day realize more fully, when the vast literature preserved in Chinese is made known to Europe and America. "Living water" or "immortal drink" is also a Buddhist phrase, and in the Realist Book of Discipline (Tibetan) it is applied to Nirvana. The conception that lies behind the legend of the Twin Miracle is that of the microcosm: the saint is conceived as uniting in himself all nature, and hence in the water-meditation he is assimilated to water, and in the flame-meditation he passes away in fire.

Be it observed, that, in the Pali text, this miracle is "unrivalled by disciples," and indeed the summing up expressly says that Buddhas alone can perform it. But in the Book of Avadanās, which has Realist affinities, the Buddhist Daniel performs the Twin Miracle:

"From half of his body the water did rain;
From half did the fire of a sacrifice blaze."

Moreover, in the Pali texts themselves, Dabbo the Mallian emits fire from his fingers to light the monks to bed, and finally passes away in the flame-meditation, a veritable Buddhist Elijah.

Similarly in the Gospel, the believer can accomplish the water-miracle, though of course in a mystical sense, in accordance with the higher plane of the Fourth Evangelist. Moreover, the latter is perhaps quoting some Buddhist book belonging to the Realist school, which predominated in Northwestern India, where the Greek empire adjoined. It is almost certain that such literature had found its way westward in that empire, perhaps in Greek, perhaps in Syriac. The recent discovery of Manichæan scriptures in Chinese Turkestan has prepared us for anything in the way of ancient distribution of sacred literature.

Now, while one case of the mysterious Fourth Evangelist quoting a Buddhist text as Scripture would be remarkable, two such cases are significant, and almost certainly imply historical connection, especially when taken together with the fact that other parts of the Gospels present verbal agreements with Pali texts.

And there is one other case where the Gospel of John quotes a Buddhist oracle as Scripture. It was first pointed out in *The Open Court* for February, 1900. Indeed it was placed at the very outset of my first series of *Gospel Parallels from Pali Texts*. It has been reprinted in subsequent editions of that collection, and last appeared in the fourth edition of *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, Philadelphia, 1908-1909, Vol. II, p. 97. It is here reprinted once more.

THE CHRIST REMAINS [ON EARTH] FOR THE ÆON.

"The multitude therefore answered him, *We have heard out of the law*, that the Christ abideth forever [*eis tōn aiōna*, 'for the æon.']"—John xii. 34.

Enunciations VI, I, and Long Collection, Dialogue 16 (Book of the Great Decease. Translated in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XI, p. 40.)

"Anando, any one who has practiced the four principles of psychical power,—developed them, made them active and practical, pursued them, accumulated and striven to the height thereof,—can, if he so should wish, remain [on earth] for the æon or the rest of the æon.

"Now, Anando, the Tathagato has practiced and perfected these; and if he so should wish, *the Tathagato could remain* [on earth] *for the æon* or the rest of the æon."

The words in italics agree with those in the Greek of John, except the mood and tense of the verb. Rendel Harris has pointed out to me that the tense of *μενει* is ambiguous, being either present or future. This is because the oldest manuscripts are without accents. Tathagato is a religious title equivalent to Christ. Its exact meaning is still debated, but its analogy to Sugato is obvious, and Rhys Davids's translation of it as "truth-winner" is probably as near the mark as we shall ever get.

As our text occurs also in the Sanskrit of the Book of Avadanas (which has an independent transmission) its antiquity is certain. Moreover, the Book of the Great Decease and that of Enunciations are two of the oldest in the Pali, Enunciations being also one of the nine divisions of a lost arrangement of the canon.

The ascription of the saying in John to "the multitude" shows it to have been a current belief at the time of Christ. It is not a New Testament doctrine, though the physical second coming has been assimilated to it. Commentators have been at a loss to identify the Old Testament passage ("out of the Law") which is supposed to be quoted. The Twentieth Century New Testament proposes the Aramaic version of Isaiah ix. 7 as the source. The learned August Wünsche, in his work on the Gospels and the Talmud, says

that the source is unknown. Be that as it may, we have here a verbal Pali parallel:

ὁ Χριστός μεθεῖς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα = *Tathāgato kappam tittheyya.*

A kindred sentiment appears at the conclusion of Matthew:

"Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the æon."

If we could be sure that the Evangelist was copying this from the lost Mark-ending or from the Logia, we could pronounce it a first-century document and an utterance of the Lord; but we cannot, and most Matthæan additions to the Synoptical record are suspect. It is quite likely that these words were added to the First Gospel after the appearance of the Fourth, with its doctrine of the Paraclete. On the other hand, we can date the first translation of the corresponding Buddhist doctrine into Chinese at about A. D. 68, and this in a popular manual which presupposes the vast body of the Sutras.

Another verbal agreement between John and the Pali texts (though not expressly quoted) is given in *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, Vol. II, p. 79,

"I have overcome the world."

Other Johannine passages in the Buddhist canon may be seen in *Buddhist and Christian Gospels* and in *Buddhist Texts in John*, p. 16.^a

Those curious about the proofs of the antiquity of the Buddhist phrase in question will find them in these works. The present article is merely the main substance of the shorter treatise, with the more technical matter omitted.

I do not hold that the Fourth Evangelist necessarily quoted from the Pali canon nor from any other of the numerous recensions of the Buddhist scriptures which were extant in his time. He may have quoted such, but, as one of my friendly critics suggests, he is more likely to have quoted from some Greek or Jewish book drawn from Oriental sources. It is well known that the earliest Christians quoted as sacred works any pious literature that forwarded their aims, and such a well-read man as our Platonicizing Evangelist might easily quote some such from memory, without being very nice as to whence it came.

My general attitude toward the Buddhist-Christian problem is this: Each religion is independent in the main, but the younger one arose in such a hotbed of eclecticism that it probably borrowed a few legends and ideas from the older, which was quite accessible to it, as the intercourse between the Roman Empire and India was

^a Philadelphia, 1906: Innes and Sons, 1311 Sansom Street; London: Luzac and Co. (8vo, pp. 41.)

active. But there was no wholesale borrowing; the few things that may have passed over are of minor importance only, like the texts in John before us. My book, *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, is not an exploitation of loan-theories, but a tableau of the two great world-religions. At the same time, the historical question could not be ignored, though it is treated as a side issue, not as the main thesis.

My essay on John was printed in 1906, and since then it has often been criticised. The late Otto Pfleiderer considered that I had proved my case, as does also Paul Carus. Van Eysinga admits the Buddhist origin of the first quotation, but not of the second. James Hastings, while neutral, gave the essay respectful consideration in his *Expository Times*, while Rhys Davids wrote a congratulatory postal card, and gave me the permission to quote him as saying, "The evidences in favor of intercommunication are growing every day."

Though the Twin Miracle does not appear in the older books of the Pali canon, it appears in the Book of Discipline of the Realist sect, and is a favorite scene in Buddhist sculptures.⁹

The Buddhist gospel scene wherein occurs our second Johannine quotation was also a favorite subject in sculpture of pre-Christian antiquity, as may be seen in my own essay.

CONCLUSION.

Already in the eighteenth century Michaelis discerned a Zoroastrian and a Sabian influence in John; so that our present thesis is no radically new departure.

Had the Evangelist used without ascription the phrases and doctrines herein set forth, we might consider them due to a community of Oriental ideas; *but his express quotation of two of them as Law and Scripture compel the inference that they existed in some sacred literature of the Apostolic age.*¹⁰ The only known source of the two quoted texts is the Buddhist canon, which in the first Christian century was the most widespread of all sacred codes—covering even a vaster field than its great rivals, the Septuagint and the Zend Avesta, and being the dominant religious force upon the continent of Asia.

⁹ See Foucher, *Le grand miracle du Buddha*. Paris, 1909, p. 77.

¹⁰ Hostile critics overlook this necessary condition.

A WORD ABOUT TURKISH WOMEN.

BY HESTER DONALDSON JENKINS.

THE Turk is little known in America, and perhaps least of all is the Turkish woman understood. I have lived for nine years in Constantinople and have learned to love both Turkey and its women. I have grieved with them over the dark days that are past, and have rejoiced with them in the wonderful transformation that July 1908 made in their land, and I hope with them for the happy future of Turkey. And for none do I desire this future more than for its women to whom a free government brings a chance for growth and more abundant life.

Would that I could give an adequate picture of my Turkish friends; that I could convey the charm of their simple, gentle natures, their gracious and graceful manners, their low, warbling voices, and their lovely expressive faces; that I might waft over the seas the aroma of beautiful Turkish personality.

What are Turkish women like and what are their possibilities?

They are often not strong physically. They have known too little how to live, and careless and slothful habits have told on their strength. Nevertheless I see no reason why they should not, with proper training in exercise and knowledge of their own bodies become a vigorous people.

Dr. Nazim Bey, a remarkable Turkish patriot, a man who after receiving a fine general and medical education in Paris, assumed the disguise of a *hodja* or dervish and went all over Asia Minor arousing in people a hatred for the despotism of Abdul Hamid and a desire for freedom, and who was one of the organizers of the recent revolution in Turkey, has interesting views on the Turkish people. He told me that as a physician he had noticed that the mixed races were the strongest physically and intellectually, and that he based his ardent hope for the future of the Turks partly on their being a young race and uninjured by the use of alcohol and

- absinthe. He said that the Turks had as yet given nothing to the world, that their native intelligence had been stifled by despotism, but that the time was soon coming when they would contribute to the world's knowledge and ideals. His ideas seemed reasonable and his fervor was contagious. "Mark my words," he said eagerly, "the world will hear from the intelligence of the Turks ere you and I are dead."

Others, Armenians and Europeans, agree with Dr. Nazim Bey on the native and undebauched intelligence of the Turkish peasant, and I see no reason why both men and women, once free to develop, should not form a fine race physically and intellectually. Women have not been regarded by the Turks as intellectually promising, as is shown by their proverb, "Woman's hair is long but her wit is short." But they are coming to take their place beside the men in intellectual work, as their success in writing, studying, and teaching amply demonstrates.

What occupations are normally open to a Turkish woman?

A Turkish *hanım*¹ almost always marries, in which case, unless she be poor, she sits at ease and is tended by her servants, not even darning her husband's stockings. Of course if she be poor all the household drudgery falls on her. Nevertheless there are some single women, widows or unmarried girls or a very few who do not marry at all, who need to work. What can they do?

They may become servants, but only in Moslem households; a Moslem would not work in a Christian house. They may sell sweets or fruit or *semits* in the woman's cabin or waiting room of the steamers, but they can never serve in shops for the general public. They may wait on women in the baths, and give massage or assist in the toilet.

There are no Turkish trained nurses, although there are some women who do a rough sort of nursing. After the granting of the constitution some women petitioned through the papers to be allowed to study nursing, and the best surgeon in Constantinople said he would admit a few women into his hospital for training, but the counter-revolution of April put a stop to all such movements for a time.

Another set of women petitioned Hamdi Bey, the curator of the Art Museum, to admit them into the so-called School of Fine Arts; he replied that it was impossible, as men were studying there and the accommodations were too slight to admit of women having

¹ A common noun meaning "lady"; used also as a title corresponding to "Miss" or "Mrs."

separate rooms, but that he would arrange later for Turkish women to study drawing and painting.

Gypsy women tell fortunes and dance for money, but no decent Turkish woman would do this. I suppose some could sew for a livelihood, but all the ladies of my acquaintance get their clothes made by Greek or French dressmakers. Cooks, bath maids, laundry maids, wet nurses, coffee servers, secretaries, readers of the Koran, are found among Turkish women. Old women hawk articles of dress, jewelry, embroideries and cosmetics from harem to harem, and carry local gossip, as do the New England sewing women. In the royal palace the female officials include the Lady of the Treasury, the Private Secretary, the Keeper of the Seal, the Mistress of Robes, the Lady Water-pourer, the Lady Coffee-server, the Lady Pipe-keeper, the Mistress of the Sherbets, the Lady Wet-nurse and Lady Chaplain, and other ladies in waiting.

The best occupation for Turkish women is teaching. The Dar-ul-Malumet school turns out a good many teachers in a year who give private lessons, become governesses, or teach in the schools exclusively for girls. Of course, the schools being few, this is not a large field. Women also become matrons of schools and orphanages. I call to mind a sweet-faced elderly lady who is principal or matron of the Industrial School for Girls, and who, they say, is like a mother to the orphan pupils in her charge.

Doing embroidery and making rugs are trades by which a girl may make a meager living, and earn a little dowry for her settlement in life. There practically exist no mills or factories in Turkey. Professional match-making, buying and training girls for the rich harems, and guarding the members of the imperial seraglio, are all occupations along the line of housekeeping. A profession that is coming to the fore since the revolution is that of a writer, this being one which a married woman can best follow, and which will increase in importance with the years. Partly because there are so few trades for women, a very large number are driven to the lucrative employment of begging.

The moral character of Turkish hanums shows the same lack of training that marks their physical and intellectual nature, but also shows great possibilities. A Turkish wife and mother is very loving and devoted, although seldom intelligently so. She has been sharply trained to modesty, but not at all to self-control, and will cry aloud or scream, and let herself go on in a way that shocks our western ideas. She is naturally intensely loyal, and this quality easily develops into patriotism. She has a great deal of natural

pride; in Turkey, even among the women, one never forgets that the Turks are the dominant race. In a mixed school the Turks and the English girls affiliate naturally, while the subject races form other groups.

A sense of truth has not been developed among Turkish women, for truth demands intelligence, and that the average Turkish woman has not possessed. That they can learn to regard truth very strictly is proved by my own experience with the absolute trustworthiness of Turkish women who have received an education.

In America the Turks have been judged, naturally but most unfortunately, by the cruel and tyrannical actions of their late sultan, Abdul Hamid II, and often also by the excesses of Kurds and Bashi bazooks, who, while they are Ottoman subjects, are not Turks at all. The world nevertheless has been forced to regard with surprise and admiration that wonderful bloodless revolution of July 1908, by which they threw off the shackles of a blighting despotism and in which they displayed not only heroism and power of organization, but such moderation and magnanimity as make the revolution one of the greatest national achievements. Again, when the treacherous sultan and his minions organized a counter-revolution in April 1909, and bathed Cilicia in innocent blood, and imperiled the newly-won liberty of Turkey, the Young Turks were prompt, decisive, and able in putting down both uprising and sultan, and still showed themselves untouched by rancor, a spirit of revenge or bloodthirstiness.

The splendid qualities of the Young Turks displayed in these cases as well as in the period of suspense before the outbreak in July, are also possessed by the women of Turkey. They too have shown heroism, self-sacrifice, love of liberty and of humanity, intelligence in service and the lofty quality of devotion to an abstract cause.

I will here describe a little of the work they have done for their country. The conscious preparation for the Revolution took about thirty years. A handful of people in Paris, among them Selma Hanum working with her brother Ahmed Riza Bey, and another handful in Turkey, had to arouse the whole slumbering land to a sense of horror of the tyranny under which they were supinely lying, and to a hope in the power of the Young Turk party to save them from that tyranny. In this work of education, women took their part. Several Turkish ladies refused to marry and gave themselves to teaching that so they might enlighten and stimulate such girls as showed promise of intelligence, and win their adherence to the cause. When the Young Turk party was well organized,

women served to carry their dangerous messages and papers from one harem to another, for a Moslem woman is never searched.

In Salonika, for years the headquarters of the Young Turk party, among the most disinterested and useful of these women was Gulistan Hanum. She had been educated at the American College for Girls at Constantinople, and when she married Asim Bey, a fine young man, she taught him English and became his friend and companion. She used to take a Boston journal, and culling articles from it that she thought would interest the Turkish women, translated and published them in Turkish journals in preparation for the revolution. Her work was recognized in Salonika, for when the constitution was proclaimed there, she was the spokeswoman for the Ottoman women of the city in an address to the leaders of the Young Turk party.

Women were used not only to carry messages but also to convert men to the cause. As an instance I will relate the story of a remarkable Turkish woman whom I count among my friends.

Halideh Hanum was educated in the American College for Girls in Constantinople. The government objected again and again to her taking a western education, and occasionally removed her from the college, but her father was so much impressed with her intellectual possibilities that he deliberately sacrificed his own future to keep her in school. She was a conspicuously fine student, especially in philosophy, astronomy and literature, and early showed a taste for writing.

After finishing her college course with distinction, she married and became the mother of two boys. During these years she wrote a good deal, essays and sketches for the most part, but could never publish them, as all original writing was checked by the government. But her literary attempts cultivated her style, while her personal experience disciplined her character, and her studies in Turkish history and literature sharpened both her intellect and her patriotism.

With July 1908 came the opportunity to use these qualities. She was lifted up to the seventh heaven of joy by the revolution, and seizing her pen she wrote a poetical outburst entitled "Address of Othman to the Third Army Corps," in which Othman, the founder of the Ottoman Empire is represented as glorying in the deeds of the Army Corps of Salonika that had accomplished the bloodless revolution. This article, so Oriental in its imagery and spirit that it is hardly translatable, brought her immediate fame. The editors of a newspaper, the *Tanine* or "Echo," destined to play a large

rôle in Ottoman politics, immediately engaged Halideh Hanum as contributing editor, and she wrote for it regularly under the name of Halideh Salih, the latter being her husband's name. She wrote careful, intelligent articles on such subjects as woman's education and curricula for new schools; she wrote burning essays on the griefs of the Cretan Moslems, and later on the cruel massacres of the Armenians near Adana; she wrote historical sketches of women who have swayed Turkish rule and rulers; and the people read all she wrote and called for more. Her old manuscripts were gathered up into volumes and she was asked to contribute to seven papers and magazines.

Halideh Hanum's husband, an able professor of physics in the so-called Turkish University, was put on the Ministry of Education with the avowed idea that he would speak not only for himself but also for his intellectual wife. She was asked to teach a new school, to organize women's clubs, to be honorary member of men's clubs. The soldiery sent her word that they adored her. There was not a busier nor happier woman in the world than Halideh Hanum from July 1908 to April 1909, and few women have been more influential. Throughout all this period she kept moderate, sane, and unselfish, never leaving off her veil, nor behaving other than as becomes a modest Turkish lady.

When the counter-revolution of April 1909 burst upon the astonished city of Constantinople, Halideh Hanum was temporarily carried down by the flood that threatened to drown all progressive and enlightened Ottomans. The office of *Tanine* was wrecked and all the manuscripts were torn to pieces. She was compelled to fly from Stamboul, and with her children took refuge in her old College. There she showed such endurance, such heroism as one seldom sees. Her cry was "my country, oh my country!" with no concern as to her own losses or danger. When the army of liberation marched into the city and freed it from the tyrant, and when Abdul Hamid was deposed forever from the throne he had abused, Halideh Hanum was one of the Young Turks who rejoiced solemnly over the restored liberties of Turkey. She has resumed her writing and will retain her eager, intelligent interest in Ottoman politics, as well as in the larger interests of humanity. Halideh Hanum, with her strong intellectual grasp, her trained pen and her beautiful idealistic character would be an honor to any country that she called hers.

Halideh Salih is not the only woman writer in Turkey. Ferideh Hanum has written for the papers; Niguar Hanum is a recognized

poet; one lady is writing a play with her husband; Meliha Hanum has translated some poems from English into Turkish. Of the literary work of Gulistan Hanum I have already spoken. The wife of Tewfik Fikret Bey, who is considered to be Turkey's foremost living poet, learned all his poems by heart in the old days, for fear that their papers should be seized and destroyed. Fatma Alieh Hanum has written several attractive essays on Moslem life. Several special women's journals were published in the winter of 1908-9, containing some very worthy contributions from women.

Of course the access of freedom that came upon Turkey in 1908 aroused great desire in the hearts of Turkish women for a fuller intellectual life. Clubs started up all over Constantinople, and the ignorance and helplessness of so many of the women combined with their eager desire for culture were pitiful. Women, as I said elsewhere, petitioned to be allowed to study nursing and art. I know one very talented girl, Rabieh Hanum, who without a single lesson in drawing or painting has taught herself to reproduce in black and white such great pictures as she could obtain. She is now hoping to study abroad. In the plans made for women's schools Selma Hanum and Halideh Hanum are constantly consulted and will probably have a large hand in working out details. They feel that there are no Turkish women as yet trained to take the direction and organization of schools for girls and that American or English women will be needed to start them, but I am sure Turkish women can be trained to make good teachers and will be quick to assimilate western methods. In the American College for Girls we find the Turkish girls very docile and eager to learn.

Have I not shown enough to produce a faith in the future of Turkish people that can count among them such inspiring intellects as Halideh Hanum, such disinterested patriots as Gulistan Hanum, such writers as Fatma Alieh Hanum, such pure souls and promising intelligences as are these Turkish women of whom I have written?

In that future day when Turkey shall take her rightful place among the enlightened nations, by the side of the brave, loyal men shall be found intelligent, loving and high-minded Turkish women.

THE JONAH STORY AND KINDRED LEGENDS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE ancient tradition of the fish as a guide through the ocean of death reaches a new phase in those stories which have found their classical type in the Biblical Book of Jonah. The myth assumes a literary form and thereby the properly mythological features disappear; it is humanized, but the symbolic meaning of it



THE JONAH STORY ON A SACOPHAGUS.

Found on Mt. Vatican.

was still understood in the days of Christ. Being one of the latest additions to the Old Testament the story scarcely received its final shape much before the third century preceding our era.

The interpretation of the Jonah story is contained in a prophecy which Gospel tradition places in the mouth of Jesus himself, who says: "For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's

belly ; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."

The interpretation of the fish as representing both the powers of death and also the chance of resurrection, or of an immortality of some kind, is unequivocally expressed in the quoted passage. We may assume that this interpretation is the echo of a very ancient tradition and actually represents the original meaning of the myth.

The Book of Jonah is apparently not derived from an Israelite source. Its Gentile origin is indicated by the fact that its scene is laid in Nineveh the "Fish City." It is the only book of the Old Testament which speaks of the salvation and conversion of a Gentile nation. It is true the hero of the story appears to be, though he is not necessarily, a Jew, but he is sent out to pagans. He is sent not to convert them to Judaism, but to make them repent of their sins.



JONAH AT SEA.

Fresco in the Catacombs of St. Calixtus.

The moralizing tendency in connection with the legend ought not surprise us, for the same tendency develops in other myths. Think only of the moral lessons which accompany the Heracles story in its later versions where the solar hero from a boisterous and sometimes even mad athlete develops into a paragon of virtue and the ideal of a cosmopolitan defender of the right.

The Jonah story is not so isolated in comparative folklore as it might appear. It is true that the versions of it in the mythology of other nations seem to have disappeared, but traces of it are still left in Greek mythology, only the dolphin replaces the monster fish.

The dolphin is sacred to such saviour gods who are restorers to life as Apollo, Eros and Dionysus.¹ One Greek legend explains the connection between Dionysus and the dolphin in the story that

¹ Athene too is occasionally pictured as carrying a dolphin on her shield in place of the Medusa head. For an instance see a vase among the Athenian prize vessels in Springer's *Kunstgeschichte*, I, 102.

Dionysus was once caught by Tyrrhenian pirates who were changed into dolphins and then driven into the sea by satyrs. Thenceforward the dolphin was sacred to Dionysus.



DIONYSUS AND THE DOLPHIN.
Relief on the Lysicrates monument at Athens.

We cannot doubt that the original meaning has been obliterated in this legend which is artistically represented in the relief of the Lysicrates monument at Athens.

The best known legend of salvation through a fish is the legend

of Arion. It is said that Arion the minstrel was on his way to Corinth bringing with him many precious gifts which he had gathered while abroad. The sailors coveted his treasures and wanted to kill him, but granted him his last wish to sing before he died. Then the dolphins gathered around the ship and when he jumped into the sea, one of them carried him safely to shore. Arion, however, forgot to push the dolphin back into the open water, and so the unfortunate creature died on the shore. The king of Corinth ordered a burial as if he had been a human being and placed a bronze



ARION ON THE DOLPHIN.

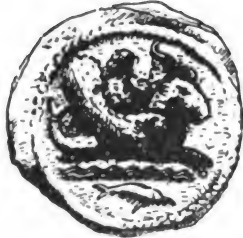
A coin of Methymna.

dolphin on the tomb in commemoration of the marvelous event. When the sailors reached Corinth he summoned them to his palace and inquired after the fate of his friend Arion. They declared that he had died on the voyage and were ready to confirm the statement by oath. The king led them to the dolphin monument, but when they were ready to take the oath Arion stepped forth from the inside of the statue whereby the sailors were convicted of their crime.

We can not doubt that Arion was originally a god like Apollo, like Eros or Dionysus. His minstrel character he had in common with these three gods, and that he passed unharmed through the

sea on a fish's back symbolizes the soul's journey through death to new life.² In assuming a literary shape the myth has been humanized but in a different way than the story of Jonah. There may actually have been a bronze monument erected to the sacred fish, and the poet who adapted the tale to the taste of his age made Arion ride on the back of the dolphin and afterwards come out from within the monument. We must assume that in the myth Arion traversed the sea in the belly of the fish and on arriving he came forth from the real dolphin, not from the bronze monument. The connecting link may have been the dramatic performances of the legend in which this tradition was commemorated.

Another story less known but not less significant is preserved in the legend of Melikertes. But in this case the fish rescues the body of the victim, and so we are reminded that the hero must die and did die according to the old tradition. The legend states that



MELKARTH ON THE SEA-HORSE.
Tyrian coin. Below the waves is a dolphin.

Ino, the sister of Semele and aunt of Dionysus, in order to escape the wrath of her husband, King Athamas, threw herself and her youngest son Melikertes into the sea from the Molurian rock. She became the local goddess of those shores, helping sailors in distress. The body of Melikertes, however, was borne by a dolphin to the isthmus of Corinth and deposited under a pine-tree. The Corinthians instituted the Isthmian games in his honor, and coins of Corinth commemorate the event.

The name Melikertes seems to indicate that this form of the legend has been imported from Phœnicia, for the name Melikertes appears to be a Hellenized form of Melkartha. This derivation is further confirmed by the existence of a Tyrian coin on which Melkartha, lord of the city of Tyre, is represented as riding on a sea horse. The Greek word *Melibertes* would mean honey-winner and



COINS ILLUSTRATING THE MORE IMPORTANT FORMS OF THE GREEK
DOLPHIN LEGENDS.

From Usener, *Die Sintfluthsagen*, frontispiece.

For further particulars with regard to the dolphin coins (on the opposite page) see Usener, pp. 278-279. It will be noted that three out of the four Corinthian coins (10-13) picture Melikertes as alive riding on the dolphin in an upright position.

1. Bronze medallion of Maximinus from Anchialus: Aphrodite in upright position and at her left Eros on the dolphin.
2. Bronze of Antoninus Pius from Nicomedia: Eros turning the dolphin to the right.
3. Bronze of Elagabal from Perinthus: Eros reining in the dolphin to the right.
4. Bronze of Gordian from Perinthus: Eros riding the dolphin towards the left.
5. An amber from Cyzicus: A man of the Tarentine type riding towards the left and holding in his right hand a tunny; below him another tunny.
6. Another amber from Cyzicus: A fully dressed woman riding on a dolphin towards the left with a wreath in her right hand and a shield in her left; below a tunny.
7. Bronze of the first century B.C., from Methymna in Lesbos: A man, clothed, sitting on a dolphin with his legs hanging down in front; in his left hand a lyre.
8. Bronze of Commodus from Methymna in Lesbos: A man, clothed, riding towards the left on a dolphin and turning backwards; in his left hand a lyre.
9. Bronze from Iassus in Caria: A youth with left arm thrown over a dolphin swimming toward the right.
10. Corinthian bronze of Marcus Aurelius: Melikertes stretched out dead on the swimming dolphin; behind him the sacred pine.
11. Corinthian bronze of Antoninus Pius: Melikertes standing upright with a mantle falling over his back, the dolphin facing toward the right.
12. Corinthian bronze of Lucius Verus: Melikertes as youth riding on a dolphin.
13. Corinthian bronze from the time of Tiberius: Melikertes as a child holding a thyrsus staff over his shoulder.
14. Silver coin of Ambracia: Athene-head with helmet; at her left a winged Eros sitting on a dolphin clasping his left knee with his hands.
15. Silver coin of Tarentum: A dolphin rider with a polypus in his left hand.
16. Silver coin of Tarentum: A dolphin rider facing the left; a mussel below.
17. Silver coin of Tarentum: A dolphin rider with inscription.
18. Silver coin of Tarentum: A dolphin rider facing the spectator and spearing a fish with a trident.
19. Silver coin of Tarentum: A dolphin rider holding a trident in the right hand and a round shield in the left.
20. Silver coin of Tarentum: A dolphin rider kneeling on his right knee and with spear and shield in his left hand.
21. Bronze coin of Brundisium: A dolphin rider with a cornucopia in his left hand, and a Victory standing on his right hand.
22. Bronze coin from Paestum: Eros riding on a dolphin holding in his right hand a wreath and in his left an upraised trident.

in Greece his name was associated with the honey cult, but it has originally as little to do with honey as Heracles with the goddess Hera. These explanations are mere afterthoughts suggested by accidental similarity of sound. One coin here inserted (the last in



CORINTHIAN COINS IN HONOR OF MELIKERTES.

our illustration) indicates that Melikertes was originally a god of vegetation, because he is surrounded by ears of wheat and other symbols of vegetable life. Hans Schmidt in his scholarly book on *Jona* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907) points out that



JONAH IN THE CATACOMBS.

in the two stories of Melikertes and Arion the artistic sense of the Greek has obliterated the grotesque features of the myth which appear natural in Oriental religions but are offensive to Greek taste.

The story of salvation through the fish must have been very popular, for it was told and retold and changed in different versions. Hellanikos in an incidental comment (*apud. Schol. Iliad* Y. 146) relates that Heracles in delivering Hesione, the daughter of King Laomedon of Troy, descended into the belly of a dragon and slew him by cutting his intestines, which was a task of three days' labor. The monster was of such a nature as to burn the hero's hair by the internal heat of his body.



JASON COMING OUT OF THE DRAGON'S MOUTH.
From an Attic vase.

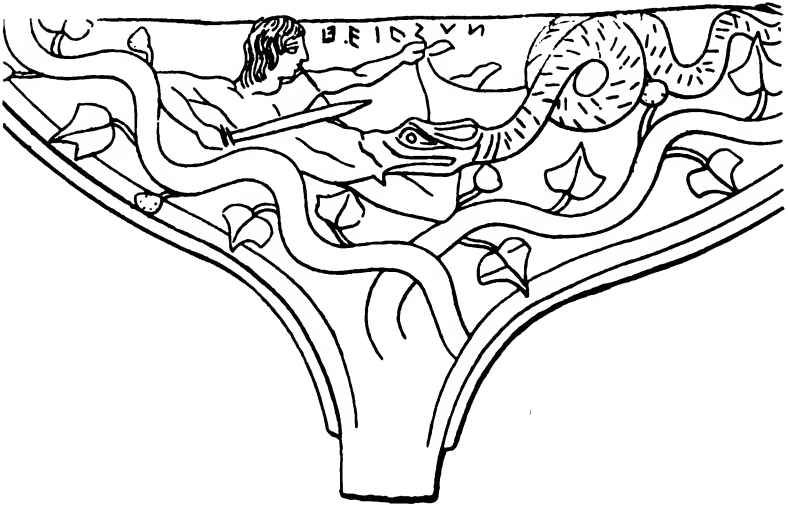
This adventure is quite isolated and is not enumerated among the twelve labors of Heracles; yet it finds another parallel in the story of Jason not mentioned in the legend, but repeatedly represented in art. There is a vase picture which shows Jason coming out of a dragon's jaws in a fainting condition. Before him stands Athene assisting the hero in the accomplishment of his feat. Happily Jason is identified by an inscription and Athene by the medusa head on her breast and an owl which she holds in her left hand. Otherwise in the absence of all information in Greek literature we

would be at a loss what to make of the picture. Nor is this motive in ancient art isolated, for an Etruscan metal mirror pictures Jason,



A CHRISTIAN VERSION OF THE FISH AS AN ENEMY.

The angelic figures representing the three persons of the Trinity attack a monster and a fish which stand for Behemoth and Leviathan.



JASON SWALLOWED BY A SERPENT.

Ornament of an Etruscan mirror.

who is identified by an inscription, sword in hand as being swallowed by a snake-like monster.

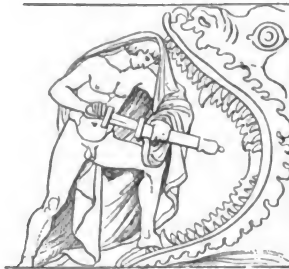
The Jonah story differs from the myth of Heracles in so far

as the fish has changed into a monster which must be struggled against and conquered. The fish as a saviour changes into the power of death from which man's life must be rescued. This ap-



PERSEUS IN COMBAT WITH THE GREAT FISH.
Hydria in Berlin Museum.

pears not only in the stories of Heracles and Jason but also in their variant, the story of Perseus and the rescue of Andromeda, which is most dramatically represented on a hydria, a water jar preserved



HERACLES ENTERING THE JAWS OF THE MONSTER.
Etruscan vase picture of Perugia.

in the Berlin Museum. We see Andromeda tied to a rock; to the right and to the left are her parents, and underneath in the water, which is indicated by the presence of fish, Perseus with a sickle

sword in his right hand and a lance in the left struggles with the monster.

The rescue of Andromeda was a favorite subject with Greek artists, and our frontispiece shows one of the most beautiful marble reliefs that have come down to us from Greek antiquity.

We know nothing more about these legends, but the indication



JONAH THROWN OVERBOARD.

Typical Christian representation by Fred. B. Schell.

is sufficient to prove that there were myths current among the Greeks after the pattern of the Jonah story.

It is peculiar that Hellenikos makes Heracles stay three days in the belly of the monster, and this is the same time attributed to Jonah by Jesus and to his own sojourn in the "heart of the earth," which means the abode of death.⁸

⁸ For an explanation of the number three, three and a half, after three days, etc., see the author's article "The Number π in Christian Prophecy," published in *The Monist*, Vol. XVI, p. 415.

While the Jewish prophet plays the part of a patient sufferer, being swallowed and spit out again, the Greek heroes enter the dragon's jaws not in passive submission, but with sword in hand as energetic fighters, determined to conquer the monster and gain their salvation not through prayer by the mercy of God, but through their own valor.

Though nothing can be positively stated it does not seem probable that the biblical story of Jonah has been derived from a Greek source, and if we consider that it has been located in Nineveh, the great Assyrian metropolis, we may assume with great plausibility that we shall have to seek the immediate source of the story in



JONAH REACHING THE SHORE.

Typical Bible illustration.

Assyria, perhaps through a Babylonian medium. That we have not yet been able to trace the original in the ancient monuments is no refutation. At any rate there is no reason to seek its source in a more distant country, as for instance India, where Pischel locates it. Whether or not this hypothesis be correct, it stands to reason that ultimately all the legends of the fish representing death with the power to save date back to a prehistoric source in which animal symbolism was an essential feature of religion.

We may mention in this connection that the idea of magicians living in the belly of a fish occurs also in other quarters of the

world, but the similarity of this idea to the Jonah story is only in appearance. Mr. Albert Niblack publishes an interesting report about the Haida Indians in an article which appeared in the Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1888, p. 231, under the title "*The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia.*" There a medicine man is mentioned who inhabits a big fish, and the adjoined picture shows this *soi-disant* Haida Jonah in the belly of an orca. He is a kind of Indian werewolf called skana, for it is stated that he can change his shape into any animal, but his common lodging is an orca or whale. Mr. Niblack (pp. 322-323) quotes Judge Swan as saying:



THE HAIDA JONAH.

"He can change into any desired form, and many are the legends about him. One which was related to me was that ages ago the Indians were out seal-hunting. The weather was calm and the sea smooth. One of these killers, or black-fish, a species of porpoise, kept alongside of a canoe, and the young men amused themselves by throwing stones from the canoe ballast and hitting the fin of the killer. After some pretty hard blows from these rocks the creature made for the shore, where it grounded on the beach. Soon a smoke was seen, and their curiosity prompted them to ascertain the cause, but when they reached the shore they discovered, to their surprise, that it was a large canoe, and not a Skana that was on the beach, and that a man was on shore cooking some food. He asked them why they threw stones at his canoe. 'You have broken it,' he said, 'and now go into the woods and get some cedar withes and mend it.' They did so, and when they had finished the man said, 'Turn your backs to the water and cover your heads with your skin blankets, and don't you look till I call you.' They did so, and heard the canoe grate on the beach as it was hauled down into the surf. Then the man said, 'Look, now.'

They looked, and saw the canoe just going over the first breaker and the man sitting in the stern; but when it came to the second breaker it went under and presently came up outside of the breakers a killer and not a canoe, and the man or demon was in its belly. This allegory is common among all the tribes on the northwest coast, and even with the interior tribes with whom the salmon takes the place of the orca, which never ascends the fresh-water rivers. The Chilkat and other tribes of Alaska carve figures of salmon, inside of which is the full figure of a nude Indian. . . . Casual observers, without inquiry, will at once pronounce it to be Jonah in the fish's belly, but the allegory is of ancient origin, far antedating the advent of the white man or the teachings of the missionary."

Mr. Niblack expressly states that we have here no echo on the biblical Jonah story because the legend antedates the appearance of the white people. We might add that in other respects too the story bears no resemblance to the tale of Jonah or any of its kindred versions. The similarity is only in the appearance of the picture, which is quite incidental, but back of it there is after all a connection between the two through the aboriginal belief in the magic power of the fish, who among the Haida is identified with a great medicine man inhabiting the ocean and regarded by the Indians with great awe.

THE CARPENTER OF NAZARETH.

BY EDWARD DAY.

AMONG those who have not thought to question the existence of a Galilean teacher, known to later time as Jesus, there must be some who have frequently asked themselves most seriously if after all this man's original name has not been lost. Was the name "Jesus" the name given him at birth? Was it the name which he bore in childhood and by which he was known as he began to associate with his fellows as a man among men? We raise this question, not in any spirit of hostility or of irreverence, but frankly and sincerely. We feel that we are bound to do this, that modern criticism has reached the point where it must face the question of the historicity of the Nazarene and that the question here raised has an important bearing upon that. There are a few considerations that should seem worthy of serious attention.

In the story of the annunciation found in Luke i. 28 ff. the angel is represented as saying to the young maiden Mary: "Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus." And in Luke ii. 21 we read that upon the eighth day when the child was circumcised this son of Mary was called Jesus, and that he was so named by the angel before he was conceived in the womb. Unquestionably we have here an allusion to Luke i. 31. Turning to Matthew we find we are told that an angel appeared to Joseph encouraging him to take Mary, his betrothed, to wife, though she is with child, because that which is conceived of her is of the Holy Spirit. The angel is made to add: "And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call him Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins" (See i. 20 f.). In i. 25 we are told that Joseph, who had then taken Mary to wife, upon the birth of her first-born son, called his name Jesus.

That the two accounts here found in the "Gospel of the infancy" passages of Matthew and Luke as to the naming of the son

of Mary contradict one another we are hardly warranted in saying, although they seem to be parts of independent legends. We, however, may feel that scholars are not justified in asserting that they are perfectly harmonious and at the same time supplementary, that Matt. i. 20 f. follows Luke 1. 31, while Matt. i. 25 is not contradicted by Luke ii. 21 which follows Luke i. 31. What we are interested to notice is that they have little, if any, worth to the student of the life of the Nazarene, for they undoubtedly were later than the Gospels at the opening of which they were put. At the most we can only say that when the legendary "Gospel of the infancy" took shape it was very generally supposed that the name "Jesus," by which the Nazarene was then known, was the name that was bestowed upon him at birth or shortly thereafter.

The name "Jesus" is recognized as virtually the same as the Hebrew "Joshua," a common name in Old Testament story. True, it really is not the earlier and usual form but a later and less common form, "Jeshua," and might be rendered "Jesu." The Greek form of the name seems to be responsible for the final *s*. The earlier Hebrew form has not the force of "deliverer" or "saviour"; rather does it suggest that the bearer is "helped of Yahveh." The later form is from a Hebrew verb meaning "to deliver," "to save." Hence "Jeshua" was taken by a free etymology to have the signification of "deliverer" or "saviour" to those who knew and followed the Nazarene.

Scholars who look with less favor upon the material in Matthew and Luke having to do with the birth and infancy of the Master than the later synoptic material may question not unreasonably whether the Carpenter of Nazareth really was called "Jesus" before he had a considerable following in Galilee. After once he had, as the foe of a dead ceremonialism, a dreary legalism, and a hypocritical faith, stirred up all Galilee with his winsome doctrine of the Kingdom of God it is fairly supposable, even if he had not been so known before, that this carpenter would now be enthusiastically proclaimed as their deliverer, that is, as their Jesus.

It is said in Mark vi. 1-3 that when he came into his own country with his disciples and began to teach in the synagogue many hearing him marveled and asked: "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?" In Matt. xiii. 55 the form of the question differs somewhat, but it is substantially in harmony with this. If Mark vi. 1-3 is the older and more reliable form, as seems likely, then we may say that this Galilean had already become known in his home community, and presumably outside of it in Galilee, as "the Car-

penter." Certainly the supposition that he was so known seems probable. If this was the case and if afterward, as his ministry increased in popularity, he were given the most appropriate designation of "Jesus" (Deliverer), we may very reasonably ask if his real name was not lost or ignored as of no particular consequence. Had he been named after his father, as it is likely he was, his name "Joseph" ("whom Yahveh increases") would have no particular significance to his enthusiastic followers, while the term "Jesus" would have.

A partial solution, if not the key to the problem, may be found in Josephus. Galilee in the time of Roman domination was in a state of constant revolt. The people were free, liberty-loving and fearless, though sadly wanting unity. Earnest patriots as partisan zealots and many less nobly endowed were able to secure a few hundred followers here and there and give the Romans, if opportunity offered, no little trouble. The book of the Acts is in agreement with Josephus just here.¹ But the thing to be noticed is that according to the latter several of these men were known by the name of Jesus.

While it may be admitted that the name "Jesus" is one which we would naturally expect to encounter often in Jewish story the fact that a considerable number of leading Galilean patriot leaders, who seem to have led their separate companies in revolt against the Romans, or to have been guilty as outlaws of lawlessness near the beginning of the Christian era, bore the name of "Jesus" is specially significant; for in the mind of the masses the Nazarene carpenter must have been associated with the thought of unfriendliness to the government. The gospels are not without marks of this. Turning to Josephus we see that a Jesus, son of Sapphias, as a leader of a seditious tumult of mariners and poor people, is mentioned in his *Life*.² Another Jesus is named by Josephus as a man who came against him with eight hundred men and fought him and his forces (*Life*, sec. 22). He is said to have been a captain of robbers; but it is to be surmised that the Jewish historian is hardly fair in so characterizing him. It is presumable that he was an acknowledged

others who were popularly known by the same title "Jesus." That the original names of these men were lost or forgotten when they were given the name "Jesus" by some of their zealous followers is what might have been expected.

This supposition has an important bearing upon the question whether the carpenter of Nazareth was not one whose real name, given at circumcision, was unknown to the people of Galilee. Shortly after he began to attract attention as a carpenter who had a message of good cheer for them they may have seen fit to speak of him as "Jesus," a designation that was at once accepted even by many who did not themselves follow him. Ardently responsive as these eager lovers of liberty were they were bound as patriots, galled by a foreign yoke, to look to him as a deliverer.

There was nothing about the trade of the Nazarene, though he was poor, to stand in his way or to lower him in their eyes. Trades were held in honor among them. Their great rabbis were men who had their trades and prided themselves therein. The only thing that concerned them was whether this Nazarene could enthuse and rally the masses as a patriot leader. That he could seemed to them apparent by his successes. Hence to many of them none was better fitted than he to be known as "Jesus."

The name thus thrust upon the Nazarene clung to him. Except by members of his own family and his closest followers he was known by no other. Naturally the name clung to him because up to the last week of his life the Galileans had hopes of him as their deliverer. As however their hopes faded when the Nazarene was apprehended and crucified the nearer circle of his followers took it up as most appropriate because to them the spiritual nature of his mission came to stand out so clearly that they saw that none so truly deserved it as did he.

We should not overlook the fact that nowhere in the Synoptic Gospels are the disciples represented as addressing their loved Master as "Jesus." To them he was *rabbi* (teacher) and *adthonai* (Master). While in some passages, as Mark ix, 5; xi. 21; xiv. 45, we have the Greek transliteration of the former, in others, as Mark iv. 38; xiii. 1; Luke viii. 24; ix. 33, we have Greek equivalents for the latter. The more common Greek equivalent *kurios*, found in Matt. ix. 28; xiv. 28; Luke v. 8; ix. 54, etc., is also frequently used for *adthonai*; but unfortunately by our Trinitarian translators appears in the English texts of the Synoptic Gospels as "Lord" where we should have "sir" or "Master." Surely neither of these terms, *rabbi* or *adthonai*, as used by the disciples, was anything more than a

term of respect. They contained no connotations of deity. Yet these were the only terms, if we may judge from the Synoptic Gospels, that were used by the disciples in addressing Jesus or in alluding to him.

Nor was the Nazarene ever represented as alluding to himself as "Jesus." Some ancient authorities have: "Then charged he the disciples that they should let no man know that he was Jesus the Christ"; but most reputable scholars to-day fail to find sufficient warrant for retaining the "Jesus" here. If retained it should be recognized as an official rather than a personal term. Hence it would have little significance for this study.

The gospels in thus representing the disciples and their loved teacher as using other terms for him than "Jesus" should be accepted as true to early tradition. The fact has an important bearing upon my thought that somewhere midway in his ministry, if not earlier, in Galilee this teacher became known to most of his followers, if not to his intimates, as "Jesus." Presumably his immediate disciples were slow to adopt this term which the masses accepted enthusiastically in the thought that he was to deliver them somehow from the thralldom of Rome. After his death, if not before, his closest and most devoted followers must have allowed the thought of him as their "Deliverer" or "Saviour" to grip their minds and hearts. However seriously we as students of the New Testament may question the thought that the Great Galilean was known in his early years as "Jesus," we certainly can see no reason for refusing him that title to-day. Though he may be shorn of much that has been claimed for him as a teacher and an actor upon life's little stage, we shall cling to the name by which for over eighteen centuries he has been affectionately known.

The material which has been handled in this paper, as we are well aware, has in whole or in part been used to suggest the conclusion that there was no such person as Jesus, that he was not an historic character. Even a prominent orthodox divine³ in asserting that the Christian church is founded upon the Christ-God idea frankly admits that we cannot be sure that there was a human Jesus, that it is enough for the church that it has the thought of God as coming into touch with life and the closely correlated thought of him as suffering to redeem man. It seems to the writer that a fresh and more fearless handling of the text of the Synoptic Gospels than critical scholars have heretofore given us must put us in touch

³ Rev. K. C. Anderson in the *Hibbert Journal* of January, 1910, on "The Collapse of Liberal Christianity."

with an actual Nazarene, a man who when seen as he was may disappoint us in some respects but who must still be regarded as one of the most original and inspiring religious teachers the world has thus far seen.

SOME NOTES ON LANGUAGE STUDY.

BY THE EDITOR.

LATIN, the language of the Romans, is the only Italic dialect that has been preserved in a rich literature and lives on in several daughter languages, viz., Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Roumanian. It belongs to the great Aryan family of which the Sanskrit and Iranian are the main Asiatic branches, and Greco-Italic, Slavic, Germanic and Celtic the main European ones.

Latin is of interest to us first because the Romans, like the Greeks, are our kinsfolk, but its importance to the people of English speech is still greater. Latin has influenced the formation not only of the old Saxon, since the Saxons settled in Britain, but also of modern English at a time when the language was forming. The Saxon inhabitants of Britain owed their civilization to Rome, and so Roman words were used for all those institutions, activities and ideas which came to them in the course of progress. The Latin *schola* became school; *penna* became pen; *corona*, crown; *crux*, cross, and so forth.

The Romans, however, were not the inventors of civilization. They had acquired their culture from Greece, and so Greek words had crept into Latin. The Romans were mere preservers and transmitters. Such words as church, bishop, priest, monk, baptize,¹ etc., are ultimately derived from Greek terms, after they had become Latinized. With the civilization of southern Europe, the northern European nations adopted from their teachers the names of the new institutions. For this very reason it is indispensable for a thorough knowledge of English that we possess some knowledge not only of Anglo-Saxon but also of Greek, Latin and medieval French, but especially of Latin which has contributed most to the vocabulary of English speech.

The importance of Latin for all English speaking people can

¹ κυριακή, ἐπίσκοπος, πρεσβύτερος, μόναχος, βαπτίζειν.

not be overrated, but though Latin is very important, its significance can be and has been misunderstood, and now and then it has happened that even scholars have misstated it. Considering the innumerable Latin words which have been incorporated into the vocabulary, it is obvious that to any one who wishes to acquire a fair command of the English mother-tongue, at least some knowledge of Latin is indispensable. However, Latin can not be called either the father or the mother of English, for English is and will remain a Saxon language. The character of a language is determined by its grammar, its declensions, conjugations and its syntax. They form the framework of thought into which are fitted all the many indigenous and foreign words. To be sure, foreign words tend to modify the speech of a people, they widen its horizon and enrich its thought, but for all that they do not change the lineal descent of its speech. For this reason English is and remains a Saxon language so long as it retains the Saxon spirit and the character of Saxon thought, which it evinces by Anglicizing foreign words and treating them according to the rule of Saxon grammar, Saxon inflection, and Saxon syntax.

It would be wrong to say that the English language has been overpowered or has suffered by the invasion of Latin terms, or generally speaking through the introduction of any foreign words which came in large numbers from all parts of the globe. On the contrary, the English language took possession of them; it grew in both exactness and wealth of expression and yet it remained English, the child of Saxon speech.

* * *

Languages change, and they changed even more in former times when language was mere speech, i. e., purely oral language. Some letters can be pronounced either more or less sharply, and so the Roman *cornu* was pronounced *horn* among the Teutons. In a similar way the Latin *helvus* is the English *yellow* and the German *gelb*. The root of "hundred" (i. e., *hund*) corresponds to the Latin *centum*, and the Latin *homo* is the Gothic *guma* which corresponds to an Old-German word *gomo*, now lost but still preserved in the compound "Bräutigam" and in the English *groom*. The more a language becomes fixed by writing, the less it is subject to modifications, and the more stable it grows.

The languages of the North American Indians change so rapidly that when a tribe splits up and its members are separated for

only two generations they are scarcely able to understand one another.

We must grant, however, that there is a special reason why Indian languages change more quickly than others, and this is their habit of tabooing words. Whenever anything happens that impresses the Indian he avoids the word that denotes the offensive object, and so he has to invent a new word in its place. The words tabooed are sometimes very numerous, and this in addition to linguistic changes of pronunciation tends to produce new languages within a very short time.

English has become the more stable according as the written language has more and more become common property; nevertheless it is still subject to change and it has been changing to a considerable degree in the past. The linguistic cause of changes is governed by laws, the most obvious one of which was discovered by the Grimm brothers, those great scholars of Germanic language and literature who may fairly be regarded as the fathers of comparative philology.

The Grimm brothers were born and raised in central Germany, near the border line of High and Low German speech. In their time the people still spoke Low German at home and used High German as the professional language in school, on the stage, in the pulpit, in official documents, at court and in literature. The High Germans say *das* for the English *that*, while the Low Germans say *dat*, and a similar relation prevails between other consonants.

The Low German *t* changes in High German to *z*, pronounced *ts*, a double consonant and very sharp; and the Low German *p* is modified by a following *f* into *pf*.² Upon the whole High German becomes harder and more guttural, losing the dental aspirates (*th* as well as *dh*) and also the *w*, while the Low Germans near the shore, especially those Saxons who emigrated over the sea into Britain, were inclined to soften their language, to change the broad *ah* into *ay*, *ay* into *ee*, and *ee* into *i*, and gradually to discard gutturals altogether. At present, guttural aspirates of English speech are preserved only in Scotch dialects.³

them to the conclusion that some changes of the mute consonants are governed by a definite law, expressed in the formula AMTA or TAMTAM, which means that a tenuis or sharp consonant (viz., *p, k, t*) changes into its corresponding aspirate (viz., *ph, kh, th*); an aspirate into its media or flat consonant (viz., *b, g, d*), and the media again back into the aspirate.

There are two kinds of aspirates, soft and hard, or flat and sharp. One is the aspirate of the tenuis, *ph, kh, th*; the other of the media, *bh, gh, dh*. The hard or sharp aspirate of the labials is *f*, the flat or soft one *v*. In the same way we have two dental aspirates *dh* as in "that" and *th* as in "thorn." Guttural aspirates do not exist in English but are quite in evidence in German; they too are twofold, *kh* as in the German *ach* (i. e., "alas") and *gh* as in the German *ich* (i. e., "I" in English). Modern German, having lost the dental aspirates, replaces them by *z*, pronounced *ts*.

The law of the Grimm brothers means that under certain conditions a language is apt to change *p* into *ph*, *ph* into *b*, and *b* again into *p*. In the same way *k* changes to *kh*, *kh* to *g*, *g* to *k*; and *t* changes to *th*, *th* into *d*, and *d* into *t*. Thus we have a circle of Tenuis, Aspirate, Media, Tenuis, etc., which, read as an acrostic, makes TAMTAM or AMTA.

We quote only a few instances of the Grimm law. The Greek *ther* (θήρ) means "animal" but corresponds in its form to the English *deer*. It is *dīus* in Gothic and changes in High German to *Tier*. The Greek *dyo* and Latin *duo* are changed in Low German into *tuo*, which is the English *two*, originally pronounced as in Low German *tuo*. It has been modified to the High German *zwo* which was the feminine form of *zwei*.⁴ Analogous is the transition from the Greek *deka* (δέκα) and the Latin *decem* through the Old Low German *tehan*, English *ten*, to the High German *zehn*. We select as a third example a word that in the first stage shows a tenuis. The Greek *treis* and Latin *tres* corresponds to the Saxon and English *three* and to the High German *drei*.

We present a few more instances in tabular form:

SANSKRIT	GREEK	LATIN	GOTHIC	ENGLISH	H. GERMAN
tvam	τί	tu	thu	thou	du
bratar	φράτηρ ⁵	frater	brothar	brother	Bruder
pitar	πατήρ	pater	fadar	father	Vater

SANSKRIT	GREEK	LATIN	GOOTHIC	ENGLISH	H. GERMAN
matar	μήτηρ	mater	——— ⁶	mother	Mutter
dant	ὀδοίς Gen. ὀδόντος	dens	tundus	tooth	Zahn
[dadhami ⁷]	[τρίθμι ⁷]	do, dēre ⁷	deths	do	thue
pad	ποίς	pes, pedis	fotus	foot	Fuss, Pfote

It will be seen that not all follow the rule exactly, for instance the Gothic *fadar*, ought to be "fathar"; and in other instances further complications arise through the kinship of *r* and *s* (e. g. the English *was* is the German *war*) and the frequent interchangeability of mutes of the same kind. Thus the guttural aspirate of the Anglo-Saxon *enough*, the German *genug*, changes in its modern English pronunciation to *f*.

Sometimes the meaning of a word changes. The Latin *vulpes* (or *volpes*) means "fox," the same term as the English *wolf*; while *fegos* (φηγός) means "oak" in Greek, but *fagus* in Latin means "beech." It is etymologically the same word as the German *Buche* and the English *beech*. Being derived from the root *fag* (Greek φάγω, "to eat"), we must conclude that originally it designated a tree with edible fruit and that when the Pelasgian Greeks separated from the other Aryans, they ate acorns, while their Italic and Teutonic cousins found in their homes plenty of beech-trees the fruit of which they used for food.

Again two words which sound different are sometimes the same in meaning and etymology. The verb *plere* is the English "to fill," and that which fills a country is in Latin *plebs* (or with reduplication *populus*) and in English "folk," in German *Volk*, (pronounced *folk*).

Comparative philology traces this law of the Grimm brothers through the Aryan languages of Europe and Asia, but history has witnessed an actual transition from one stage into another in Germany in the beginning of the Middle Ages, modifying the language of the South German tribes. When they came in touch with the

* There is no doubt that the Goths used the word mother, but I can not note it down here, because I am unable to find it in the Gothic documents at my command. Ulfilas uses in its place the endearing term *aiþei*; so in Luke ii. 34 and 48. Although the Gothic translator uses the word *fadar*, he addresses God in the Lord's prayer not *Fadar unsar*, but *Atta unsar*. The tenderness of the two terms *atta* and *aiþei* is almost untranslatable, for they are both far from the cold respect due to a father and from the levity of the unconventional expressions "papa" and "mamma." We come nearest to the meaning when we use two words such as "father dear," "mother dear."

⁷ The Sanskrit, Greek and Latin words corresponding to the English "I

Celts and Romans, they changed their pronunciation which resulted in the formation of a new language called High German. The Old Low German remained unaffected by this linguistic modification, and together with Roman and Greek stayed on the same stage with the most ancient form of Aryan speech, the Sanskrit.

It is interesting to note that some dialectic changes of ancient Greek repeat themselves in the differences between German and English. The German corresponds to the Doric and Æolic, the English to the Ionic. The former were inlanders and preferred the broad *ah* sound as in father, while the latter, the English and the Ionians, both seafaring people, show a tendency to change *a* into *η* and *ah* into *ay*.

Concerning the aspirates, we may add that gutturals seem to prevail in the speech of mountaineers, while the inhabitants of the coasts prefer the dentals.

* * *

Languages change not only in their linguistic aspect but also through a tendency to shorten words, and this is most apparent in the speech of the German nations. There is a great difference between Græco-Italic and any one of the Germanic languages which consists in the fact that the latter allows the accent of the word to play a most dominant part. The Greeks and also the Romans possess a kind of euphonic accent. The accent changes with conditions. Thus the word *poētai* (the poets) has the accent on the *ē*, but in the genitive *poētārum* the accent is thrown on the *ā*, and similar rules obtain in Greek.

Both the Romans and the Greeks possess a special sense for what is called prosody, which means the length or shortness of vowels independent of the accent. As far back as we can trace the development of their language, the Teutonic nations have insisted on keeping the accent on the root syllable. The inflection of the word was of secondary account, and its quantity changed according to conditions. They neglected euphony and cared most for the meaning which was emphasized by the accent. The French even to-day have a kind of accent of sentences, the accent of words may change. Not so in German, not so in English, nor in any other of the Germanic languages. Here a change of accent renders words almost unintelligible.^a

^a When a Frenchman says "I am an infidel" instead of "in'fidel," one has to think twice before catching the meaning. The pronunciation "atroci'ty" makes a decidedly different impresson on the ear of English speaking people than atro'city. On the other hand French people may pronounce *la mai'son* or *la maison* according to the euphony of the context.

This difference in the significance of accent is a national characteristic of the speech of our forebears, and it had important consequences for the development of their language. The tendency of Germanic tongues is to shorten the words and their poetry consists not in measuring the duration of syllables, but in counting accents.

Greek and Roman poetry is based on prosody alone. The lays of ancient Germanic poetry bring out the logical emphasis, suggesting that the dancing step of the ballad was the prototype of their rhythm, while the metrical laws of classical poetry follow the rules of music. They measure the duration of the syllables while the word-accent is neglected.

This difference in the principle of pronunciation renders it almost impossible to imitate classical meters in Germanic poetry, but whenever we introduce classical forms of poetry we must replace long syllables by accents and short syllables by unaccented syllables. But this is only a makeshift, for in Greek and Latin the duration of a syllable remains the same under all conditions, while in the Teutonic languages the same syllable may be long or short according to its position.

In the development of Germanic speech the dominance of the accent resulted in a shortening of words, the unaccented syllables being more and more slurred, and sometimes it came to pass that four syllables were changed into one. Take for instance the Gothic word *habaidedum* which means "we had," literally translated, "have we did." This combination with the ending derived from the auxiliary verb *didan*, "to do," was the original mode of expressing the imperfect. It was contracted in German first into *wir habeten*, then into *hatten*, and the English have gone one step further and say simply "had."

* * *

The most primitive languages appear to have been monosyllabic, and there was a time when the so-called roots were ideas of a general character which were used for the purpose of communicating intentions, or requests, or declarations. They first denoted actions, for language originated as an accompaniment of cooperative work of a communal activity.

Several theories have been proposed as to the origin of language.

First, language was conceived as a reflex of nature in the human mind, and it was assumed that the external commotion and noises echoed back as they came. This is the theory of sound imitation. Its originators called it "the making of names," using for it the ponderous Greek term "onomatopœia."

If the onomatopœic theory were right, we ought to call the dog "bow-wow," the cat "miew-miew" and the engine "choo-choo"; but the history of language proves that onomatopœic expressions are almost entirely limited to the modern nursery. Onomatopœic word-formations are made only by those who are in possession of a fully developed language. Therefore there is not the slightest probability for this theory, and it is obvious that the origin of language is much more complicated. The reflex comes forth from deeper strata of man's soul, and so philologists proposed a new explanation which regarded language as the reaction of man's sentiments. A sentient creature fitted out with an apparatus for making sounds would vent its feelings by shouts such as "ah," for grief, "oh," for regret, etc. But even that theory was insufficient, for these exclamations have remained the most sterile roots. We form the verb "to pooh-pooh," but not "to ah," "to oh," "to alas." Moreover primitive man has no such articulate expressions of sentiment, he vents his feelings in groans, grunts and shouts. There is a difference not so much of sound as of intonation.

The last step in explaining the origin of language was taken by Ludwig Noiré⁹ who points out that the origin of language is closely connected with man's communal work.

Man is a social animal, and the primitive society of mankind was held together by the fear of common dangers and methods of warning, by common struggles and common tasks, for all of which mutual assistance, mutual encouragement and mutual communication was required. This was done by shouts, serving as signals to fall in, as sailors utter their unison singing when pulling a rope.

Prof. F. Max Müller humorously called these three theories the bow-wow theory, the pooh pooh theory, and the Yo-he-ho theory.¹⁰

Noiré calls his theory the "Logos theory," and Prof. F. Max Müller has adopted it in his essay on "The Identity of Language and Thought."¹¹

The main problem, however, of Noiré was not so much the origin of language, as the origin of reason, and he came to the conclusion that reason is developed through language. Language is the machinery of reason; yet it is not reason that has produced language, but language has produced reason. There was not first a rational

⁹ For details see Ludwig Noiré's essay *On the Origin of Language and the*

animal who through its reason invented language, but in the course of the development of social conditions language originated and language produced reason. The speaking animal became a rational being.

The same principle holds good still. Thought is the soul, and speech is, as it were, its body. In order to mould thought, we must formulate it in words. As Noiré says, Man does not speak because he thinks, but he thinks (i. e., he has acquired the faculty of thinking) because he speaks.

If these propositions are sound, we shall at once be able to judge of the enormous significance of language, and also the imperative need of cultivating in education the use of right language.

The sentiment and principles incorporated in speech contribute not a little to mould right thinking, for both intellect and character.

* * *

While generally we must learn to master our own language, English, we must be acquainted with its roots, and we must know not only its vocabulary and grammar, its philological, etymological and logical methods, the machinery of its rationality, but also, so far as that be feasible, the spirit of the people who fashioned our language and that is deposited in the proverbs and pithy quotations of their literature.

Languages are most easily acquired by committing to memory proverbs, poetical quotations, famous sentences of history or literature, and other typical passages which reflect the spirit of the people. Such significant sayings, culled with discretion from literature, can as easily be used for the explanation of grammatical and syntactical rules as the silly sentences of our current text-books, which are mostly words without sense and interest. If the student of a language knows by heart these gems of thought which incorporate the national spirit and are typical of the people themselves, his philological instruction will become easier by an increased interest in the subject matter, and the study of a language will thereby serve a higher purpose.

Our present method of teaching the classical languages is pedantic and stultifying. It seems to be calculated to make the pupils disgusted with the subject even before they become acquainted with it. Our educators should bear in mind that it is easier to learn whole sentences than single words and actual quotations from the classics than abstract grammatical rules. We are naturally interested in the spirit of another people. Let therefore our pupils first become

acquainted with the wise saws of a foreign language and in learning them by heart let us call upon grammar and syntax as a help to explain the forms. Grammar and syntax are needed, but our pupils must first feel the need of them; for then they will welcome their usefulness and take an interest in rules. But always the concrete reality of the living language should precede the abstract generalization of its construction.

ON THE FOUNDATION AND TECHNIC OF ARITHMETIC.*

BY GEORGE BRUCE HALSTED.

MENSURATION.

NEVER forget that no exact measurement is ever possible, that no theorem of arithmetic, algebra, or geometry could ever be proved by measurement, that measure could never have been the basis or foundation or origin of number.

But the approximate measurements of life are important, and the best current arithmetics give great space to mensuration.

Geometry.

Geometry is an ideal construct.

Of course the point and the straight are to be assumed as elements, without definition. They are equally immeasurable, the straight in Euclidean geometry being infinite. What we first measure and the standard with which we measure it are both *sects*. A sect is a piece of a straight between two points, the end points of the sect. The sides of a triangle are sects.

A *ray* is one of the parts into which a straight is divided by a point on it.

An *angle* is the figure consisting of two coinitial rays. Their common origin is its vertex. The rays are its sides.

When two straights cross so that the four angles made are congruent, each is called a *right angle*.

One ninetieth of a right angle is a *degree* (1°).

A *circle* is a line on a plane, equidistant from a point of the plane (the center). A sect from center to circle is its radius.

An *arc* is a piece of a circle. If less than a semi-circle it is a minor arc.

* Continuation of an article begun in the February *Open Court*.

One quarter of a circle is a *quadrant*.

One ninetieth of a quadrant is called a *degree of arc*.

A sect joining the end points of an arc is its *chord*.

A straight with one, and only one, point in common with the circle is a *tangent*.

Length of a Sect.

To measure a sect is to find the number L (its length) when the sect is conceived as $Lu+ r$, where u is the standard sect and r a sect less than u . In science, u is the centimeter.

Thus the length, L , of the diagonal of a square centimeter, true to three places of decimals, is 1.414.

Since there are different standard sects in use, it is customary to name u with the L . Here 1.414 cm.

Knowing the length of a sect, from our knowledge of the number and the standard sect it multiplies we get knowledge of the measured sect, and can always approximately construct it.

Length of the Circle.

We assume that with every arc is connected one, and only one, sect not less than the chord, and, if the arc be minor, not greater than the sum of the sects on the tangents from the extremities of the arc to their intersection, and such that if the arc be cut into two arcs, this sect is the sum of their sects. The length of this sect we call the *length of the arc*.

If r be the length of its radius, the length of the semicircle is πr .

Archimedes expressed π approximately as $3+1/7$.

True to two places of decimals, $\pi = 3.14$ or 3.1416 true to four places.

The approximation $\pi = 3+1/7$ is true to three significant figures. But since $\pi = 3.1416 = 3+1/7 - 1/800$, a second approximation, true to five significant figures, can be obtained by a correction of the first.

Again $\pi = 3.1416 = (3+1/7)(1-.0004)$, which gives the advantage that in a product of factors including π , the value $3+1/7$ can be used and the product corrected by subtracting four thousandths of itself.

The circle with the standard sect for radius is called the *unit circle*. The length of the arc of unit circle intercepted by an angle with vertex at center is called the *size* of the angle.

The angle whose size is 1, the length of the standard sect, is called a *radian*.

A radian intercepts on any circle an arc whose length is the length of that circle's radius.

The number of radians in an angle at the center intercepting an arc of length L on circle of radius length r , is L/r . $180^\circ = \pi p$.

An arc with the radii to its endpoints is called a *sector*.

Area.

The area of a *triangle* is half the product of the length of either of its sides (the base) by the length of the corresponding altitude, the perpendicular upon the straight of that side from the opposite vertex.

A figure which can be cut into triangles is a *polygon*, whose area is the sum of theirs. Its *perimeter* is the sum of its sides.

Area of Circle. In area, an inscribed regular polygon (one whose sides are equal chords) of $2n$ sides equals a triangle with altitude the circle's radius r and base the perimeter of an inscribed regular polygon of n sides.

A circumscribed regular polygon (one with sides on tangents) of n sides equals a triangle with altitude r and base the polygon's perimeter.

There is one, and only one, triangle intermediate between the series of inscribed regular polygons and the series of circumscribed regular polygons, namely that with altitude r and base equal in length to the circle. This triangle's area, $rc/2 = r^2\pi$, is the *area of the circle*, $r^2\pi$.

From analogous considerations, the *area of a sector* is the product of the length of its arc by the length of half its radius.

Volume.

A *tetrahedron* is the figure constituted by four noncoplanar points, their sects and triangles.

The four points are called its *summits*, the six sects its *edges*, the four triangles its *faces*.

Every summit is said to be *opposite* to the face made by the other three; every edge opposite to that made by the two remaining summits.

A *polyhedron* is the figure formed by n plane polygons such that each side is common to two. The polygons are called its *faces*; their sects its *edges*; their vertices its *summits*.

One-third the product of the area of a face by the length of the perpendicular to it from the opposite vertex is the *volume of the tetrahedron*.

The *volume of a polyhedron* is the sum of the volumes of any set of tetrahedra into which it is cut.

A *prismatoid* is a polyhedron with no summits other than the vertices of two parallel faces.

The altitude of a prismatoid is the perpendicular from top to base.

A number of different prismatoids thus have the same base, top, and altitude.

If both base and top of a prismatoid are sects, it is a tetrahedron.

A *section* of a prismatoid is the polygon determined by a plane perpendicular to the altitude.

To find the *volume of any prismatoid*. Rule: Multiply one-fourth its altitude by the sum of the base and three times a section at two-thirds the altitude from the base.

Halsted's Formula: $V = (a/4)(B + 3S)$.

All the solids of ordinary mensuration, and very many others heretofore treated only by the higher mathematics, are nothing but prismatoids or covered by Halsted's Formula.

A *pyramid* is a prismatoid with a point as top. Hence its volume is $aB/3$.

A circular *cone* is a pyramid with circular base.

A *prism* is a prismatoid with all lateral faces parallelograms. Hence the volume of any prism $= aB$.

A circular *cylinder* is a prism with circular base.

A *right prism* is one whose lateral edges are perpendicular to its base.

A *parallelopiped* is a prism whose base and top are parallelograms.

A *cuboid* is a parallelopiped whose six faces are rectangles.

A *cube* is a cuboid whose six faces are squares.

Hence the volume of any cuboid is the product of its length, breadth and thickness.

The cube whose edge is the standard sect has for volume 1.

Therefore the volume of any polyhedron tells how oft it contains the cube on the standard sect, called the unit cube.

Such units, like the unit square, though traditional, are unnecessary.

A *sphere* is a surface equidistant from a point (the center).

A sect from the center to sphere is its radius.

A *spherical segment* is the piece of a sphere between two parallel planes.

If a sphere be tangent to the parallel planes containing opposite edges of a tetrahedron, and sections made in the sphere and tetrahedron by one plane parallel to these are of equal area, so are sections made by any parallel plane. Hence the volume of a sphere is given by Halsted's Formula.

$$V = (a/4)(B+3S) = (3/4)aS.$$

But $a = 2r$ and $S = (2/3)r\pi(4/3)r$.

So Vol. sphere = $(4/3)\pi r^3$.

Hence also the volume of a spherical segment is given by Halsted's Formula.

Area of sphere = $4\pi r^2$.

The area of a sphere is quadruple the area of its great circle.

As examples of solids which might now be introduced into elementary arithmetic, since they are covered by Halsted's Formula, may be mentioned: oblate spheroid, prolate spheroid, ellipsoid, paraboloid of revolution, hyperboloid of revolution, elliptic hyperboloid, and their segments or frustums made by planes perpendicular to their axes, all solids uniformly twisted, like the square-threaded screw, etc.

ORDER.

In the counting of a primitive group, any element is considered equivalent to any other. But in the use even of the primitive counting apparatus, the fingers, appeared another and extraordinarily important character, order.

The savage in counting systematically begins his count with the little finger of the left hand, thence proceeding toward the thumb, which is fifth in the count. When number-words come to serve as extended counting apparatus, order is a salient characteristic.

By one-to-one adjunction of these numerals the individuals of a collection are given a factitious order.

When the order is emphasized the number-names are modified, becoming first, second, third, fourth, etc., and are called ordinal numbers or ordinals, but this designation is now applied also to the ordinary forms, one, two, three, etc., when order is made their fundamental characteristic.

DEPICTION.

If we can so correlate each element of the set A with a definite element of the set B that two different elements of A are never correlated with the same element of B, the element of A is consid-

ered as depicted or pictured or imaged by the correlated element of B, its picture or image.

Such a correlation we call a *depiction* of the set A upon the set B. The elements of A are called the *originals*.

An assemblage contained entirely in another is called a component of the latter.

A *proper component* or *proper part* of an assemblage is an aggregate made by omitting some element of the assemblage.

INFINITE.

An assemblage is called *infinite* if it can be depicted upon some proper part of itself, or distinctly imaged, element for element, by a constituent portion, a proper component of itself. Otherwise it is *finite*.

Stand between two mirrors and face one of them. Your image in the one faced will be repeated by the other. If this replica could be separately reflected in the first, this reflection imaged by itself in the second, this image pictured as distinct in the first, this in turn depicted in the second, and so on forever, this set would be infinite, for it is depicted upon the proper part of it made by omitting you. It is *ordered*. You may be called 1, your image 2, its image 3, and so on.

Sense.

A relation has what mathematicians call *sense*, if, when A has it to B, then B has to A a relation different, but only in being correlatively opposite. Thus "greater than" is a sensed relation. "Greater than" and "less than" are different relations, but differ only in sense.

Any number of numbers, all individually given, form a finite set. If numbers be potentially given through a given operand and a given operation, law, of successive education, they are still said to form a set. If the law educes the numbers one by one in definite succession, they have an *order*, taking on the order inherent in time or in logical or causal succession.

A set in order is a *series*.

Analysis of Order.

Intrinsic order depends fundamentally upon relations having sense, and, for three terms, upon a relation and its opposite in sense attaching to a given term.

The unsymmetrical sensed relation which determines the fixed order of sequence may be thought of as a logic-relation, that an

element shall involve a logically sequential element creatively or as representative. An individual or element 1 has its shadow 2, which in turn has its shadow 3, and so on.

Linear order is established by an unsymmetrical relation for one sense of which we may use the word "precede," for the opposite sense "follow."

The ordering relation may be envisaged as an operation, a transformation, which performed upon a preceding gives the one next succeeding it; turns 1 into 2, and 2 into 3, and so on.

If we have applicable to a given individual an operation which turns it into a new individual to which in turn the operation is applicable with like result, and so on without cease, we have a recurrent operation which recreates the condition for its ongoing. If in such a set we have one and only one term not so created from any other, a first term, and if every term is different from all others, we have a commencing but unending ordered series. The number series, 1, 2, 3, and so on, may be thought of as the outcome of a recurrent operation, that of the ever repeated adjunction of one more unit. It is a system such that for every element of it there is always one and only one next following. This successor may be thought of as the depiction of its predecessor. Every element is different from all others. Every element is imaged. There is an element which though imaged is itself no image.

Thus the series is depicted without diminution upon a proper part of itself; is infinite, and by constitution endless. It has a first element, but no element following all others, no "last" element.

Any set which can be brought into one-to-one correspondence with some or all of the natural numbers is said to be *countable*, and, if not finite, is called *countably infinite*.

Ordered Set.

A set of elements is said to be in simple order if it has two characteristics:

10. Every two distinct arbitrarily selected elements, A and B, are always connected by the same unsymmetrical relation, in which relation we know what rôle one plays, so that always one, and only one, say A, comes before B, is source of B, precedes B, is less than B; while B comes after A, is derived from A, follows A, is greater than A.

20. Of three elements ABC, if A precedes B, and B precedes C, then A precedes C. Thus the moments of time between twelve

and one o'clock, and the points on the sect AB as passed in going from A to B are simply ordered sets.

Finite Ordinal Types.

An arranged finite set of, say, n elements can be brought into one-to-one correspondence with the first n integers.

Such an ordered set has a first and a last element; so has each ordered component.

Inversely an ordered set with a first and a last element, whose every component has a first and a last element, is finite. For let a_1 be the first element. The remaining elements form an ordered component; let a_2 be the first of these elements. In the same way determine a_3 . We must thus reach the last, else were there an ordered component without last element, contrary to hypothesis. These then are the characteristics of the finite ordinal types.

THE NATURAL NUMBER SERIES AS A TYPE OF ORDER.

The characteristic property of a countably infinite set, when arranged in countable order, is that we know of any element a whether, or no, it corresponds to a smaller integer than does the element b . Should a and b correspond to the same integer they would be identical. Thus when arranged in countable order, the order of any countably infinite set is that of the natural numbers. The defining characteristics of this order are that it, as well as each of its ordered components, has a first element, and that every element, except the first, has another immediately preceding it; while there is no last element.

Any simply-ordered set between any pair of whose elements there is always another element is said to be in *close order*.

Well-ordered Sets.

A simply ordered set is said to be "well-ordered" if the set itself, as well as every one of its components, has a first element.

In a well-ordered set its elements so follow one another according to a given law that every element is immediately followed by a completely determined element, if by any. As typical of well-ordered sets we may take first the finite sets of the ordinal numbers: 1st; 1st, 2d; 1st, 2d, 3d; and so on.

As typical of the first transfinite well-ordered set we may take the set of all the ordinal numbers, the ascending order of the natural numbers.

The thousandth even number is immediately followed by the number 2001.

But if a point B is taken on a sect AC, there is no next consecutive point to B determinable.

The way in which an iterative operation develops from an individual operand not only infinity but endless variety unthought of and so waiting to be thought of, lights up the fact that mathematics though deductive is not troubled with the syllogism's tautology but offers ever green fields and pastures new. Thus in the number series is the series of even numbers, in this the set of even even numbers, 4, 8, 12, 16, 20, etc., each a system in which every element of every preceding system of this series of systems can have its own uniquely determined picture, the first term depicting any first term, the second any second, etc.

ORDINAL NUMBER.

Ordinal Number.

Numbers are ordinal as individuals in a well-ordered set or series, and used ordinally when taken to give to any one object its position in an arrangement and thus to individually identify and place it. So its number identifies the automobile.

The ordinal process has also as outcome knowledge of the cardinal; when we have in order ticketed the ninth, we have ticketed nine. Thus the last ordinal used tells the result of the count.

Children's Counting.

The assignment of order to a collection and ascertainment of place in the series made by this putting in order is shown by that use of *count* which occurs in children's games, in their *counting out* or counting to fix who shall be *it*. This counting is the use of a set of words not ever investigated as to multiplicity, but characterized by order. Such is the actually-used set: ana, mana, mona, mike; bahsa, lona, bona, strike; hare, ware, frounce, nack; halico, baliko, we, wo, wy, wak. Applied to an assemblage, it gives order to the assemblage until exhausted, and the last one of the ordered but unnumbered group is *out* or else *it*. How many individual words the ordering group contains is never once thought of. There is successive enumeration without simultaneous apprehension.

Such a group but indefinitely extensible, having a first but no last term, is the ordinal number series.

Uses of the Ordinal System.

But in our ordinary system of numeral words, with fixed and rote-learned order, each word is used to convey also an exact notion of the multiplicity of individuals in the group whose tagging has used up that and all preceding numerals. Thus each one characterizes a specific group, and so has a cardinal content.

Yet it is upon the ordered system itself that we chiefly rely to get a working hold of the number when beyond the point where we try to have any complete appreciation, as simultaneous, of the collection of natural units involved. Thus it is to the ordinal system that we look for succor and aid in getting grasp and understanding particularly of numbers too great for their component individual units to be at once and together separately picturable. Thus the ideas we get of large numbers come not from any attempt to realize the multiplicity of the discrete manifold, but rather from place in the number-set.

Number in its genesis is independent of quantity, and number-science consists chiefly, perhaps essentially, in relations of one number in the number series to another and to the series.

That a concept is dependent for its existence upon a word or language-symbol is a blunder. The savage has number-concepts beyond words. On the other hand, the modern child gets the words of the ordinal series before the cardinal concepts we attach to them. If a little child says, "Yes, I can count a hundred," it simply means it can repeat the series of number-names in order. Its slips would be skips or repetitions. The ordinal idea has been formed. It is used by the child who recognizes its errors in this ordinal counting. The ordinal idea has been made, has been embodied perhaps in rythmical movements. The child's rudimentary counting set is a sing-song ditty. The number series when learned is perhaps chanted. Just so there is a pleasurable swing in the count by fives.

The use of the terms of the number series as instruments for individual identification appears in the primitive child's game as in the identification of the automobile. Before making or using number, children delight in making series. Succession is one of the earliest made thoughts.

We think in substituted symbols. It is folly to attempt to hold back the child in this substitution. The abstractest number becomes a thing, an objective reality.

Number has not originated in comparison of quantity nor in quantity at all. Number and quantity are wholly independent categories, and the application of number to quantity, as it occurs in measurement, has no deeper motive than one of convenience.

It has often been stressed, that children knowing the number-names, if asked to count objects, pay out the series far faster than the objects; the names far outstrip the things they should mate.

The so-called passion of children for counting is a delight in ordinal tagging, in ordinal depiction with names, with no attempt to carry the luggage of cardinals.

The "which one" is often more primitive and more important than the "how many." The hour of the day is an ordinal in an ordered set. Its interest for us is wholly ordinal. It identifies one element in an ordered set. The strike of the clock is a word. The striking clock has a vocabulary of 12 words. These words are distinguished by the cardinal number of their syllables. But even when recognized by the cardinal number of syllables in its clock-spoken name, the hour is in essence an ordinal.

So the number series as a word-song may well in our children precede any application to objects. Objects are easily over-estimated by those who have never come to the higher consciousness that objects are mind-made, that every perception must partake of the subjective.

Children often apply the number-names to natural individuals as animals might, that is without making any artificial or man-made individual, and so without any cardinal number. Each name depicts a natural individual, but not as component of a unity composed of units. What passes for knowledge of number among animals is only recognition of an individual or an individual form.

Serial depiction under the form of tallying or beats or strokes may precede all thought of cardinal number. Nine out of ten children learn number names merely as words, not from objects or groups.

The typical case is given of the girl who could "count" 100 long before she could recognize a group of six or even of four objects.

The names of the natural numbers are an unending child's ditty, primarily ordinal, but a ditty to whose terms cardinal meanings have also been attached. Ordinally the number name "one" is simply the initial term of this series; any number name is simply a term of this series. The ordinal property it designates is the positional property of an element in a well-ordered set.

The natural scale is the standard for civilized counting. Its symbols in sequence are mated with the elements of an aggregate and the last symbol used gives the outcome of the count, tells the cardinal number of the counted aggregate. The cardinal, n , of a set is that attribute by which when the set's elements are coupled with ordinals, the ordinal n and all ordinals preceding n are used.

The very first step in the teaching of arithmetic should be the child's chanting of the number names in order. Then the first application should be ordinal. Use the numbers as specific tags, conveying at first only order and individual identification. Afterward connect with each group, as *its* name, the last numeral it uses, which thus takes on a cardinal significance.

THE FISH AS TREASURE KEEPER.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE fish plays an important part in the folklore and poetry of almost all nations as treasure keeper or guardian of hoarded wealth, and lost gems or rings are frequently discovered in the stomach or mouth of a fish. The gospel story is well known that when Jesus is expected to pay toll he makes Peter find the needed money in the mouth of a fish. We read (Matt. xvii. 24-27):

“And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received tribute money came to Peter, and said, Doth not your master pay tribute? He saith, Yes. And when he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon? of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? of their own children, or of strangers?

“Peter saith unto him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money: that take, and give unto them for me and thee.”

In comment on this most perplexing story Origen compares the fish to a miser whose only treasure is money;¹ but a little further up he seems to identify this same fish with Christ. The interesting part of Matthew's tale consists in the paganism of the tradition that a coin is discovered in the mouth of the dead for the purpose of paying Charon the ferry toll for the passage over the Styx. It is difficult to say how the story of the fish bringing the toll money slipped into the canon.

In the most beautiful drama of Indian antiquity the heroine Shakuntala loses the ring of identification which King Dushyanta has given her, but in the sixth act a fisher discovers it in the stomach of a fish.

The story of Polycrates as told by Herodotus is well known

¹ Origen's commentary on Matthew xiii. 10, Ed. Bened. III, p. 586.

and has been cast into ballad form by Schiller in his poem "The Ring of Polycrates." Amasis, King of Egypt, hesitates to enter into an alliance with Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, because the uninterrupted series of his successes bodes a final and terrible downfall. Polycrates, to atone for his ominous good luck, sacrifices a valuable ring which as a rare treasure is very dear to him, but soon afterwards a big fish is caught which the fisherman offers as a present to the ruler of Samos, and in its stomach the ring is found.



PETER FINDING THE TOLL MONEY.

Hereupon King Amasis, the friend of Polycrates, severs their connection so as not to participate in the doom that threatens to crush his ally.

Similar stories may be traced in the folklore of many nations, the most remarkable one of which is preserved in the Edda where the dwarf Andwari in the shape of a fish is the guardian of a treasure of gold. The gods Odin, Hönir and Loki needed the gold to pay a ransom, and so Loki was sent out to deprive Andwari of his

hoard. Loki caught the fish in the water and compelled him to give up his gold. When the latter tried to retain a little gold ring because with the ring he could always replenish his treasure, Loki demanded even that, and now Andwari uttered a curse saying that each owner of the hoard should pay for its possession with his life. And this curse was fulfilled, beginning with Hreidmar to whom the treasure was handed over as a ransom, down to the Niflungs, Sigurd and Högni, who in the German version of the Nibelung saga are called Siegfried and Hagen. Before Hagen dies, however, he sinks the Niflung hoard into the Rhine whence it has never been recovered.

In another story of the Edda, Loki tries to escape the wrath of the gods by assuming the form of a salmon, but is finally caught in a net of his own devising.

In the former story we have an ancient myth which contains traces of a still more primitive belief in a great treasure guarded by a fish. The treasure can be gained, but if we take it all, including the ring that can reproduce the gold, a curse will fall on the greedy owner whereby the very possession of the treasure will bring about his ruin. It is the same idea as when Ilsebill demands the impossible or when a fool kills the goose that lays the golden eggs.

MISCELLANEOUS.

RE-INSTATING A DECAPITATED OFFICIAL.

Friends from China keep the editor supplied concerning the progress of the Celestial Empire. Most of the latest reforms are well known to our readers through the daily press. China is to have a constitution and will enter into the company of modern states.

A recent item of information which has not reached the daily press and is not likely to, is the curious imperial edict which has been promulgated in the *Pekin Gazette*, the official organ of the government.

It refers to the Saint of Timu, one of the Lamaist prelates of Tibet, who made such a great misuse of his power during the late disturbances in that mysterious country that the Chinese officials had to interfere and have him beheaded. Still, the office which he held must be filled again and the wealth he accumulated during his life time is, or ought to be, the property of his church. Naturally there are parties in Tibet representing large interests, and the Chinese government has to avoid friction in order to maintain its almost nominal but pretty well established supremacy in that country.

The Chinese are past masters in diplomacy and can deal with such complicated affairs in a fashion impossible to European governments. We note accordingly that the imperial decree reinstates the executed saint and restores to him his property. To be sure he has been executed, but his soul still lives on, so that all that the Chinese officials have to do is to give his soul permission to reincarnate in the new body. The edict, promulgated in the name of the baby emperor and signed by his uncle the prince regent, refers to a certain *hu-tu-ke-tu*, one of the prelates of Tibet, indicted, condemned and decapitated two years ago. It reads thus:

"We have received a memorial from the Imperial Resident in Tibet, Tien Yu, stating that in the twenty-fifth year of Kuansu the deposed Dalai Lama recommended in a dispatch that the Saint of Timu, A-Wang-Ta-Pu-Chang Cheng-Li-Yao Chieh, who engaged Lama Chan-Tui-Kang-Pa to make an attempt on his (the Dalai Lama's) life by sorcery, be dispossessed of his titles of Saint and Chen Shan Buddha. But according to the joint petitions (received later) from the Lamas of other temples, it appears that the said saint, who was free from bad conduct, was falsely accused, and mercy was asked on his behalf.

"As the circumstances of this case have been thoroughly investigated by Lieu Gu, we sympathize with the Saint of Timu for having been accused without foundation, and it is hereby commanded that his titles of Shan Buddha

and Saint of Timu be restored to him, and that he be entitled to re-embodiment.

"The property and estate in the temple are to be returned to him after an inventory has been taken by the Treasury Department, so as to do him justice and to protect the Church of the Yellow Order.

"The proper Board shall take note of this."

The Hong Kong *Daily Press* quotes from the *Morning Leader* the following comments by Frederick Moore in explanation of such cases:

"There was evidently more to this weird affair than the edict divulged; and I inquired, therefore, of some Chinese friends who know the meanings of things in their peculiar country, and also some Europeans wise in the ways of the Chinese Government.

"I learned that the Saint of Timu was one of those higher dignitaries of the Lama faith who are entitled, like the Dalai and Panshen Lamas, to successive reincarnations. No sooner does his soul depart one human form than it enters another. Hence the curious wording of the edict, which gave no hint of the pressure put upon the hutuketu's soul to depart from the last body it had had the temerity to occupy.

"Now, the ex-Dalai-Lama, the temporal as distinct from the religious head of the Tibetan faith, was evidently much of a rogue, and deserved to be driven out of the country by the Chinese troops because he caused this unfortunate hutuketu of many names to lose his head for no other reason than his failure to fall in with the Dalai's suggestion of sharing his spoils, for the hutuketu was very rich, according to my Chinese friends.

"It is, of course, comprehensible to a Western intellect how a soul can be set free, but to re-establish one in a mortal coil requires some little elucidation.

"For some centuries, and until comparatively recent times, the relatives and persons surrounding each successive Tibetan pontiff contrived by more or less open acts of fraud to indicate after his decease the individual whom it suited them to select as the new incarnation.

"It was in order to obviate proceedings of this kind, which had more than once brought forward persons distasteful and dangerous to the suzerain power, that the Emperor Kien Lung ordained, in 1792, that the succession, both to the august office of Dalai Lama and also that to other spiritual dignities, should be determined in the following manner:

"At the decease of each Dalai Lama—when like all members of the class endowed with the privilege of successive birth, he is said to have 'entered upon the perfection of repose'—inquiries are made by the priesthood with reference to miraculous signs which may have been observed in attendance upon the birth of children at about the period of the Lama's death.

"Particulars of the required kind are always procured, and these are trans-

his long ensuing minority he remains as a matter of course a puppet in the hands of the Chinese Imperial Resident.

"In the same way the lesser ecclesiastical dignitary, the hutuketu, will be called back to life to receive again his titles and his rich estates.

"Being puzzled about the ex-Dalai-Lama, I inquired of my friends whether he would be deprived of his spirit, and left to walk about the earth a soulless body. For such, it seemed to me, would be his plight if the emperor of China, or rather the regent who acts in the infant emperor's name, should issue an edict placing the Lama's soul elsewhere. But I found that the Chinese and the Buddhist Tibetans intend to be reasonable in this matter. They say that since the ex-Dalai-Lama was not a good man he could not have been the true incarnation; and it is the intention in selecting the new pontiff to find, not an infant of this day, but a full-grown man of the same age as the deposed Dalai into whom the soul of the predecessor must, they allege, have passed."

GREEK LAMPS.

BY ALAN S. HAWKESWORTH.

The Rev. A. H. Sayce, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D.; and D.C.L. of Oxford, has contributed to the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* an interesting and valuable paper on "The Origin of the Greek Lamp," in which he shows that the very familiar Greek and Roman "sauce-bowl" lamp is first found pictured upon the "boundary stone" inscriptions of the late Cassite dynasty in Babylonia (1700-1400 B. C.), wherein it is the new symbol for the god Nusku, the earlier lamp symbol of this god being merely the primitive pot of oil with a wick, similar to the early Egyptian lamp. This "sauce-bowl" lamp with spout and handle was entirely unknown, apparently, to the Homeric Greeks, and first occurs among the Hellenes of the late sixth and seventh centuries B. C., while in Egypt it is of still more recent, and Alexandrian date.

In the highlands of Asia Minor, however, excavations have uncovered specimens fully as ancient as the earliest Babylonian examples, and while Dr. Sayce believes that the Hittites and Phrygians borrowed the newly invented lamp from the Cassite Babylonians, yet it is quite within the bounds of probability that the borrowing was in the other direction. Or again, inasmuch as the original home of the Cassite invaders of Babylonia is as yet unknown, and since they might very well have come from Phrygia, or elsewhere in the highlands of Asia Minor, may not this lamp have been one of their importations into Babylonia? Its form certainly implies a bronze, not a clay original, and bronze in turn requires a mountainous country, with metallic veins and lodes—all things foreign to the alluvial mud of Babylonia.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE PLACE OF PRAYER IN THE MODERN WORLD-VIEW. By Rev. George Hooper Ferris, D.D. Pp. 10.

This lecture delivered by Dr. Ferris, the pastor of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia, Pa., before the Baptist Congress of 1910 in Augusta, Georgia, is a sign of the times in so far as it reflects considerable change of view under the influence of science, accepting a scientific world-conception without surrendering the religious spirit of the church. The following quotations are sufficient to characterize the drift of the author's thought:

"Whatever science may say as to the nature of the All, the need that gives rise to prayer remains. It is as fundamental as the need that gives rise to science. That there is some Power, not ourselves that acts upon our souls, is evident. To liberate this Power in our lives, to make it operative through our actions, is a supreme necessity of our existence. Any effort to attain such an end will inevitably result in prayer. We will pray, not that we may have our desires gratified, but that the desires of God may have free course through us. We will pray, not that the purposes of Providence may be altered to suit our wants, but that our longings may be changed to suit God's purposes.

"There is one kind of prayer that has become impossible. The modern man does not try to bend the will of the Almighty into conformity with his own desires, or his individual wants. The awfulness of universal law rests too heavily upon him. Tennyson has put the case with terrible and pathetic truthfulness:

"O mother, praying God will save
Thy sailor,—while thy head is bow'd,
His heavy-shotted hammock-shroud
Drops in his vast and wandering grave."

"We face the fact with dreadful and irresistible submission that no prayer will change the movements of universal order. The modern man is almost ready to adopt the position of Peter Annet, one of the most radical of the Deists, who declared that praying men are like sailors who have cast anchor on a rock, and who imagine they are pulling the rock to themselves, when they are really pulling themselves to the rock....

"To be sure, no act of life has been more abused. Gross superstitions have mingled with its practices. Vindictive passions have found their way in among the high aspirations and noble impulses. Ecclesiasticism has turned it into merchandise. A foolish faith has treated it as a sort of a divine Charity Board, to give outdoor relief to lazy applicants. But, despite all this, the fact remains that it is the one great power for lifting life above that which is sordid, and surrounding it with the glow of the Eternal. Until some substitute has been found, some better way of filling our acts with immortal significance, some nobler method of keeping us true to the pattern made in the skies, we must continue to pray." κ

An anonymous subscriber in comment on the first line of Professor Cumont's article on "The Transformation of Roman Paganism" in the *March Open Court* asks for information with regard to the "time of the Severi." In reply we will state that the Severi were two Roman emperors of whom Lucius Septimius Severus reigned from 193 to 211 and Alexander Severus from 222 to 235, so that the period of the Severi could practically be said to cover the years from 193 to 235.

We prefer correspondents always to give name and address when making inquiries.

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BY

ARTHUR DREWS, Ph.D.

Professor of Philosophy at Karlsruhe.

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An editorial in "*The Monist*" (January, 1911, page 19), entitled "*Professor Mach and His Work*," contains a biographical sketch based on information furnished by Mach directly, and this is the only account of his life that has hitherto been published.

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Professor EVANDER BRADLEY MCGILVARY.

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PRESS COMMENTS

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REVIEW

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DEATH AND RESURRECTION: Björklund's theory of a future life as presented in his last book. Pp. 224. Cloth, \$1.00.

Mr. J. E. Fries has translated into clear English Johan Gustaf Björklund's last work, "Death and Resurrection, from the Point of View of the Cell Theory," which was written three years before the author's death in 1903. The translator considers this book one of Sweden's most remarkable and interesting contributions to contemporary philosophy.

His theory of death and resurrection is a chain of argument put together by a man of remarkable reasoning powers and keen imagination. It is based partly on this fact: "Science has shown that man's body is renewed several times during life, and that even the bones, placed in the ground, soon 'arise,' through nature's forces themselves, and take part in the universal circulation of matter. In face of all the evidence of this truth, it is impossible to believe in the old doctrine of physical resurrection." He then quotes Granfelt: "The only lasting attribute of the soul during this process is the spiritual body, which assimilates, typically forms, and again secretes the earthly matter. It must be this spiritual body, then, that constitutes the combining element between man's earthly body and his glorified body in the eternal life."

The author's aim now is to show, if possible, that the spiritual body and these living units are necessary for man in a future existence, as here in time. The larger part of the book is given to an instructive and interesting discussion of the scientific grounds upon which materialism and idealism are built. His conclusion is that "life

is not a material force, but has a supernatural origin in a higher, immaterial world."

There is a mystical saying: "As in the microcosm, so in the macrocosm." And truly there is a strange analogy between ourselves and the world about us. We seem to be in many ways replicas of our great mother, the universe. Myth-making poets, describing sunrise or sunset, the passing of a Summer storm, or the changing of the seasons, have told, half unconsciously, some of the deepest secrets of the soul. Attempts to force secrets of this kind from nature are apt to reduce themselves to absurdity, but Björklund seems to have come on one of these deeper analogies. That he has developed it to its inevitable conclusion with the exactness of a mathematical problem one may well doubt, but the theory is highly interesting. Men are gradually changing their ideas of life. We recognize death in too many forms nowadays, not to count it as beneficent. Do we not die every day? Are we not compelled to replenish our lives? It is this death that enables men to

rise on stepping-stones

Of their dead selves to higher things.

THE INDEPENDENT

New York, Feb., 1911.

DEATH AND RESURRECTION: By Johan Gustaf Björklund. *Open Court*, \$1.00.

The translation into English of the views of the Swedish thinker Johan Gustaf Björklund on "Death and Resurrection" will interest many readers because of their basis in the cell-theory; but few will assent to the central and necessary postulate that "biology discovers and proves the existence of that spiritual body which humanity has surmised since prehistoric times."

THE BALTIMORE NEWS

Feb. 7, 1911.

THE NAPOLEON MYTH. By Henry Ridgely Evans. With "The Grand Erratum," by J. B. Pérès, and Introduction by Paul Carus. Illustrated. Boards, 75c net. (3s. 6d. net.)

The dominance and persistence of Bonaparte as a subject and the unremitting way in which he haunts literature is at least interesting, and renders peculiarly significant his words, entered in his diary at St. Helena: "They may chop and suppress, but they will have a difficult time making me disappear altogether." A book unique in its way, entitled "The Napoleon Myth," by Henry Ridgely Evans, gives much interesting evidence that the Napoleonic legend and its impression will endure. "Legend makers 1800 years from now," said Mr. Evans, "will perhaps characterize him as a ruthless vandal from a barbarous island called Corsica, who swept over the civilized world carrying death and destruction. Many will express doubt that he ever lived. He

will appear in the light of a mythical hero, like King Arthur, and those who believe in the reincarnation of the soul upon earth will perhaps endeavor to show that Napoleon was identical with Rameses II., Alexander the Great and Charlemagne. Mr. Evans is the author of "The Old and the New Magic," "Hours With the Ghosts," etc.

THE DETROIT NEWS

Feb. 12, 1911.

THE FOUNDATION AND TECHNIQUE OF ARITHMETIC: By George Bruce Halsted. The *Open Court*, Chicago.

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BUDDHA AS A FISHER OF MEN.
(See page 357.)

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VOL. XXV. (No. 6.)

JUNE, 1911.

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THE CABALA AND ITS INFLUENCE ON JUDA- ISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

BY BERNHARD PICK.

THE MOST IMPORTANT DOCTRINES OF THE CABALA.

AFTER having become acquainted in previous articles* with the principal actors in the cabalistic drama, we are now prepared to examine the tenets of the Cabala.

Different from the system as exhibited in the Book of Creation or Jezirah is that of the Zohar, because the more difficult, since it embraces not merely the origin of the world, but likewise speculates on the essence of God and the properties of man; in other words it treats of theology, cosmology and anthropology.

God.—Starting from the idea of the Supreme Being as boundless in his nature—which necessarily implies that he is an absolute unity and inscrutable, and that there is nothing without him—God is called *En Soph*, i. e., “endless,” “boundless.” In this boundlessness God cannot be comprehended by the intellect, nor described in words; for there is nothing which can grasp him and depict him to us,¹ and as such he is in a certain sense not existent (*ayin*); since, as

* “The Cabala,” March, 1910, and “The Zohar and Its Influence on the Cabala,” April, 1910.

¹ Rabbi Azariel in his commentary on the ten Sephiroth tells us that “the

far as our mind is concerned, that which is incomprehensible does not exist.

Creation.—The En Soph, not being an object of cognition, made his existence known in the creation of the world by means of attributes or mediums, the ten Sephiroth, or intelligences, radiations, emanations, emanating from the En Soph, and which in their totality represent and are called the *Adam Kadmon*, the "Primordial or Archetypal Man."

The first Sephirah is called *Kether*, "Crown"; the second *Chochma*, "Wisdom"; the third *Bina*, "Intelligence"; the fourth *Chesed*, "Mercy"; the fifth *Dîn*, "Judgment"; the sixth *Tiphereth*, "Beauty"; the seventh *Nezach*, "Splendor"; the eighth *Hôd*, "Majesty"; the ninth *Jesôd*, "Foundation"; the tenth *Malchûth*, "Kingdom."

Now the first Sephirah, which is called the Crown, the Aged,² the Primordial or the Smooth Point,³ the White Head, the Long Face, *Macroprosopon*, the Inscrutable Height,⁴ contained the other nine Sephiroth and gave rise to them in the following order: from the first Sephirah proceeded a masculine or active potency designated (2) *Chochma*, "Wisdom," and an opposite, i. e., a feminine or passive potency, called (3) *Bina*, "Intelligence." These two opposite potencies are joined together by the first potency, and thus yield the first triad of the Sephiroth. From the junction of the foregoing opposites, which are also called "Father" (*abba*) and "Mother" (*imma*) emanated again the masculine or active potency called (4) *Chesed*, "Mercy or Love," also *Gedulah*, "Greatness," and from this again emanated the feminine or passive potency called (5) *Din*, "Judgment," also *Geburah*, "Judicial Power." From this again emanated the uniting potency (6) *Tiphereth*, "Beauty." We have thus the second trinity of the Sephiroth. Now Beauty beamed forth the masculine or active potency (7) *Nezach*, "Splendor," and this again gave rise to (8) the feminine or passive potency *Hod*, "Majesty"; from it again emanated (9) *Jesôd*, "Foundation," which yields the third trinity. From *Jesôd* finally emanated (10) *Malchuth*, "Kingdom," also called Shechinah.

The Cabalists delight in representing the ten Sephiroth under

² This must not be confounded with "the Aged of the Aged" as the En Soph is called.

different forms; now as *Adam Kadmon*, "Primordial or Archetypal Man," now as the cabalistic tree or the *Ilân*, in which the crown is represented by the first Sephirah and the root by the last.

As to the *Adam Kadmon* which is shown in the following figure, the Crown represents the head; Wisdom, the brains; Intelligence which unites the two and produces the first triad, the heart or the understanding. The fourth and fifth Sephiroth, i. e., Love and Jus-

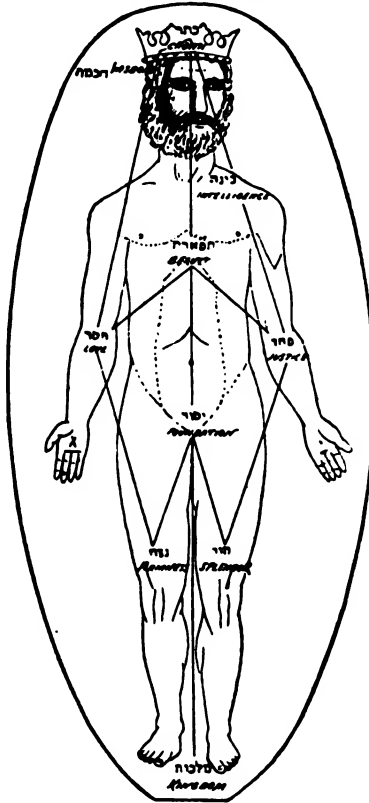


Fig. 1. ADAM KADMON, THE ARCHETYPAL MAN.

tice are the two arms, the former the right arm and the latter the left; one distributing life and the other death. The sixth Sephirah, Beauty, uniting these two opposites and producing the second triad, is the chest. Firmness and Splendor of the third triad represent the two legs, whereas Foundation, the ninth Sephirah, represents the genital organs, since it denotes the basis and source of all things. Finally Kingdom, the tenth Sephirah, represents the harmony of the whole Archetypal Man.

Now in looking at the Sephiroth which constitute the first triad, it will be seen that they represent the intellect; hence this triad is called by Azariel the "intellectual world" (*olam muskal* or *olam ha-sechel*). The second triad which represents moral qualities, is called the "moral" or "sensuous world" (*olam murgash*, also *olam ha-nephesh*); and the third, representing power and stability, is called the "material world" (*olam mutba* or *olam ha-teba*).

As concerns the cabalistic tree (the *ilân ha-cabala*), the Sephi-

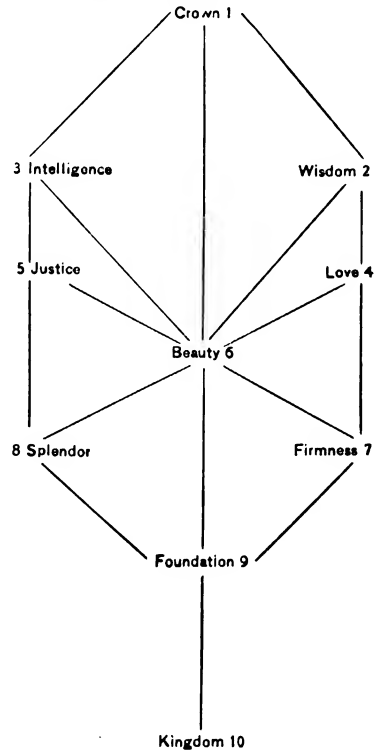
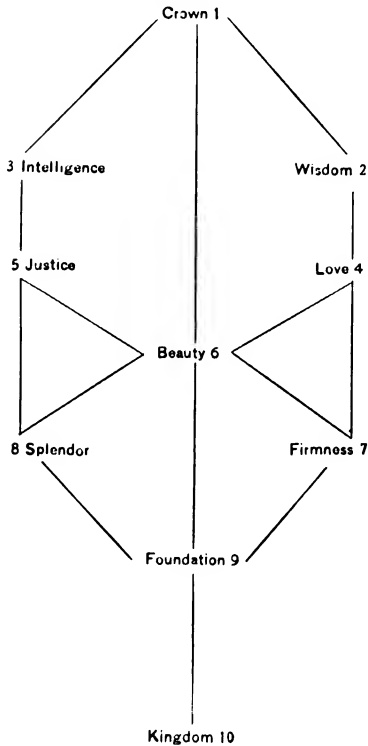


Fig. 2. THE CABALISTIC TREE.

Fig. 3. THE PILLAR ARRANGEMENT.

roth are so arranged that the first triad is placed above, the second and third are placed below, in such a manner that the three masculine Sephiroth are on the right, the three feminine on the left, whilst the four uniting Sephiroth occupy the center, as shown in Fig. 2.

According to another arrangement the Sephiroth are so ordered that they form three pillars, a right one (*sitra dimina*, also *amuda de-chesed*, i. e., the pillar of mercy); a left one (*sitra dissola*, also *amuda de-dina*, i. e., the pillar of judgment), and a middle one (*amuda de-emzaïta*). In the right pillar to which belong the Sephi-

roth Wisdom, Love and Firmness, is Life; in the left with the Sephiroth Intelligence, Judgment, Splendor, is Death. The middle pillar comprises Crown, Beauty, Foundation. The basis of all three pillars is the Kingdom. Fig. 3 illustrates this.

So far as the Sephiroth represent the first manifestation of God they form a world for themselves, an ideal world which has nothing to do with the real, material world. As such it is now called the primordial, the Archetypal Man (*Adam Kadmon*), now the Heavenly Man (*Adam Ilai*). As for the Adam Kadmon, different views exist in the cabalistic writings. He is sometimes taken as the totality of the Sephiroth, and he appears as a pre-Sephirotic first emanation and superior to them, by which God manifested himself as creator and ruler of the world, as it were a prototype (macrocosm) of the entire creation. In this case it would seem as if the Adam Kadmon were a first manifestation, inserted between God and the world, so to say a second God (*δεύτερος θεός*) or the divine Word (*λόγος*).

According to a later theorem four worlds proceed by an emanation in different gradations. This is expressed by Ibn Latif thus: As the point extends and thickens into a line, the line into the plane, the plane into the expanded body, thus God's self-manifestation unfolds itself in the different worlds.

In each of these four worlds the ten Sephiroth recur. The first Sephirah gave birth to the *Olam azila* or "world of emanation," containing the powers of the divine plan of the world. Its beings have the same nature as that belonging to the world of the Sephiroth or to the Adam Kadmon. This world which is also called the *olam ha-sephiroth*, i. e., "the world of the Sephiroth," is the seat of the Shechinah. From the *olam azila* proceeded the *olam beria* or "world of creation," in which according to Rabbi Isaac Nasir⁵ are the souls of the saints, all the blessings, the throne of the Deity, and the palaces of all spiritual and moral perfection. The *olam beria* gave birth to the *olam jezirah* or "world of formation," in which dwell the holy angels, whose prince is Metatron.⁶ But there are also the

⁵ He flourished in the first half of the twelfth century and is the author of a treatise on the Emanations (*Massecheth Aziluth*) reprinted by Jellinek in his *Auswahl Kabbalistischer Mystik*, Part I, Leipsic, 1853.

⁶ Graetz, *Gnosticismus und Judentum*, 1846, p. 44, derives the word from *μετὰ θρόνον*, because this angel is immediately under the divine throne. Cassel (Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie*, section II, vol. XXVII, s. v. "Juden," p. 40, note 84) derives it from *metator*, i. e., "messenger, outrider, pathfinder." Wünsche also connects it with *μετάτωπ*. According to the Zohar, I, 126b, Metatron is the first creature of God; the middle pillar (in the essence of God) or the uniting link in the midst, comprising all grades, from top downwards,

demons, which on account of their grossly sensual nature are called *Keliphoth*, "shells," and inhabit the planets and other heavenly bodies or the realm of the ether.

The fourth world is called *olam assiya*, the "world of action." Its substances consist of matter limited by space and perceptible to the senses in a multiplicity of forms. It is subject to constant changes, generations, and corruptions, and is the abode of the Evil Spirit.

Like the Talmud and the Midrash, the Zohar represents the optimistic view, that the present world is the best. Thus we read (Zohar, III, 292*b*): "There were old worlds, which perished as soon as they came into existence; they were formless, and were called sparks. Thus the smith when hammering the iron, lets the sparks fly in all directions. These sparks are the primordial worlds, which could not continue, because the Sacred Aged had not as yet assumed his form (of opposite sexes—the King and Queen), and the Master was not yet at his work." And again we read (III, 61*b*): "The Holy One, blessed be he, created and destroyed several worlds before the present one was made, and when this last work was nigh completion, all the things of this world, all the creatures of the universe, in whatever age they were to exist, before they entered into this world, were present before God in their true form. Thus are the words of Ecclesiastes to be understood, 'The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done.'"

Since the Cabalists viewed all things from the anthropological point of view, they also transferred to the world of the Sephiroth the difference of sex. The male principle, called *Abba*, is white and of an active nature, appearing especially in the Sephirah Love, but also at the bottom of the three Sephiroth on the right side. The female principle, on the other hand, which owes its origin to the male principle, is red and of a receptive nature. It is mainly visible in the Sephira Justice, but is also at the bottom of the three Sephiroth on the left. The sign of the male principle is the "Y," that of the female the "H" in the divine name YHVH. What we learn is this: the Sephiroth teach that everything which exists is imperishable and like God. As nothing perishes in the world or is

visible and intelligible by the Sephiroth; the human mind can come to him, can know and conceive him.

The Realm of the Evil.—Besides the heavenly realm of the Sephiroth of light or of the good, there is also a realm of the Sephiroth of darkness or of evil. Over against the supreme emanation of light, the Adam Kadmon, stands as opponent the Adam Belial: The same is the case with every light-sephirah, it is opposed by a Sephirah of darkness. Thus both are related to one another as the right side to the left; the light-Sephiroth form the right side, the darkness-Sephiroth the left side (*sitra achra*). The realm of darkness is figuratively called also the kingdom of Cain, Esau and Pharaoh (Zohar, I, 55a). Like the kingdom of light that of darkness has ten degrees. As the kingdom of light is inhabited by good spirits, so the kingdom of darkness is inhabited by evil spirits (demons, shells). Their prince is called Samaël (angel of poison or of death); his wife is called the Harlot or the Woman of Whoredom. Both are thought of as having intercourse with each other just as in the realm of light God as king has intercourse with Malchuth as queen. Through the influence of the evil powers the creation is continually disturbed. Men are seduced to apostasy from God, and thus the kingdom of the evil grows and the Keliphoth or shells increase. In the figurative language of the Zohar this disturbance of the creation is described as if the king and queen kept aloof from each other and could not work together for the welfare of the world. But this discord is finally harmonized by repentance, self-mortification, prayer and strict observance of the prescribed ceremonies, and the original harmony of things is again restored. It must be observed however that the teaching about the opposition of the two kingdoms belongs to the later doctrines of the Cabala, and its development belongs to the thirteenth century.

The Messiah.—Closely connected with the doctrine about evil is that of the Messiah. His coming takes place when the kingdom of the Keliphoth is overcome through the pious and virtuous life of men here on earth; then also takes place the restoration of the original state of affairs (*tikkun*). Since under his rule everything turns to the divine light, all idolatry ceases, because the Keliphoth no longer seduce men to apostasy. Cabala as mistress, rules then over the slave philosophy. In the upper world, too, great changes take place at the coming of the Messiah. The king again has intercourse with the queen. Through their copulation the divinity regains the destroyed unity. But Wünsche says that cabalistic literature, especially the Zohar, often describes this union of the king and the queen in

terms bordering on shamelessness and shocking to decency and morals.

Man.—The whole universe, however, was not complete, and did not receive its finishing stroke till man was formed, who is the acme of creation, and the microcosm uniting in himself the totality of beings.⁷ The lower man is a type of the heavenly Adam Kadmon.⁸ Man consists of body and soul. Though the body is only the raiment or the covering of the soul, yet it represents the *Merkāba* (the heavenly throne-chariot). All members have their symbolic meaning. Greater than the body is the soul, because it emanates from the En Soph and has the power to influence the intelligible world by means of channels (*sinnoroth*) and to bring blessings upon the nether world. The soul is called *nephesh*, "life," *ruach*, "soul," and *neshāmā*, "spirit." As *neshama*, which is the highest degree of being, it has the power to come into connection with God and the realm of light; as *ruach* it is the seat of good and evil; as *nephesh* it is immediately connected with the body and is the direct cause of its lower functions, instincts, and animal life.

Psychology.—Like Plato, Origen, etc. the Cabala teaches a pre-existence of the soul.⁹ All souls destined to enter into human bodies existed from the beginning. Clad in a spiritual garb they dwell in their heavenly abode and enjoy the view of the divine splendor of the Shechinah. With great reluctance the soul enters into the body, for as Zohar, II, 96*b*, tells us, the soul, before assuming a human body, addresses God: "Lord of the Universe! Happy am I in this world, and do not wish to go into another where I shall be a bondmaid, and be exposed to all kinds of pollutions." Here, too, we notice again the influence of Platonic and Philonian doctrines. In its original state each soul is androgynous, and is separated into male and female when it descends on earth to be born in a human body. At the time of marriage both parts are united again as they were before, and again constitute one soul (Zohar, I, 91*b*). This doctrine reminds us of Plato and Philo no less than that other (viz. of ἀνάμνησις) that the soul carries her knowledge with her to the earth, so that "every thing which she learns here below she knew already, before she entered into this world" (Zohar, III, 61*b*). Of great interest is the metempsychosis of the Cabala. How this doctrine, already espoused by the Egyptians, Pythagoreans

⁷ Zohar, III, 28*a*.

and Plato, came into Jewish mysticism, is not yet fully explained.¹⁰ But it is interesting to learn of the destiny of man and the universe according to the Cabalists.

It is an absolute condition of the soul to return to the Infinite Source from which it emanated, after developing on earth the perfections, the germs of which are implanted in it. If the soul, after assuming a human body, fails during its first sojourn on earth to acquire that experience for which it descends from heaven, and becomes contaminated by sin, it must re-inhabit a body again and again, till it is able to ascend in a purified state. This transmigration or *gilgul*, however, is restricted to three times. "And if two souls in their third residence in human bodies are still too weak to resist all earthly trammels and to acquire the necessary experience, they are both united and sent into one body, so that they may be able conjointly to learn that which they were too feeble to do separately. It sometimes happens, however, that it is the singleness and isolation of the soul which is the source of the weakness, and it requires help to pass through its probation. In that case it chooses for a companion a soul which has more strength and better fortune. The stronger of the two then becomes as it were the mother; she carries the sickly one in her bosom, and nurses her from her own substance, just as a woman nurses her child. Such an association is therefore called pregnancy (*ibbur*), because the stronger soul gives as it were life and substance to the weaker companion."

This doctrine of the *Superfoetatio* was especially taught by Isaac Loria or Luria. It is obvious that this doctrine of the Ibbur naturally led to wild superstition and fraudulent thaumaturgy. Loria himself claimed to have the soul of the Messiah ben Joseph. Connected with Loria's system is the doctrine of the Kawânâ, by which is meant the absorbed state of the soul in its direction towards God when performing the ceremonies, in prayer, self-mortification, in the pronunciation of the divine name and reading of the Zohar, whereby the bounds are broken and the fulness of blessing from the upper world is brought down upon the lower.

The world, being an expansion of the Deity's own substance, must also share ultimately that blessedness which it enjoyed in its first evolution. Even Satan himself, the archangel of wickedness, will be restored to his angelic nature, since he, too, proceeded from the Infinite Source of all things. When the last human soul has

¹⁰ According to Josephus (*Antiq.*, XVIII, 13; *Bell. Jud.*, II, 8, 14) it would seem as if the Pharisees held the doctrine of the metempsychosis, but see Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, vol. II (3d ed., 1898) p. 391: on Philo's view, see *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 561.

passed through probation, then the Messiah will appear and the great jubilee year will commence, when the whole pleroma of souls (*otzar ha-neshamoth*), cleansed and purified shall return to the bosom of the Infinite Source and rest in the "Palace of Love" (Zohar, II, 97a).

The Scripture.—The exegetical ingenuity of the Cabala is interesting to the theologian. The principle of the mystic interpretation is universal and not peculiar to one or another school, as every one will perceive in ecclesiastical history, and even in the history of Greek literature. We find it in Philo, in the New Testament, in the writings of the fathers, in the Talmud, and in the Zohar; and the more such an interpretation departed from the spirit of the sacred text, the more necessary was it to bring the scriptures to its support by distortions of their meaning.¹¹

Passing over all manner of subtleties of the pre-Zoharic times, we will consider the masterly performances of the Cabalists. According to them the letters, words and names of the scriptures contain divine mysteries of wondrous, mystical thoughts and ideas, of significant symbols and riddles, on which depends the continuance of the world. (Zohar, II, 99a). "Is it conceivable," the Zohar makes one of Simon ben Jochai's circle exclaim, "that God had no holier matters to communicate than these common things about Esau and Hagar, Laban and Jacob, Balaam's ass, Balak's jealousy of Israel, and Zimri's lewdness? Does a collection of such tales, taken in their ordinary sense, deserve the name of Torah? And can it be said of such a revelation that it utters the pure truth? If that is all the Torah contains, we can produce in our time a book as good as this, aye, perhaps better. No, no! the higher, mystical sense of the Torah is its true sense. The biblical narratives resemble a beautiful dress which enraptures fools so that they do not look beneath it. This robe, however, covers a body, i. e., the precepts of the Law, and this again a soul, the higher soul. Woe to the guilty, who assert that the Torah contains only simple stories, and therefore look only upon the dress. Blessed are the righteous, who seek the real sense of the Law. The jar is not the wine, so stories do not make up the Torah" (*ibid.*, III, 152a). Thus the Cabalists attached little importance to the literal sense; yet not a single iota was to be taken from it and nothing was to be added to it (*ibid.*, II, 99).

¹¹ For a strange interpretation of scripture in modern times, the reader is referred to Canon Wordsworth's *Commentary on Genesis and Exodus*, London, 1864, p. 52.

In order to elicit the mysteries from the scriptures, the Cabalists employed certain hermeneutical canons,¹² viz.:

1. *Gematria*,¹³ i. e. the art of discovering the hidden sense of the text by means of the numerical equivalents of the letters. Thus from the Hebrew words והנה שלשה (*vehineh sheloshah*) translated "lo! three (men stood by him)" in Gen. xviii, 2, it is deduced that these three were the angels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, because the letters yield the numerical value of 701, viz. $\text{ו} = 6 + \text{ה} = 5 + \text{נ} = 50 + \text{ה} = 5 + \text{ש} = 300 + \text{ל} = 30 + \text{ש} = 300 + \text{ה} = 5 = 701$; and the same number yield the words אלו מיכאל גבריאל ורפאל, viz. $\text{א} = 1 + \text{ל} = 30 + \text{ו} = 6 + \text{מ} = 40 + \text{י} = 10 + \text{נ} = 20 + \text{א} = 1 + \text{ל} = 30 + \text{ג} = 3 + \text{ב} = 2 + \text{ר} = 200 + \text{י} = 10 + \text{א} = 1 + \text{ל} = 30 + \text{ו} = 6 + \text{ר} = 200 + \text{פ} = 80 + \text{א} = 1 + \text{ל} = 30 = 701$.

A like figuring we find in the Epistle of Barnabas, ch. ix, with reference to the 318 servants of Abraham, mentioned in Gen. xiv. 14. The author lays stress upon the fact that in the Hebrew the "eighteen" are mentioned first, and the "three hundred" afterwards. In the eighteen expressed by the Greek letters $\text{I} = 10$ and $\text{H} = 8$ he sees Jesus ($\text{IH}\Sigma\text{OY}\Sigma$), and in the three hundred he sees by the letter $\text{T} = 300$, the cross.

With this canon may be compared the "number-oracle," by means of which one can tell from the number of the letters of the name and the dates of the birth important years and days in the life of a man. Thus, for instance, Emperor William I, was born March 22, 1797; $3 + 22 + 1797 + 7$ (number of the letters of the name) $= 1829$, the year of marriage; $1829 + 1 + 8 + 2 + 9 = 1849$, campaign to Baden; $1849 + 1 + 8 + 4 + 9 = 1871$, coronation as emperor; $1871 + 1 + 8 + 7 + 1 = 1888$, year of death. Napoleon III, born 4, 20, 1808; $4 + 20 + 1808 + 8$ (number of the letters of the name) $= 1840$, the *coup* at Boulogne; $1840 + 1 + 8 + 4 + 0 = 1853$, first year as emperor; $1853 + 1 + 8 + 5 + 3 = 1870$; end of his rule.¹⁴

2. *Notarikon* (from the Latin *notarius*, a short-hand writer, one who among the Romans belonged to that class of writers who abbreviated and used single letters to signify whole words), is employed when every letter of a word is taken as an initial or abbreviation of a word. Thus, for instance, every letter of the Hebrew

¹² On the interpretation of the scriptures among the Jews in general, see my article s.v. "Scripture, Interpretation of, Jewish," in McClintock and Strong.

¹³ The word is not like *γλωσσεπλα* as Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, I, 324, thinks, but is derived from *γραμματελα* or *γράμμα*.

¹⁴ For a somewhat different mode compare *The Open Court*, Feb. 1909, p. 88.

first word in Genesis, בראשית, is made the initial of a word, and from "in the beginning" we obtain "in the beginning God saw that Israel should accept the law"; or the word "Adam" (ADM) is made "Adam, David, Messiah." Sometimes very curious and ingenious combinations are derived from this system. For instance the word *passim* (פסימ) used in the passage "And he made a coat of (*passim*) many colors" (Gen. xxxvii. 3) is made to indicate the misfortunes which Joseph experienced in being sold by his brethren to Potiphar, Merchants, Ishmaelites, Midianites; פ = Potiphar, ס = Sochrim (merchants), י = Ishmaelites, מ = Midianites.

It appears that the Christian fathers sometimes made use of the same rule; as for instance Christ has been called by them ΙΧΘΥΣ, "fish," because these letters are the initials of the Greek words Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ, "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour." Thus St. Augustine tells us (*De civitate Dei*, XVIII, 23) that when they were speaking about Christ, Flaccianus, a very famous man, of most ready eloquence and much learning, produced a Greek manuscript, saying that it was the prophecies of the Erythrian sibyl. In this he pointed out a certain passage that had the initial letters of the lines so arranged that those words could be read in them. Then he went on and gave these verses, of which the initial letters yield that meaning, and says, "But if you join the initial letters of these five Greek words, they will make the word ἰχθύς, that is 'fish,' in which word Christ is mystically understood, because he was able to live, that is, to exist, without sin in the abyss of this mortality as in the depth of waters." It is worthy of notice that Augustine only gives twenty-seven lines¹⁵ of the thirty-four, as contained in the *Oracula Sibyllina*, VIII, 217 ff., where the acrostic reads: Jesus Christ, Son of God (the) Saviour, (the) Cross (σταυρός). In its full form it is also given by Eusebius in the *Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine*. For the benefit of the reader we subjoin Neale's translation of the acrostic as given in the *Christian Remembrancer*, October, 1861, p. 287:

"Judgment at hand, the earth shall sweat with fear:
Eternal king, the Judge shall come on high:
Shall doom all flesh: shall bid the world appear
Unveiled before his Throne. Him every eye
Shall, just or unjust, see in majesty.

Round the great judgment-seat shall wait and tremble
 In fear of sentence. And the green earth then
 Shall turn to desert: They that see that day
 To moles and bats their gods shall cast away.

"Sea, earth, and heaven, and hell's dread gates shall burn:
 Obedient to their call, the dead return:
 Nor shall the judge unfitting doom discern.

"Of chains and darkness to each wicked soul:
 For them that have been good, the starry pole.

"Gnashing of teeth, and woe, and fierce despair
 Of such as hear the righteous Judge declare
 Deeds long forgot, which that last day shall bare.

"Then, when each darkened breast He brings to sight,
 Heaven's stars shall fall, and day be changed to night;
 Effaced the sun-ray, and the moon's pale light.

"Surely the valleys He on high shall raise;
 All hills shall cease, all mountains turn to plain;
 Vessels shall no more pass the watery ways;
 In the dread lightning parching earth shall blaze,
 Ogygian rivers seek to flow in vain:
 Unutterable woe the trumpet blast,
 Re-echoing through the ether, shall forecast.

"Then Tartarus shall wrap the world in gloom,
 High chiefs and princes shall receive their doom,
 Eternal fire and brimstone for their tomb.

"Crown of the world, sweet wood, salvation's horn,
 Rearing its beauty, shall for man be born:
 O wood, that Saints adore, and sinners scorn!
 So from twelve fountains shall its light be poured:
 Staff of the Shepherd, and victorious sword."

We may also state that words of those verses which are regarded as containing a peculiar recondite meaning are ranged in squares in such a manner as to be read either vertically or boustrophedonally beginning at the right or left hand. Again the words of several verses are placed over each other, and the letters which stand under each other are formed into new words. This is especially seen in the treatment of three verses in *Exod. xiv. 19-21* (each containing 72 letters), which are believed to contain the three Pillars of the Sephiroth and the Divine Name of seventy-two words. Now, if these three verses be written out one above the other, the first from right to left, the second from left to right, and the third from right to left, they will give 72 columns of three letters each. Then each column will be a word of three letters, and as there are 72 columns,

there will be 72 words of three letters, each of which will be the 72 names of the Deity. By writing the verses all from right to left, instead of boustrophedonally, there will be other sets of 72 names obtainable. The reader who is interested in these niceties will find ample information in Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, IV, pp. 230 ff.

3. *Temurah* or permutation.—According to certain rules, one letter is substituted for another letter preceding or following it in the alphabet, and thus from one word another word of totally different orthography may be formed. Thus the alphabet is bent exactly in the middle, and one half is put over the other; and then by changing alternately the first letter or the first two letters at the beginning of the second line, twenty-two permutations are produced. These are called the "Table of the Combinations of Tziruph." Tziruph. For example's sake we give the method called Albath, thus:

A	B	G	D	H	V	Z	Ch	T	Y	K
L	Th	Sh	R	Q	Tz	P	Ay	S	N	M

The method Abgath is thus exemplified:

A	G	D	H	V	Z	Ch	T	Y	K	L
B	Th	Sh	R	Q	Tz	P	Ay	S	N	M

The names of the twenty-two permutations are: Albath, Abgath, Agdath, Adbag, Ahbad, Avba, Azbav, Achbaz, Atbach, Aibat, Achbi, Albach, Ambal, Anbam, Asban, Aaybas, Afba, Azbaf, Akbaz, Arbak, Ashbar, Athbash. To these must be added as (23) Abgad; (24) Albam.

I will only remark that by the system called Athbash, it is found that the word *Sheshhach* in Jer. xxv. 26 is the same as Babel, and that Jerome is said to have confidently applied this system.¹⁶

Besides these canons the Cabala also sees a recondite sense in the form of the letters, as well as in the ornaments which adorn them. The more multifarious these trifles, the easier it is to arrive in every given case at a result, and the less wit or thought is required.

Although the canons mentioned above are already applied in the Talmud and Midrash, the Cabalists made a more copious use of them. The names of God became a special object of their fancy. With them they imagined they could accomplish everything and perform miracles, heal the sick, extinguish the fire, etc. The most miraculous effects were ascribed to the Tetragrammaton. Whoever

¹⁶ Hottinger possessed an entire Pentateuch explained on the principle of Athbash.

was in possession of the true pronunciation of that name could enter in relation with the upper world and receive revelations. Each letter of the sacred name was considered as something mysterious. The letter Y (of YHVH) referred to the father as creator (*abba*) and H to the mother (*imma*). Because the letter H occurred twice, they distinguished an upper and a lower mother. The permutation of the letters of the Tetragrammaton brought about a multitude of new divine names which, either spoken or written, influenced the course and laws of nature. As was the case with the name of God consisting of four letters, so it was with that consisting of twelve, twenty-two, forty-two and seventy-two letters. All were believed to contain great mysteries.¹⁷ The names of angels were treated in like manner. Thus the Cabalists greatly misused the Old Testament, especially the Thora. And, as says Professor Wünsche, by making the Bible a text-book to elicit deeper ideas, the greatest nonsense and rubbish came to light. The so-called hidden mysteries and revelations were nothing but fancies whirling in the heads of the Cabalists. The exegetical literature of the Cabala clearly proves that its representatives had completely lost the sense for a suitable understanding of the words of scripture.¹⁸

EFFECTS OF THE CABALA WITHIN JUDAISM.

It must be acknowledged that the Cabala intended to oppose philosophy and to intensify religion. But by introducing heathenish ideas it grafted on Judaism a conception of the world which was foreign to it and produced the most pernicious results. In place of the monotheistic biblical idea of God, according to which God is the creator, preserver and ruler of the world, the confused, pantheistically colored heathenish doctrine of emanation was substituted. The belief in the unity of God was replaced by the decade of the ten Sephiroth which were considered as divine substances. By no longer addressing prayers directly to God, but to the Sephiroth, a real Sephiroth-cult originated. The legal discussions of the Talmud were of no account; the Cabalists despised the Talmud, yea, they considered it as a canker of Judaism, which must be cut out if Judaism were to recover. According to the Zohar, I, 27*b*; III, 275*a*; 279*b*, the Talmud is only a bondmaid, but the Cabala a controlling mistress.

¹⁷ Compare what we stated above in connection with Abulafia.

¹⁸ A somewhat different view on the cabalistic treatment of scripture is

The Cabalists compared the Talmud to a hard, unfruitful rock, which when smitten yields only scanty drops that in the end become a cause of controversy; whereas the study of the Cabala is like a fresh gushing spring, which one needs only to address to cause it to pour out its refreshing contents.¹⁹

And as the Cabalists treated the Talmud, they likewise treated philosophy, which defined religious ideas and vindicated religious precepts before the forum of reason. Most Cabalists opposed philosophy. She was the Hagar that must be driven from the house of Abraham, whereas the Cabala was the Sarah, the real mistress. At the time of the Messiah the mistress will rule over the bond-maid.

But the study of the Bible was also neglected. Scripture was no longer studied for its own sake, but for the sake of finding the so-called higher sense by means of mystical hermeneutical rules.

Even the rituals were variously changed and recast. The putting on of the phylacteries and prayer-mantle (*talith*) was accompanied by the recitation of cabalistic formulas and sentences; special prayers were also addressed to the Sephiroth. Connected with all this was an extravagant, intoxicating superstition. To enable the soul to connect itself with the realm of light and its spirits, or to be transplanted after death into its heavenly abode, one underwent all manner of austere ascetical exercises. With the mysterious name of God they believed themselves enabled to heal the sick, to deliver demoniacs and to extinguish conflagrations. By application of the right formulas of prayer, man was to have power and influence on both the kingdoms of light and darkness. When the Cabalist prays, God shakes his head, changes at once his decrees, and abolishes heavy judgments. The magical names of God can even deliver the condemned and free them from their torments in their place of punishment. In this respect we even meet with the doctrine of the Catholic mass for the souls.²⁰ The Book of Psalms with its songs and prayers was especially considered as a means of producing all manner of miracles and magic, as may be seen from the *Sepher Shimmush Thehillim* (literally, "the Book of the

¹⁹ A collection of passages abusing the Talmud is given by Landauer in the *Orient*, 1845, pp. 571-574; see also Rubin, *Heidenthum und Kabbala*, Vienna, 1893, pp. 13 f.; also his *Kabbala und Agada*, *ibid.*, 1895, p. 5, where we read that according to Abulafia the Cabalists only were genuine men, and the Talmudists monkeys.

Cabalistic Application of the Psalms"), a fragment of the practical Cabala, translated by Gottfried Selig, Berlin, 1788.

This sketch of Professor Wünsche is by no means exaggerated.²¹ *Mutatis mutandis* we find the cabalistic notions among the Chasidim, a sect founded in 1740 by a certain Rabbi Israel ben Eliezer Baal-shem (i. e., "lord of the name" = *θεοῦργος*, a man who by words of conjuration and other formulas knows how to exercise a power over the visible and invisible world), also called Besht. Baal-Shem made his public appearance about 1740 in Tlusti, in the district of Czartkow, from whence he subsequently removed to Medzibozze, in Podolia. The miraculous cures and prophecies attracted attention in large circles; his mode of life, consisting of contemplation, study of the Zohar and frequent washings in rivers, soon spread a halo around him. Added to this were the many miraculous reports circulated by his disciples; for instance, that his father had been visited by the prophet Elijah to predict his birth, and that his mother was a hundred years old when she was delivered of him; that, when a youth, he had victoriously struggled with evil spirits, etc.—all of which may be found in the book *Shibche ha-Besht*, published in 1815 by the grandson of Baal-Shem, Rabbi Bär Linz. Baal-Shem²² and his successors received the name *Tsaddik*, "Saint," and his fame attracted multitudes of Jews from all parts of Poland, who submitted themselves to his guidance. As long as he lived, the sect formed one great whole, of which he was the head. After his death, which took place in 1780, it was divided into separate congregations, each of which had its own Rabbi or Tsaddik or Saint, unreserved devotion to whom is the most important of all the principles of the sect. In a word, before Pius IX was declared infallible, the Chasidim²³ already had their infallible popes, whose number is still very large in Poland, Wallachia, Moldavia, Galicia, and Palestine. Of these popes of the Chasidim, a modern Jewish writer, the late David Cassel (died 1893), says: "To the disgrace of Judaism and modern culture the Tsaddikim still go on with their disgraceful business, and are thus the most essential hindrances to the dissemination of literary progress in Galicia and Russia. There are still

²¹ Orelli in his article "Zauberei" in *Realencyklopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche*, vol. XXI, 1908, p. 618, remarks: "The Jewish Cabala has promoted the magic degeneration of the religion; to a great extent it furnished profound expressions and formulas for the exercise of superstitious arts."

²² Compare Kahana, *Rabbi Israel Baal Schem-Tob, sein Leben, kabbalistisches System und Wirken*, Sitomir, 1900.

²³ Compare Perl, *Megalleh temirin, or Die enthüllten Geheimnisse der Chassidim*, Lemberg, 1879; Ch. Bogratschoff, *Entstehung, Entwicklung und Prinzipien des Chassidismus*, Berlin, 1908.

thousands who behold in the Tsaddik the worker of miracles, the prophet, one who is in close communion with God and angels, and who present him with rich gifts and promulgate the wonders which they have seen. Covetousness on the one hand and spiritual narrowness on the other are the channels through which the evil is fed anew."

THE CABALA IN ITS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.

As soon as the Cabala became better known, Christians betook themselves to its study and paid it the greatest attention because of the supposed agreement of its teachings with the dogmas of the Christian church. It was thought that the Cabala was the connecting link between Judaism and Christianity. The dogmas of the Trinity, of the Messiah as the Son of God and his atonement, were the salient points which especially attracted attention. The first to be drawn to the Cabala was Raymond Lully, the "Doctor Illuminatus" (1236-1315). He regarded the Cabala as a divine science and as a genuine revelation whose light is revealed to a rational soul.

The progress of Christianity towards the Cabala was greatly helped by the conversion of a large number of Jews to Christianity, "in which they recognized a closer relation to their gnostic views, and also by the Christians perceiving that gnosticism could become a powerful instrument for the conversion of the Jews." Among the converted Jews we notice Paulus de Heredia of Aragon (about 1480), author of *Iggeret ha-Sodot* or *Epistola Secretorum*, treating of the divinity, death, and resurrection of the Messiah, which has been ascribed to a certain Nechunjah ben-ha-Kanah, who lived towards the end of the second Temple. Another convert was Paul Ricci,²⁴ of the sixteenth century, the friend of Erasmus, and physician to the Emperor Maximilian I; Julius Conrad Otto, author of the "Unveiled Secrets," consisting of extracts from the Talmud and the Zohar, to prove the validity of the Christian doctrine (Nuremberg, 1805); John Stephen Rittangel, grandson of the celebrated Isaac Abravanel, the translator of the Book Jezirah into Latin (Amsterdam, 1642). Among Christians we may mention Count John Pico di Mirandola (born in 1463), author of *LXXII conclusiones cabbalisticæ*, Rome, 1486; more especially John Reuchlin (Capnio), 1455-1522. Reuchlin, the first German scholar who studied the Cabala, wrote two cabalistic treatises, entitled *De Verbo Mirifico* (Basel, 1494), and *De Arte cabbalistica* (Hagenau, 1516).²⁵

²⁴ See my article *s. v.* in McClintock and Strong.

²⁵ These and some other treatises of the same kind are collected by Pistorius in a collection entitled *Artis cabbalisticæ scriptores*, Basel, 1587.

The first treatise is written in the form of a dialogue between an Epicurean philosopher named Sidonius, a Jew named Baruch, and the author, who is introduced by the Greek name Capnio. Capnio would have it that the doctrine of the Trinity is to be found in the first verse of Genesis. He submits, if the Hebrew word *bra* (*bara*), which is translated "created," be examined, and if each of the three letters composing this word be taken as the initial of a separate word, we obtain the expression *ben, ruach, ab*, i. e., Son, Spirit, Father. Upon the same principle we find the two persons of the Trinity in the word *abu* (*eben*), "stone," occurring in Ps. cxviii. 22—"the stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner," by dividing the three letters composing the word *abu* into *ab ben*, i. e., Father, Son.

The second treatise is also in the form of a dialogue between a Mohammedan, a Pythagorean philosopher and a Jew. The dialogue is held at Frankfort where the Jew lives to whom the others come to be initiated into the mysteries of the Cabala. The whole is a more matured exposition and elaboration of the ideas hinted at in the first treatise.

How the truths of Christianity can be derived from the Talmud and the Cabala, the Franciscan Pietro Galatino endeavored to prove in his treatise *De Arcanis Catholice Veritatis contra obstinatissimam Judaeorum nostrae tempestatis perfidiam* (Ortona di Mare, 1518).

Much as Lully, Mirandola, Reuchlin, and others had already done to acquaint the Christian world with the secrets of the Cabala, none of these scholars had given translations of any portions of the Zohar. To this task Knorr Baron von Rosenroth betook himself by publishing the celebrated work *Kabbala Denudata* ("the Cabala Unveiled"), in two large volumes, the first of which was printed in Sulzbach, 1677-78, the second at Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1684, giving a Latin translation of the Introduction to and the following portion of the Sohar: the Book of Mysteries; the Great Assembly; the Small Assembly;²⁶ Joseph Gikatilla's Gate of Light (*shaar orah*); Vital's Doctrine of Metempsychosis (*ha-gilgulim*), and the Tree of Life (*etz chayim*); Cordovero's Garden of Pomegranates (*pardes rim-monim*); Abraham Herera's Gate of Heaven (*sha-ar ha shamayim*); Naphtali ben Jacob's Valley of the King (*emcq ha bacha*); Naphtali Cohen's Vision of the Priest (*maré Kohen*) etc., etc, with elaborate annotations, glossaries and indices. Knorr von Rosenroth has also collected all the passages of the New Testament which contain similar doctrines to those propounded by the

²⁶ These three parts are Englished by Mathers.

Cabala. In spite of its many drawbacks²⁷ the work has been made use of by later scholars, especially by Chr. Schöttgen in his *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (Dresden, 1733) and *Theologia Judaeorum de Messia* (*ibid.*, 1742).

The powerful preponderance of the religious and ecclesiastical interests, as well as those of practical politics which became perceptible in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, giving to the mind a positive impulse, and to the studies a substantial foundation, arrested the further development of the Cabala; and thus it came about that in the course of time the zeal for cabalistic studies among Christians has cooled. It has become generally understood that the Cabala and Christianity are two different things. The idea of God according to the writings of the Old and New Testaments is entirely different. The same is the case with the notion of creation. When the first triad of the Sephiroth (Crown, Wisdom and Intelligence) is referred to the three persons of the Deity, their inner immanent relation is not thereby fully expressed, as Christianity teaches it. The three Sephiroth only represent three potencies of God or three forms of his emanation, the other Sephiroth are also such divine powers and forms. One can therefore rightly say that the Cabala teaches not the Trinity, but the Ten-Unity of God. Also the other characteristics, when e. g. the Zohar ascribes to God three heads; or when it speaks of a God-Father (*abba*) of a God-Mother (*imma*) and of a God-Son; or when we are told (Zohar, III, 262a: comp. 67a) that "there are two, and one is connected with them, and they are three; but in being three, they are one," this does not coincide in the least with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.²⁸

In one codex of the Zohar we read on the words "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts" (Is. vi. 3): "the first 'holy' refers to the Holy Father; the second to the Holy Son; and the third to the Holy Ghost"; but this passage is now omitted from the present recensions of the Zohar, and has been regarded by some Jewish writers as an interpolation.²⁹

²⁷ Buddeus in *Introductio in Historiam Philosophiae Hebraeorum* (Halle 1702) calls Knorr von Rosenroth's work "confusum et obscurum opus, in quo necessaria cum non necessariis utilia cum inutilibus, confusa sunt, et in unam velut chaos conjecta." Knorr von Rosenroth has also written a number of hymns.

²⁸ Compare also Bischoff, *Die Kabbalah*, p. 26.

²⁹ Compare also Knorr von Rosenroth, *Die Kabbalah*, p. 26.

As to the doctrine of Christ, the God incarnate—it cannot be paralleled with the confused doctrine of Adam Kadmon, the primordial man. According to the Christian notion the reconciliation is effected only through Christ, the Son of God; according to the Cabala man can redeem himself by means of a strict observance of the law, by asceticism and other means whereby he influences God and the world of light in a mystical manner. For the benefit of the reader we give the following passages which speak of the atonement of the Messiah for the sins of people, passages which are given as the explanation of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. “When the righteous are visited with sufferings and afflictions to atone for the sins of the world, it is that they might atone for all the sins of this generation. How is this proved? By all the members of the body. When all members suffer, one member is afflicted in order that all may recover. And which of them? The arm. The arm is beaten, the blood is taken from it, and then the recovery of all the members of the body is secured. So it is with the children of the world; they are members of one another. When the Holy One, blessed be he, wishes the recovery of the world, he afflicts one righteous from their midst, and for his sake all are healed. How is this shown? It is written—‘He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities. . . . and with his stripes we are healed’ (Is. liii. 5).” *Zohar*, III, 218*a*.

To the same effect is the following passage: “Those souls which tarry in the nether garden of Eden hover about the world, and when they see suffering or patient martyrs and those who suffer for the unity of God, they return and mention it to the Messiah. When they tell the Messiah of the afflictions of Israel in exile, and that the sinners among them do not reflect in order to know their Lord, he raises his voice and weeps because of those sinners, as it is written, ‘he is wounded for our transgressions’ (Is. liiii. 5). Whereupon those souls return and take their place. In the garden of Eden there is one place which is called the palace of the sick. The Messiah goes into this palace and invokes all the sufferings, pain and afflictions of Israel to come upon him, and they all come upon him. Now if he did not remove them thus and take them upon himself, no man could endure the sufferings of Israel, due as punishment for transgressing the Law; as it is written—‘Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows,’ etc. (Is. liiii. 4 with Rom. xii. 3, 4). When the children of Israel were in the Holy Land they removed all those sufferings and afflictions from the world by their prayers and sacrifices, but now the Messiah removes them from the

world." (Zohar, II, 212b). With reference to these passages³⁰ which speak of the atonement of the Messiah for the sins of the people, which are given in the Zohar as the explanation of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, Professor Dalman³¹ remarks that the Jews reject and object to cabalistic statements as something foreign to genuine Judaism. The theosophic speculations of the Cabala are at least just as Jewish as the religious philosophical statements of Bachja or Maimonides; yes, it seems to us that the God of revelation and of scripture is more honestly retained in the former than in the latter, where he becomes a mathematical One without attribute and thereby may satisfy a superficial reason, but leaves the heart empty. That these Jewish thinkers, influenced by Aristotle, had no inclination to find in Is. liii an expiating mediator, is only too inexplicable. He, who by his own strength can soar into the sphere of "intelligences" and thus bring his soul to immortality, needs no mediator. But we are concerned here not with a philosophical or theosophical thought-complex, but the simple question whether the prophet speaks in Is. liii of a suffering mediator of salvation. The answer of the Cabalists at any rate agrees with the testimony of many of them.

What are we to think of the Cabala? That there is a relationship between it and neo-Platonism is obvious. Erich Bischoff³² thinks that the Cabala represents a peculiar monism, which in some degree has influenced modern philosophy. In ethical respects it contains many fruitful and sublime thoughts, often indeed in fanciful wording. But as magic it has been of great influence on all kinds of superstitions and even on occultistic tendencies. It offers a highly interesting object of study whose closer investigation is rendered more difficult on account of the abstruse manner of representation and the many magic and mystic accessories. But that which is valuable is sufficient to insure for it a lasting interest.

³⁰ A collection of the passages referring to the atoning work of the Messiah is given in *Auszüge aus dem Buche Sohar*, pp. 35 f., more especially in Wünsche, *Die Leiden des Messias*, Leipsic, 1870, pp. 95-105; and by Dalman, "Das Kommen des Messias nach dem Sohar" (in *Saat auf Hoffnung*), Leipsic, 1888, pp. 148-160.

³¹ In his *Jesaja 53, das Prophetenwort von Sühnleiden des Heilandes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der synagogalen Literatur*, Leipsic, 1890.

³² The author of *Die Kabbalah. Einführung in die jüdische Mystik und Geheimwissenschaft*, Leipsic, 1903.

THE FISH IN BRAHMANISM AND BUDDHISM.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN India the most important story which refers to the fish as an emblem of the highest god, as a saviour of mankind who safely conducts his chosen ones over the ocean of death, is a myth told in the Mahabharata, Book III, page 187 ff. In different editions there are different versions, but they all agree in their main points.

According to Professor Richard Pischel,¹ the oldest version is recorded in the Satapalhabrahmana I, 8, 1-10 where the legend reads as follows:

"One morning when Manu was given water to wash his hands he found in it a little fish that spoke to him as follows: 'Take care of me and I will save thee.' 'From what wilt thou save me?' asked Manu. The fish replied, 'A deluge will drown all creatures and I will save thee from it.' Manu asked 'How shall I take care of thee?' The fish answered, 'So long as we are small many dangers threaten us. One fish swallows another. First keep me in a pitcher and when I am too large for it dig a ditch and put me in that. When I am too large for the ditch take me to the ocean where I shall be beyond all danger.' Quickly the fish grew into a *jhasa*, which is the greatest among the fish. 'In such and such a year' said the fish, 'the flood will come. Then build a ship and call on me. When the floods rise enter into the ship and I will save thee.' When the fish was grown Manu brought him down to the sea and in the year indicated he constructed a ship and then called on the fish. When the floods came he entered the ship. Then the fish swam up to the ship and Manu fastened the ship's rope to his horn. After a while they arrived upon the Northern Mountains, and the fish said: 'I have saved thee. Now tie thy ship to a tree so that while thou art on the mountain the water can not cut thee off. Come down from the mountain when the water falls.' Manu did as he was bidden, and

¹ *Der Ursprung des christlichen Fischsymbols* (Berlin, 1905).

this place on the Northern Mountains is even to-day called 'the Descent of Manu.' The floods destroyed all creatures and Manu alone survived."

The story further continues that Manu prayed and fasted, anxious to procure posterity. He performed the cooking offering and from the offering which he made of melted butter, sour milk, curds and cheese thrown into the water there originated after a year a woman called Ida, and her foot-prints were melted butter. Both Mitra and Varuna desired that Ida should consider herself as their daughter, but she refused. Coming to Manu she delivered herself to him to be his daughter and called herself "Prayer." By her Manu begot the human race. Thus he became the father of mankind and the originator of the first religious sacrifice.

In the Mahabharata (§ 186), the same story is told.² Manu acquires merit by hard penance. He then saves a little fish who appears on the banks of the river and calls for protection. The fish grows rapidly and has to be placed in deeper water until finally he lives in the ocean. Then he foretells the deluge and advises that a ship be built. On leaving Manu he says: "This must thou do. Fare thee well, I depart. Without me thou canst not cross the great floods. Of these my words thou must have no doubt." Manu builds the ship and when the flood comes he enters with the seven *rishis* (sages). He thinks of the fish who at once makes his appearance and Manu ties the rope to his horn. Then the ship is towed for many years through the floods and at last reaches the highest mountain of the Himalayas, which therefore even to-day bears the name Naubandhana, "the Tying of the Ship."

When the fish leaves the seven *rishis* he makes this solemn utterance: "I am Brahma the Creator; there is none greater than I. Through me as a fish have ye been delivered from this danger. Through Manu all beings, demons and men, all the worlds, both the living and the dead, shall be created. By his hard penance Manu through my grace will acquire the knowledge to create all creatures, and he will not err." Having thus spoken the fish disappeared in a twinkling and Manu created the world.

In another version (quoted by Pischel) the divinity of the fish is recognized by Manu as soon as he acquires his tremendous size. Then Manu addressed him with fear and trembling: "Thou art some God, or perhaps even Vasudeva (the Good Lord). How could

²We follow the translation of Pratap Chandra Ray, Calcutta, Bharata Press, 1889.



FISH INCARNATION OF VISHNU.

The original is in the Indian Museum Collection and comes from Garhwa in the district of Allahabad. It is mentioned in the *Arch. Sur. Rep.* of India, III, p. 57, and in the *N.-W. Provinces List*, p. 136.

any one else grow thus? Whose body could develop to 20 million *yajannas*? Thou art made manifest in the shape of a fish. Thou overawest me, oh Keshava, (Hairy One),³ Lord of the World, Home of the World, homage be to thee! Thus addressed, the holy Janardana⁴ in the shape of a fish replies: "Well indeed, oh guiltless one, hast thou recognized the truth." Thereupon the story continues as in the versions previously told.



From Moor.



From Picart.

VISHNU'S FISH INCARNATION.

In the *Naradapancharata*, IV, 3, 57, the fish is called Vishnu and is spoken of as "the god in the shape of a fish, endowed with a great horn, who holds the ship containing the seat of the world, who playfully crossed through the ocean, the author of the four Vedas."

Professor Pischel also refers to a sculpture (p. 15) of a large black slate standing erect in the soil near the temple Mummura of

³ Epithet of Vishnu and Krishna, presumably with reference to the halo of light with which their heads are surrounded.

⁴ Literally "the harasser of men," an epithet also of Krishna, which we may assume has the significance of an avenger, he who punishes, he who sends visitations.

Chinnamastika Devi in the Tavjha Mahalla of Lalitapattana where Vishnu is represented as a fish. The place is the present Patan which lies one and one half miles East of Katmandu, the capital of Nepal.

In close connection with the reverence of the ancient Hindu people for a fish as a symbol of the Good Lord, stands the belief in Vishnu's first avatar in the shape of a fish. Vishnu, the second person of the Hindu trinity, corresponding to the Christian God the Son, is the divinity of successive incarnations and first appears as a fish. In former centuries Vishnu was pictured simply as a horned fish without any indication of a human body, but since the fourteenth century the god in his first avatar is pictured as a fish whose upper part is a human body, or as a man emerging from a fish's jaw.

Sometimes Vishnu is represented as a fish holding in one hand the Vedas. In other pictures he is four-armed, holding in one hand a wheel, in another a disk, in the third a club and in the fourth a lotus flower, but none of these pictures which are common now all over India find any justification in the ancient literature on the subject, where, with the exception of Hemadri, Vishnu's first avatar is simply spoken of as being in the shape of a fish. Hemadri (in *Chaturvargachintamin* I, 327) says that for votive offerings Vishnu should be represented as a fish with two arms holding in one a shell, in the other a club.

In a religious ceremony performed on the 12th day of the month Margashiras, the first month of the Indian year, Vishnu is represented in the shape of a golden fish. Four priests officiate, representing the four Vedas, viz., the Rig Veda, the Sama Veda, the Yajur Veda and the Atharva Veda. Four golden pitchers of water are put up decorated with garlands and filled with sesame seed to represent the four oceans. In the middle stands an ornamental bench draped in cloth and a bowl filled with water in which the golden fish that symbolizes Vishnu is placed, and he is addressed as follows: "As thou, O god in the shape of a fish, has saved the Vedas hidden in the nether world so save also me, oh Hairy One (Keshava)!" The four pitchers are then presented to the four priests and the golden fish is given to the teacher of the man who performs the ceremony.

Nepal is now a Buddhist country, but it has preserved the traditional reverence for the fish as an avatar of Vishnu, by transferring it upon Buddha, the Lord of Compassion. There we find one of the oldest representations of Vishnu which shows him in the form of

a fish. It is preserved⁵ in the middle of a little pond near Katmandu, which was called Buddha Nilkarth, i. e., the submerged Shiva, situated in Nepal which country for some time was zealously de-



SIX MANSIONS OF THE CHINESE ZODIAC.

voted to Vishnuism. A little brook, called Budramati, flows out of the pond and in the middle of it lies an image of Vishnu. Near the southern gate of Katmandu stands a temple of Vishnu where the

⁵ As we learn from Pischel, (*loc. cit.*, pp. 15-16).

god is worshiped under the name Mina-Narayana, "Vishnu as a fish," a designation which the Buddhists have transferred upon Avalokiteshvara, the "Lord of Compassion" (literally, the looking-down Lord) who in common parlance is known under the name Matsyendranatha, "the Lord as prince of fishes."

In Indian mythology Agni was once betrayed by a fish when he hid himself from the gods in the waters. So Agni cursed all fishes,

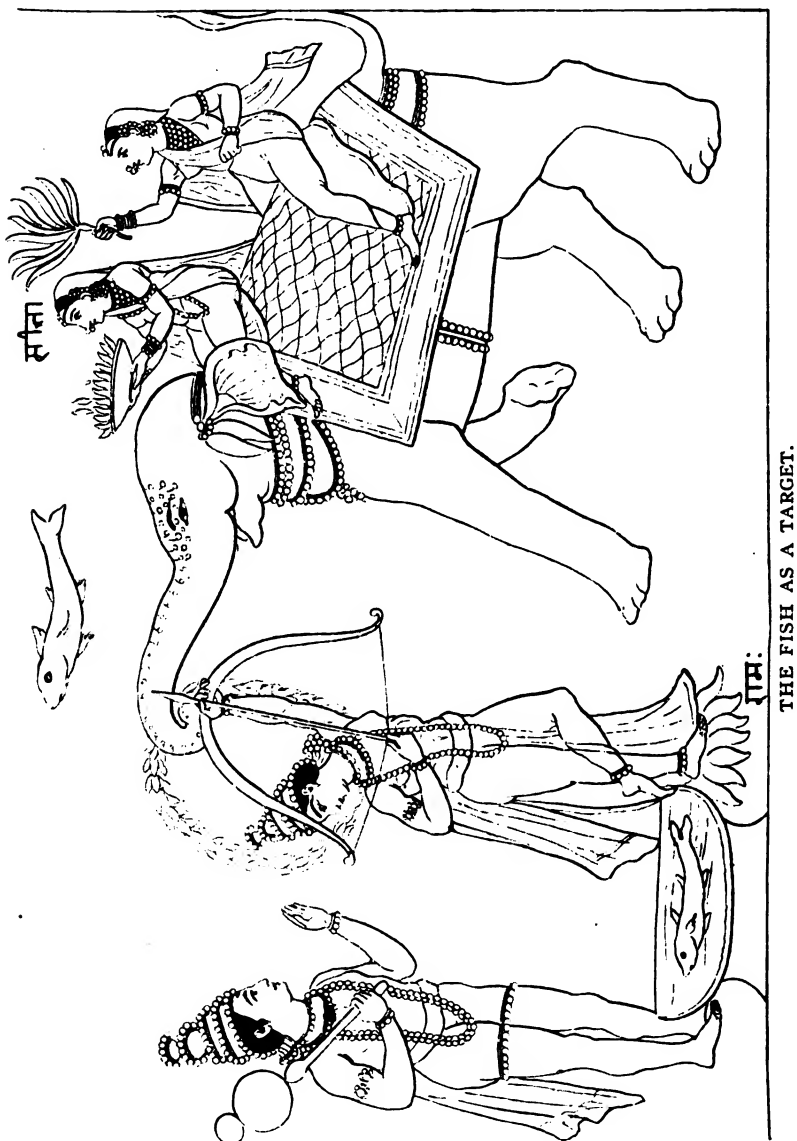


STATUE OF KWAN YON.
With two dragons on the pedestal.

condemning them to be killed by cunning devices. In the Jatakas we read that the path of the fish in the water is as difficult to trace as the character of woman. And the same simile is used with the opposite application for the pious in Brahman literature, where it is said: "As the traces of the birds in the air and of fishes in the water are invisible, so is also the path of him who knows Brahma and of the pious man when he dies," which means that his trace is

no longer found in this world, for he passes into Nirvana or becomes one with Brahma.

The Pisces of the zodiac have been represented as two fishes



ever since the time of ancient Babylonia. They are still so pictured in modern atlases of the starry heavens and appear in the same shape in both the old Indian and Chinese calendars. It will be difficult

or perhaps impossible to say why the fish has been doubled in this connection, because the reason of this duplication dates back to a prehistoric age.

The two fishes have become a good omen in ancient India and are not infrequently found on monuments and as a design for heraldic devices. An inscription of King Suridara Pandyadeva I⁶ in the temple of Vishnu (Ranganatha) in Sriranga, in the district of Trichinopolis, Dekkan, shows on either side the image of a fish. Professor Pischel mentions two fishes on the bases of columns in a Brahman temple at Ghumli,⁷ and also among other symbols at the gate of a Jain cave in Junagadh. The same authority tells of two fishes facing a swastika on a Jain votive tablet from Matura, and says that two also may be seen on a Chinese statue of Kwan Yon or, as she is called in India, Avalokiteshvara, though in the latter case they are apparently dragons, not as Pischel says "fishes."⁸ A field with two fishes was the coat of arms of the Pandya kings as can be seen from their frequent appearance on Pandya coins.⁹

The fish is used as a good omen and as such it is represented on illustrations as a target. An illustration of this kind is here reproduced from the *Hindu Pantheon* (page 52). Moor explains the scene as a shooting-match in which Rama contends for Sita's hand but Pischel suggests the explanation is doubtful because this incident is not mentioned in any version of the Rama legend. He thinks that the illustration refers not to Rama but possibly to Arjuna (Pischel, page 20).

Buddha is reported to have been incarnated three times as a fish. According to Jataka 75, he was once king of the fishes, and happened to be born at a time when a long drought threatened the life of all his fellow fish. Not only the fields dried up but also ponds and lakes. The fish were stuck in the mud and were being devoured by crows and other birds when the king of the fishes came to the rescue. He rose out of the mud, opened his eyes and by vowing that he had never eaten other fish, not even the smallest one, and had never done any harm to any living creature, he compelled the god Indra to pour down rain from heaven.

In Jataka 114, Buddha as the fish Mitacinti saved two of his

⁶ The inscription of the Pandya king is in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, vol. 1, p. 114.

companions from the net of fishes, and in Jataka 236, he rescued the fish from the hypocrite crane, who sat down on the shore of the pond and by his pretended pity acquired the confidence of the fish.

None of these tales are of special importance but all of them confirm the traditional reverence in which the fish is held, so that even the Buddhists do not hesitate to have the Buddha himself incarnated as a fish who by his virtues saves his fellow fishes from perdition.

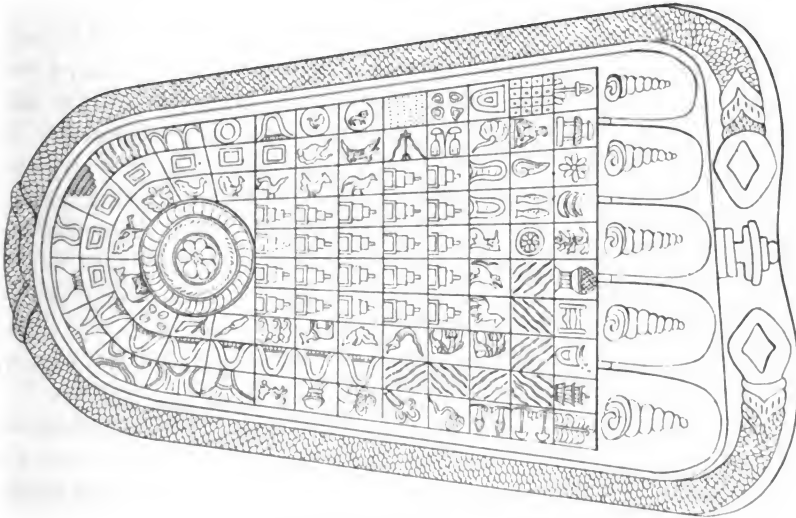


CRYSTAL BOWL FOUND IN BUDDHA'S TOMB.

The miraculous power of the rohita fish is well characterized in the Buddhist story¹⁰ of King Padmaka, a pious and just ruler whose subjects suffered from an epidemic of jaundice. The physicians declared that the only medicine that could be of avail was the flesh of a rohita fish, but in spite of all search no rohita could be

he threw himself down. According to the earnestness of his desire he was reborn in the sand of the river as a big rohita fish. When the news became known the people came and cutting off the flesh of the fish cured themselves of their disease. Having saved them from perdition, he made his identity known and they praised the miraculous power of the Buddha.

The fish has also been used in India for funerary purposes and the most ancient instance of it has been excavated from the tomb of Buddha himself.¹¹ It is a beautiful crystal bowl, the lid of which has on its top a fish which serves as a handle. This crystal bowl stood by the side of the urn containing the sacred ashes and bears



FOOTPRINT OF THE BUDDHA.

From Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindus*, p. 204.

the dedication of the Shakyas, brothers and sisters with their women and children. The lid is ornamented with gilt stars and was surrounded with little urns, and a box containing offerings of various kinds, ornaments of gold and silver, gems, crystals, stars, flowers and statuettes, birds and elephants, pieces of leafgold bearing the picture of a lion, and other symbols. The fish on top of the lid can here only have served as a protective symbol, a kind of charm destined to ward off all harm from the relics in the crystal box.

The emblem of two fishes as a good omen is also found on various Buddhist monuments, especially on the footprints of the Buddha, where the dolphin as well as the two fishes appears among

¹¹ See the article "Buddhist Relics" in *The Open Court*, XXIV, 31.

many other symbols. Here we also find chakras or wheels, tiaras, bowls of the Buddhist priests in which they receive their provisions, a fan used by the priests in place of an umbrella, the palace in the form of a square and supposed to be seven stories in height, the royal standard, trumpets to announce the arrival of kings, the stone couch of Buddha, flags, ensigns, the royal palanquin, a salver, the large fan of kings, Mt. Meru, the seven great rivers, the six mansions or heavens of the celestial abode, the four great divisions of the world, the great sea, the two thousand smaller divisions surrounding the four great ones, two golden fishes which swim the ocean between Mt. Meru and the four divisions, etc. etc.¹²

Although the Buddhist monks do not eat meat or fish, the dinner gong in monasteries in China as well as Japan is usually made in the shape of a fish. For the same purpose wooden drums are also used, and they too are carved in the shape of a fish. Thus the fish is commonly considered a sacred symbol, but the meaning of it has been lost and Buddhist philosophers when asked to explain the significance of the fish have given various explanations which, however, are nothing but ingenious afterthoughts. The custom must be very ancient for we find a fantastic legend adduced as an explanation of it in the Vibhasha Shastra, one of the Abhidharmas reported to have been compiled under King Kanishka, of the third Buddhist council which was convened in the first century of the Christian era.

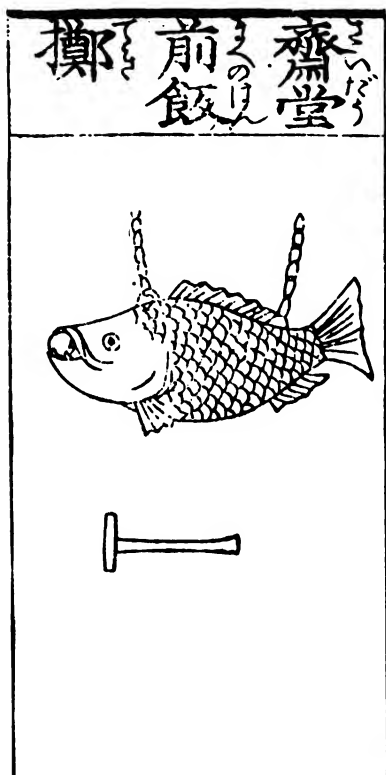
We reproduce here from a Buddhist picture book published in Japan two pictures, one of a fish-gong, the other a fish-drum, as used to-day in Buddhist monasteries. The inscription over the drum is an abbreviated account of the Vibhasha Shastra, which in Mr. Teitaro Suzuki's translation reads as follows:

"There was once a Buddhist monk in ancient India who neglected to study the Dharma. On this account he was reborn as a big fish, and on his back there grew a huge tree, which was extremely annoying to him. One day his former teacher passed him by on a boat, and the monk-fish who attributed the cause of his suffering to the wilful indifference of his teacher tried to wreak vengeance on him by raising a tempest. Being asked by his teacher why he did so the fish replied, 'You neglected to instruct me in the Dharma in my former existence, and for that reason I have to endure this unspeakable torture.' But the teacher explained how unreasonable the monk was, saying that the neglect was not the teacher's but the

¹² For further explanation see Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindus*, pages 208-212.

disciple's. When the monk-fish saw his fault he submitted to his teacher's instructions and died. The latter felled the huge tree that had grown on the back of the fish and made of it a large gong, which was used to call the monks together at meal time."

This story invented in explanation of the use of the fish as a gong is undoubtedly very old. It is assuredly not indigenous in China but has been imported by Buddhist missionaries from India.

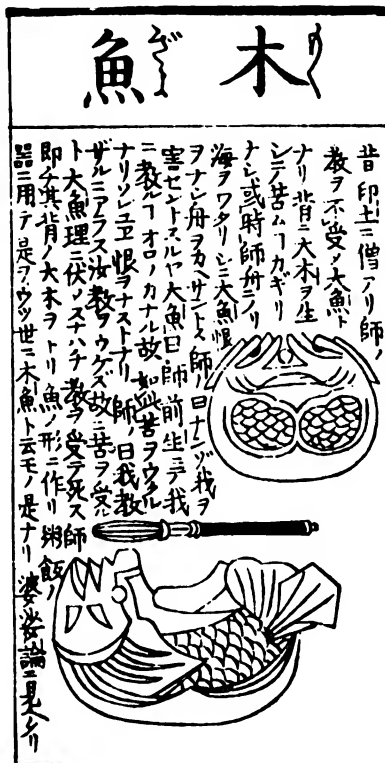


FISH GONG.

The inscriptions read "Dining Hall, Front, Meal Gong" and "Wooden iFsh."

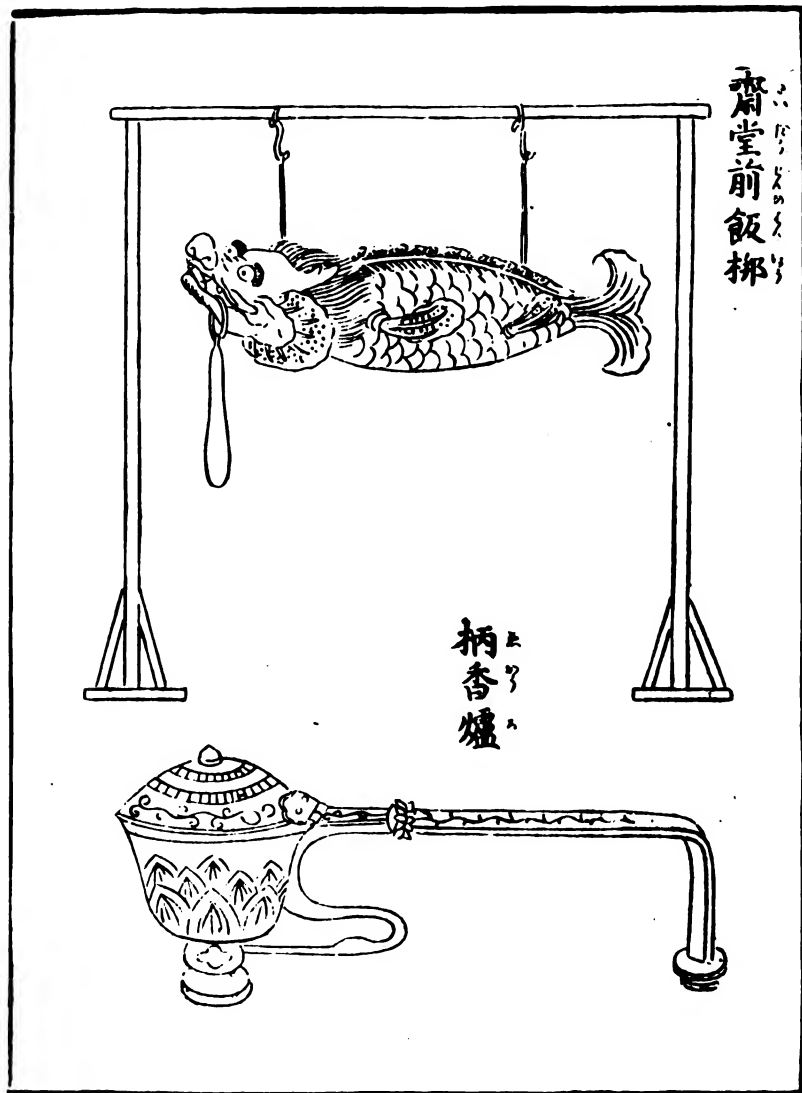
The source dates back to a pre-Christian age, and is obviously not the true reason why fish gongs are used for dinner bells, but, as is frequently the case in similar instances, was a mere afterthought to explain an ancient established custom.

Another reason given for always making these gongs in monasteries in the shape of a fish is attributed to a Chinese priest, the Master Wu Pien, who is reported to have said: "The fish never shuts his eyes by day or by night, and thus those who become converted



FISH DRUM.

and lead a new life abandon all sleep and are bound to reach the path of perfection in constant watchfulness by day and by night."



FISH SHAPED GONG.

Both explanations prove that the original significance of the fish must have been lost when these reasons were invented. Wu Pien's argument is simply the pious contemplation of a thinker who knows

that the fish is regarded with religious awe and tries to offer a reason that would satisfy his own curiosity and that of other people.

The custom of the fish-gong as well as the stories about it must therefore be regarded as evidence of the significance of the fish in the religious circles of a pre-Buddhist age. It was retained by sheer habit as is the case with other customs such as the tonsure which is pre-Buddhist and pre-Christian and continues in both religions although it has lost its significance.



CHINESE REPRESENTATION OF BUDDHA AS A FISHERMAN.

Christians are called "the little fish" and Christ is represented as a fisherman, while he promises his apostles that they shall be "fishers of men." It is a remarkable coincidence that in the Mahayana scriptures Buddha too is spoken of as a fisherman who catches fish, drawing them out of the ocean of Samsara into the light of salvation. This explains the strange fact that there are Buddhist pictures and figures which represent Buddha with rod and hook in the attitude of fishing—a highly un-Buddhistic action.

IMMEDIACY.

BY FREDERIC DREW BOND.

THEORIES of perception have been confronted by a seeming contradiction. On the one hand, the sight of an object appears to the beholder to occur without the intermediation of any other thing or of any other process. On the other hand, it is certain that waves of light fall on the retina of the eye and excite certain changes in the optic nerve when vision occurs, and it would seem that this impingement of light must be adverted to first as a change in the eye itself—in a word, as a “sensation.” From such sensations felt at the retina it would seem as though, at the best, there could be but a very rapid inference to that part of the physical world before one’s face as an assumed cause of their occurrence. Indeed, it is certain that our knowledge of the world has actually grown from earliest childhood in some such manner. Of course, beside the knowledge gained through the eye itself, other knowledge gained through the sensibility of the skin, through movement, through the muscular sense and through possibly other factors is added thereto. But as it is through eyesight that a view is held firmly in front of us and made, by this fact of permanence, different from other sorts of knowledge, it is to vision that attention must be chiefly given in attempting to untangle the matter.

Now, no matter how quickly we may assume sight of anything to occur it seems hard to get beyond the fact that the physical change must first of all be known as a sensation—that is, as an affection of the part of the body where it first happened; and that the perception of its cause must be later—an inference becoming quicker and quicker and more thorough each time an act of sight has occurred from birth, but which, no matter how shortened, must in some form always be there.

Yet if we accept the testimony of consciousness in the matter, nothing becomes more certain, the closer we examine it, than that no

inference, no reasoning of the most rudimentary or most abbreviated sort, occurs when we open our eyes to a view; the sight is instant, immediate. That something very like an inference did, in some factors at least, occur in childhood has nothing to do with the fact that at present every trace of it has vanished. What then does happen now when we look at an object?

To try and understand the matter, let us take an analogous instance which may throw some light on the subject. If one will recall his state of mind when absorbed in reading some intensely interesting argument or exposition, it will be difficult to avoid the conclusion that the knowledge derived from the printed page entered the mind directly; there was no direct consciousness of letters or words, sentences or paragraphs. We seem to see through the print, as it were, into the meaning behind it. It is true that the direction of our attention to the argument is conditioned by the print before us in a way apparently like that in which our perception of a stereoscopic view without the aid of the appropriate optical instrument is conditioned by the disagreeable squint of the eyes to see in two directions. But just as the stereoscopic view is directly perceived, so is the argument.

Now it is certain that the argument could not be perceived without the existence of the words printed. Nor could these words have been perceived in the past when learning them as a child, without the letters of which they are made; and again one step farther back, each letter itself depends for its existence on certain peculiarities of relative shape and size. Finally, each and every one of these factors, the shapes of the letters, the letters themselves, the words, had to be known before their meanings when combined could be learned. All this is obvious enough. Yet this vast complex process is non-existent in reading. It might be said that the original inference from relative forms of the letters and thence to words has been leaped over, so that now the inference is from the original forms of the letters to the argument at once. Similarly, it might be argued that we jump from a sensation on the retina at once to the perception of the sight which it connotes. Undoubtedly this argument simplifies matters; it is a step in the right direction. Yet it too has still the fatal difficulty of harking back to an "original sensation" from

shade into the distance. But this view is direct, instant. The waves of light are the accompaniment of no sensation in the eyeball at all. They accompany immediately and directly the sight of the avenue, just as the page of the book may (if the book is interesting enough) excite directly the argument. It is not that an "original sensation" now occurring is the premise of a consequent, developed perception; rather is it that what was the "original sensation" (either in childhood or among far distant, lower forms of life in the past) is gone. Where it once was is now a perception. How can this be?

To understand this, let us ask first of all what we really mean by a sensation. For if by sensation we mean "feeling"—like pleasure or pain (not *a* pleasure or *a* pain) or like emotion—then a perception could not develop from such sensation, for feeling (an affection of the subject) cannot become knowledge (an intuition of the object). It is true enough that in common speech the word sensation often covers feeling as well as knowledge, while it is hard to say with some writers whether the possibility of this distinction is at all admitted. The fact is that the sensation itself is simply knowledge, at the very lowest, of some physical affection of some part of the body—it is knowledge, whether it be knowledge possessed by a jelly-fish or by a human being. Always the sensation means something either to jelly-fish or human being,—even if the meaning be merely that something is happening. There is hardly a stronger proof of this fact than the existence of the unnatural, i. e., unusual, feeling of pleasure or pain which hypnotism can excite on the occasion of a physical stimulus which ordinarily would be accompanied by feeling of a different sort. As soon as there is a little further development of mind above that of primitive organisms, a sensation means that something is happening to the subject at the surface of the body and is viewed by him in a certain relation to the rest of the body and to its physical needs.

But this physical agitation of a part of the surface of the body, though primitively it has this primary meaning of reference merely to that fact itself or to the physical needs of the body, is not restricted to such meaning. Other meanings to the subject may arise as circumstances change and as the beholding mind evolves. Now it is to the later meanings in the course of the development of mind that we have come to advert and especially is this so in the case of sight.

Thus the argument comes to this: We see immediately because, while a certain physical motion in the retina and optic nerve meant primitively to the subject that the eye was somehow affected, it also

could just as truly mean, and in the end came to mean, that something is occurring in the world outside of the body. The first meaning was prior in time, in the development of the race and of the individual, but the latter meaning having been learned, can just as well be attended to; and, in the case of sight, so constant have been the repetitions of seeing and so constantly has it been practical wisdom for the organism to attend to the later meaning that we have almost lost the power to know what has occurred within our organism following the impact of light on the eye, as meaning psychically (as well as being physically) an affection of the eyeball—so constantly have we come to know it as meaning, what it just as truly does mean, a manifold of things in the physical world. To mind, at first, the psychical accompaniment of the light impact was a sensation, now to a mature human mind it is something very different though something just as true. We see a hill directly and immediately because a hill is the direct and immediate meaning we give to the organic result of the impingement of the light waves in certain circumstances. And there is no sensation in mature life at all, because we utterly ignore the other possible and true meaning of the organic result of this same light impact.

To make the matter clearer, let us examine it from another standpoint. We often hear of a picture painted by the rays of light on the retina. Such a picture may appear on another's eye when seen with an ophthalmoscope, and such a picture may be seen in my eyes by another. But to the possessor of the eyes himself, no such picture exists subjectively at all. Primitively sight may have been an exquisitely veiled touch such as that experienced when one's eyes are oversensitive on passing from a darker to a lighter room. But gradually the veiled touches on this primitive fundus must have been discriminated in the course of the life of the race and far quicker in the course of the life of a higher organism after birth. But these eye-touches to the lower animal as to the child had but the meaning that that part of his body was somehow affected from without. This was the first perception, the first inference from the sensation. But when this inference was established, the perception, such as it was, became immediate even though the sensation may have persisted beside it, just as the perception of a rough surface is immediate when felt with a stick, or just as the perception of the point of a pin is immediate though the sensation is of the prick. But the sensational meaning gradually became completely ignored to the benefit of the perceptual one. This change in the meaning of the same physical fact in the case of eyesight involved the complete disappearance of

the sensation under normal conditions, probably through natural selection, because a sensation in the eye necessarily tends to evoke personal pleasure or pain, and this would be disturbing to the attention which safety requires to be given to outer objects. This involves that when the retina is electrically irritated and what we call a flash of light happens, there is no pleasure or pain felt in the eyeball. In fact the flash is a perception, though a primitive one; it is not the "original sensation" analogous to that given, though not exclusively given, by touch. This is, it seems, in the case of sight, no longer evocable.

Yet it is possible to revive something near the "original sensation," an older meaning of the physical result of the light impact. In proof of this I may recall a personal experience. My first knowledge of Berkeley was obtained when a boy through Huxley's little essay, and it seemed to me that I entered a new world. As I read the outline of the theory of vision and concluded that I really saw nothing of the outer world directly but only knew it through the intervention of visual signs, on a sudden the whole world of eyesight seemed to lift away from the room I was in, contract to my eyes and become a little painted picture on the skin of my face. Never shall I forget the startlingness of the experience which, however, my interest rendered awesome and convincing but not terrifying. A step further would have resolved this picture into shades and colors, and I dare say had I been reading the original essay of Berkeley and taken it as seriously as I did Huxley's version, this might have occurred also. As it was, I apparently went back as far as one born blind and made afterwards to see.

It may be said that, granting all the foregoing, still this means only that what we see is seen immediately, but not that it is the outer world which thus really is immediately seen; what we get directly (it may be said) is simply a meaning of the physical change in our own organism, which we "project" into space. Really, the objection may proceed, we are interpreting a certain molecular dance in our eyes and optic nerve, perhaps in the optic thalami, but not the world outside of the body directly.

In answer to this it may be replied that a molecular dance (if for brevity's sake we may use this expression) is no more a sensation than it is a perception. It is simply a bare physical fact without any meaning merely as such and apart from the attention of the subject. But its meaning to the subject may be a perception (knowledge of a state in the physical world) just as well as a sensation (knowledge of a state in one's own body). Because the physical changes are in

the body their meaning is not necessarily any more of their own character than the meaning of a printed word is of the ink with which it is printed. To talk of "projecting" into space the meaning of a physical change in the eyeball is nonsense based on a confusion of the mental and physical. To the mind there is no such thing as distance because distance is a physical category. The body is unutterable spaces from Sirius but the mind is just as near as to the chair in one's room. I can "project" a ball into space by the movement of the arm, but to "project" a perception, a meaning, is much like bounding geographically the theorem of the square on the hypotenuse. It is confusing the perception as meaning, as an act of mind, with the facts perceived (or meant) as actually existing and interrelated in space, of which facts, of course, the physical body is one. Meaning may be *of* here or there, but *is* neither here nor there, neither in nor out of the body. Moreover, meaning is necessarily instant, immediate, otherwise it were still inference, not meaning. We might say that the mind gathers directly the meaning of the outer world, which it views through sight, from the physical changes in its organism, just as it gathers the meaning of an interesting argument directly from the words of the printed page. The bare physical facts of the world of matter and energy have in themselves and apart from our interpretation, no particular meaning at all, not even that of their own occurrence or of their own configuration; thus in interpreting them we may take directly from them the meaning to our organism of their physical relations *inter se* (a sensation), or we may take directly from them, when we can do so, the meaning of other physical facts (as in the case of eyesight) or of conceptions (in the case of the printed page).

EVOLUTION OF THE DIVINE.

BY A. E. BARTLETT.

IN discussing the great problems which involve the infinite and eternal, we meet with objection from two opposite sources,—from the ultra-orthodox partisan and from the materialist.

Scientists and theologians alike would circumscribe our speculations by emphasizing the finiteness of human reason and its incapacity to realize the infinite. Without denying what element of truth there may be in these limitations upon the intellect, without claiming the power of the mind to comprehend fully the infinite and eternal, we can still assert that the infinite and eternal is the only thing that the mind can really conceive. The mind cannot focus itself upon the purely finite. The world of the finite belongs to the domain of the senses; and that world cannot, except through the element of the infinite pervading it, be brought within the cognizance of the intellect. Attempt in thought to imagine space as finite, as having a limit beyond which no space exists; attempt to think of duration as finite, as terminated either in past or future,—and you will realize how necessary to our thought is the conception of infinity with reference to space and time.

In all the great generalizations of science this intuition for the infinite finds gratification. “Every particle of matter *in the universe* attracts every other particle.” The mathematical relations, the laws of motion—all the great principles of science are universal principles. The daily sustenance of the intellect is derived from the infinite and the universal. Whenever a great generalization is made, we regard its universality as a measure of its truth. The universe must submit itself to the critical review of the human intellect.

As the senses, quickened into existence by the properties of matter, are for that reason reliable interpreters of matter, so the intellect, developed by contemplation of relations, is a genuine interpreter of relations, and its demands can not be gainsaid. The divine

essence, by reason of its very infinitude, makes appeal to the intellect; therefore must the intellect be adapted to investigate and apprehend the divine.

In this study we propose to combat the static conception of the divine. The modern recognition of divine immanence, together with the modern acceptance of evolution, implies a recognition that evolution takes place in the divine itself. The evolution of matter is but the outward manifestation of force-evolution; and force-evolution is but another term for evolution of the divine.

Evolution is an unfolding of the fundamental force-entity of the universe in an effort to realize the ideal personality. But this ideal personality which is the goal of evolution must also be looked upon as the potential cause of evolution. Since the universe and all its parts have arisen from the fundamental entity, all phenomena in the universe must be involved in that entity. Whatever we find in nature we can predicate of that entity. But in nature, as the crowning phenomenon, as the supreme reality of creation, we find the great fact of personality, with its trinity of feeling, will and thought. Shall we not then conclude that the same trinity is also not merely a characteristic, but even the essential characteristic, of the creative entity?

But what we have shown deductively we can also show inductively. Does not the creative entity possess latent feeling? Whence, otherwise, that beneficence of nature which adjusts organisms to environment and invests us with joy and affection? Does not that essence possess will? Whence then those august laws that sway the universe and guide its progress ever into higher orbits of harmony and peace? Does not that essence possess latent knowledge and thought? Whence then that great principle whereby our most secret deeds of right or wrong are inevitably registered to bring us in due time an appropriate return? If the creative essence hears not our petitions, wherefore is it that our aspirations invariably set in motion forces that gradually work out in our character the results for which we long?

Point, if you will, to the imperfections of the universe; point to sin, that sign of immaturity; claim, if you will, that this divine personality has not attained to perfect consciousness or perfect mastery of its own dominion; nevertheless the fact remains that such personality must be involved in the fundamental essence, and that slowly but surely this personality is transforming the universe, re-creating ever more nobly its own creation.

This personality is real because it is implied in the fundamental

essence and in every stage of its development; it is real because it is creative, unfolding the wonders of being with more precision and perfection than could ever be accomplished by conscious design. It is divine because it is real, because it is personal, and because from the very nature of the laws of evolution this ultimate goal of evolution is ethically perfect, satisfying all our ideals. Through process after process this result is slowly approached, but the perfect consummation is in the infinite future. Thus the divine may be conceived of under three aspects, in all of which it is worthy of our reverence: first, as cause—infinite force; second, as process—finite forms of life; third, as result—infinite personality.

But just as in the individual the monistic basis of life is represented not by any approach to the fundamental homogeneity but only by a growing harmony of adjustment; so in the evolution of the divine personality there is no approach toward the eradication of the distinct individuality of persons, but the oneness of the divine is expressed in the growing oneness of feeling evinced in noble personalities. Development is characterized by ever-increasing variety combined with ever-increasing harmony. The personality of God is perfect unity of perfected individual personalities. The universe is a democracy, not an absolute monarchy.

For this opinion that the personality of God finds its sole embodiment in its progressive manifestation through nature there are two main reasons: First, the presence of evil in the world shows that the universe is not completely organized, that perfection, though implied in nature, is not fully realized; second, the tragic purposefulness of nature is best accounted for on the theory that evolution is a solemn struggle of the divine for self-realization rather than an unnecessary, a comparatively meaningless, and an only partially successful reproduction of a divine entity already possessing a fully organized existence.

The fallacy of popular theism lies in supposing a God who is infinite and yet engaged in a conflict with his creation—the whole at war with the parts. Now in a perfect organization the parts must be in perfect harmony with the whole and with one another. Just in proportion as the parts withdraw from such harmony, they withdraw from the whole and leave it proportionally circumscribed and further removed from the infinite. If God be infinite all things must be part of him, but if all things be part of him they must be in harmony with him and partake of his divinity. Since this harmony does not exist but is only in process of development, it follows that the universe is not yet fully organized and that the divine still re-

mains an ideal. The universe still contains chaotic elements; some of its quantities are still negative, subtracting from its infinite oneness and leaving it an inharmonious and finite universe.

If such difficulties are involved in the conception of a divine person as immanent, still greater are the objections to a transcendent deity; for if God rules the universe from without like an earthly autocrat, he must, like the autocrat, be held responsible for the evils of his government, and he cannot plead the human autocrat's excuse of impotence. The divine despot must have in his nature a strain of wickedness.

If, however, we frankly acknowledge that the divine principle is itself in process of evolution, if we invest even the divine with the pathos of struggling aspiration, we clear it from all reproach of guilt, making it appeal with equal power to heart and intellect. The statement previously made that to the divine essence belong all attributes which are manifested in the universe does not imply that to it belongs any evil; for under an evolutionary system evil is not a reality but only an imperfect stage in development. On the other hand, from the orthodox view-point according to which the divine nature is a finality, evil must also be a finality and therefore real. If the divine were actually embodied in a person it would be blamable for even the negative flaws in creation, while under the evolutionary theory here expounded the less pretentious divine essence escapes responsibility for evil and is all the more effective as an ideal.

Under our system, then, evil is not an essential attribute of nature, and evil is not abiding. Moreover, to this transient evil in the world there is no possible alternative. The omnipotence that lies at the basis of nature is conditioned by the natural law of inertia; even omnipotence must work by processes. In other words the divine element is omnipotent not in time but in eternity, and in eternity it must vindicate itself.

Moreover, a universe free from all pain and evil, a perfect universe in finite time, is a solecism, a contradiction in terms. A universe of life and action implies of necessity a process, a perpetual movement, implies strife and adjustment, friction and collision. The only conceivable perfection is the perfection that we actually find in our universe—the perfection that manifests itself as a perpetual progress toward ideal good implied in the process. To the mind that realizes this deep and sufficient perfection of the universe, this happy destiny reserved for all being, doubt and rebellion become

almost impossible. Only to him who worships an anthropomorphic deity will the problem of evil remain a problem still.

But when I speak of this divine principle as in process of evolution, I do not look upon it as unreal, or as possessing no present existence. If it were not a present fact, how could it thus be drawing up the phenomenal world toward the ideal? If nature is evolving God, God must be already involved in nature.

If force is latent will, and if will when organized in the personality directs its activities with reference to remote purposes, we are justified in taking a general teleological view of nature; but if the will-element latent in force can become conscious and definite only in personality, a late development of the evolutionary process, it is evident that we must find many details in nature at variance with teleological requirements.

"Infinite succession of causes," we say; but how account for the increment? When there is increase in velocity, a deepening of the volume of life, that significant fact implies some constant influence in addition to the succession. The creative element has not died in evolving life, but, like the embryo, has gained vitality through the differentiation of its constituent elements. This divine exists positively in the world, pervading and glorifying every lowliest form, and through all these forms striving to manifest itself in an ideal personality.

DISCUSSIONS.

QUESTIONS OF A PLURALIST RAISED BY THE REV. DR. JAMES
G. TOWNSEND.

I HAVE long been an admirer of your splendid work, but have been unable to accept your philosophic views; and knowing your willingness to receive criticism, I hereby send my objections in brief, and the statement of my own view. I know in doing this I express the feeling of many others.

Your philosophy, if I correctly understand you, makes the universe one unit of absolute reality, unchanging, ungrowing, entirely complete. Thus you make the imperfect, the ugly, the cruel, the evil parts as essential as the best. In your view, then, evil, ugliness, sin, have their foundation in this primal unit of fact,—that is in God.

Do you not, in this monistic conception, have the same difficulty which has always confronted scholastic theism?

I see no way of escape from this dilemma than the view I have long held—to free ourselves from the tyranny of the idea of monism and consent that the universe existed in more than one form, composed of different powers, principles or entities rather than one infinite and eternal energy as Mr. Spencer and Dr. Carus affirm. And from this conception it follows that evil is not an eternal necessity, but may in time be eliminated.

It follows from this view also that God is not omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient—an eternal monotony—but is “finite” as Professor James says; that he has his problems as we have ours, and that like us he may have his difficulties, his defeats, his victories!

I wish also to say a word respecting your “philosophy of form.” Do I understand you to mean that organic form is the cause rather than the creation of life?

Is it not rather true that life is behind all organism as its cause and architect? (I do not affirm that life is the creator of energy.) And does not the poet Spenser suggest (whom you quote with

approval) that it is the soul which forms even the body itself? Did not Kant affirm that all form, all empirical reality, was as the unfolding of a spiritual principle, a *mind* universal?

And is not this view now most common in biological and psychological speculation? I refer to the theories of Sir Oliver Lodge and others. That "life" may be a real and primal form of reality, of existence, is also an accepted hypothesis.

In making these criticisms, Dr. Carus must not think that I do not recognize his great work in the field of religion, science and philosophy.

Editorial Reply.

In reply to Dr. James G. Townsend's remarks I would say that though I claim the universe to be one I would not use the term "absolute reality," I would not say that it is a "unit," nor would I characterize it as "unchanging, ungrowing and entirely complete." The universe is constantly changing before our eyes, and its very character is growth. The oneness of the universe is not external but intrinsic or immanent. I would characterize it as a unity but not as a unit. The unity of the universe manifests itself mainly in the harmony of its laws; all truths form a system, a great hierarchy of norms, and all uniformities observable in nature are variations or special cases of a general consistency which corresponds exactly with the consistency of our mental constitution as it has been developed in the formal sciences, especially logic and mathematics.

Whether the universe is also materially one large whole, whether all masses are bodily connected and interrelated, whether they are in touch by an all-pervading ether and whether all existences influence one another by the universal law of gravitation, is a problem which our present knowledge cannot solve. It is possible that there are worlds outside of this large stellar universe of ours which are not related with it, but it may be that all the many universes within and without the range of telescopes are an interconnected whole. I do not believe that this problem is of any consequence whatever for our thought, so I leave it alone and am satisfied to know that the immanent unity of the world is an established fact. The latter, the intrinsic oneness of the universe is of much more vital importance than the former, its probable external unity.

I understand by God the normative factor of the world; God in this sense is the former, the moulder, the creator. The work which he performs (to speak humanly of God as "he") is formulated by scientists in natural laws, and appears in the moral development

of social events as Providence, as the curse of sin and the blessing of the right mode of action. In this sense Fichte defined God as the moral world-order.

It will be noticed that my conception of God is not pantheistic. I do not identify God with the *Pan*, the All of nature. He is that part of nature which dominates its development and determines its destiny. I grant that God and nature are inseparable, but they are not identical; they are two aspects of the same reality of which God is the higher one.

Evil accordingly is not a part of God. Evil is an intrinsic and necessary part of nature. It is true that nature is a revelation of God, but the revelation of God is not one in which his divinity blazes up in all its perfection, but in its manifestation it gropes after the ideal and is everywhere limited in its exertions. God considered in himself as the normative factor of existence, is indeed eternal and unchangeable, but God as his own realization in nature appears in particulars, and every particular is one aspect only. Materiality is characteristic of concrete existence while law is universal. Every concrete existence is in a definite space and flourishes at a definite time. It is a creature, *ein Geschöpf*, i. e., a thing shaped, as the Germans call it, a fleeting form. It is limited in space, it is limited in time, it originates and it passes away, and its life is a constant struggle involving hardship, disease and final dissolution. These are conditions of all material existence and there is only one way to overcome them, which is by accepting the conditions, by not over-estimating or clinging to the transient, and by gaining the eternal aspect of existence.

The ills of life are indispensable and inherent in all temporal existence; but in addition to the ills of life we have evil, and evil is still less a feature of God than the ills of life. Evil is a moral taint and is a product of our own making. There need be no evil if we possess the right attitude, if we do not cling to selfhood and are always ready to surrender to death what is mortal. While the path of evolution is straight and narrow, while there is always but one solution of a truth, there are innumerable alluring by-paths sometimes very pleasant to look upon, and to every right solution there are a great many errors, some of them very attractive and plausible. These aberrations are evil; they lead astray, and in following them we meet with ills of all kinds which could have been avoided.

It is impossible to discuss the problem of evil without touching on the problem of free will. Philosophical schools are commonly

divided into two hostile camps, the determinists and the supporters of the theory of free will. I take a middle ground. I accept unhesitatingly the theory of determinism, but I would not for that reason deny that man is possessed of free will. The issues have been confounded by a wrong definition of free will. Both schools understand by free will the arbitrariness of chance decisions which is not free will but would be like a haphazard game of dice. The decisions of a free will are just as definitely determined as any resultant of mechanical forces, but they are plans of action in which the ultimate determinant is the character of the acting person, and such actions as are the results of a free decision alone possess moral value. If they were arbitrary they would, morally considered, be worthless.

Strictly speaking, all nature is possessed of free will; the flash of lightning takes place according to the nature of the electric tension in the clouds, and if the lightning could speak it would declare that its discharge is made because such is its free will and determination. In this sense all parts of nature act according to their constitution of their own free will, and they do so of necessity. What is like in character will act alike, and the samenesses of natural activity are formulated in what is called natural law. Things do not act because they are compelled or forced to act in this way, but because such is their intrinsic nature. The law of causation is not a ukase or tyrannical rule; it is simply a general description of a mode of action. In man the conditions are more complicated because his organism is a multiplicity of many different and often contradictory tendencies, but the general formula holds just the same, except that man must choose between several possible volitions. The choice is predetermined by his character, but if his will is free to act, is not compelled by threats, by compulsion or by outside forces, his decision will be determined by his character.

In other words, determinedness does not contradict free will. The opposite of free will is compulsion. The man who is compelled by a robber to give up his purse does not act by free will, but a man who hands his purse to a beggar because the latter appeals to his compassion acts of his own free will. His act characterises him, he is responsible for it, while in acts done under compulsion he cannot be held responsible.

This exposition of free will is indispensable for an explanation of evil. The general world-order is not responsible for the evils which we do. The evil deed is the work of poor mortal man straying away from the straight path, but the curse of evil, the punish-

ment that follows it, that, I grant, is the work of the divine dispensation of the world.

The quotation from Spenser does not say that "it is the soul which forms the body itself," but "For soul is form and doth the body make." Here Spenser identifies soul with form and says that the soul is the formative principle. In other words, mind is the product of organizations, not its cause, and if we speak of God as a mind we view him under an anthropomorphic allegory. By mind I understand an organism which has the faculty of deliberation, but God does not stand in need of deliberations. His thoughts are the eternal laws of nature, all of which constitute a spiritual organism like a personality but far superior to anything that is like a human mind. God is not a person but the condition of personality; therefore I characterize God as superpersonal.

Life in my opinion is indeed intrinsic in the universe. The potentiality of life is contained even in inorganic nature, and life is actualized by organization. In other words, organization is life and any substance in which the process of organization takes place we call an organism. That life should be a principle, or faculty, or power by itself outside of its own manifestations, appears to me as impossible as to assume that electricity is prior to electric currents and is a power which produces the currents.

I have answered Dr. Townsend's questions briefly but with sufficient clearness to indicate my solutions of these several problems, and I have given them a careful consideration because in these days of pluralistic tendencies there may be more readers of my writings who would naturally share the opinions of my kind critic.

Rejoinder of Rev. Dr. Townsend.

A word about your "reply."

Your speculations about the universe and God are very interesting and striking and may be true, but they are not knowledge. All truth which is known is part of knowledge, and all knowledge is *verifiable* and *communicable*.

How can you say *evil* is but a part of God? I mean with your definition of God. You aver that God gropes after the ideal, and is everywhere limited in his exertions. What is this but my idea of the limitation of God, his imperfection? That he has his problems as we have ours?

You say: "The general world-order is not responsible for the evil which we do, that the evil deed is the work of poor mortal man, but the *punishment* is the work of the divine dispensation of the

world." Whether this teaching is true or not, certainly it is not modern science, it is not monism, and it surely is dualism or pluralism.

Nor do I see how in your definition of determinism, which seems to me scientific and true, you can make man free. Man acts according to his character and his environment. How can he do otherwise as you affirm?

I aver the differences in men are not made by their choices, by themselves, but by their endowments, their natures, their education, their environment. But it is a great theme.

Editorial Comments.

Dr. Townsend's criticism seems to be based on a misunderstanding of my definitions. He reads my explanations in the sense in which he uses similar expressions, and he does not correctly reword the ideas which he quotes from me. In doing so he supplants my conceptions by his own.

I define God as "the normative factor of the world." The norm is always the same. The norm is formulated by scientists as a law. It means "If you do this, a definite result will come about; if you do that, there will be other consequences. Whatever you do the result will be determined. The determinant is God. God is the universal norm; man is a definite concrete creature." Dr. Townsend quotes me as having said that God "grope after the ideal, and is everywhere limited in his exertions." God, the eternal norm, does not grope. God is always like unto himself. Therefore God is not subject to limitation. Dr. Townsend will notice that I did not say that "God gropes," but that the divinity of God in its manifestation gropes after the ideal, and I hope I have expressed myself clearly. In evolution and especially in the history of mankind God appears as that power which makes for righteousness. He appears in the progress of civilization, of science and an increasingly nobler conception of life. Here God does not grope but we, created in his image, are groping after God.

Dr. Townsend says "What is this but my idea of the limitation of God?" and we will answer that in one respect Dr. Townsend is right. God is perfect if we take the absolute view of God, if we consider the ultimate norm by itself. But God manifests himself in the concrete world, and in his manifestation in this actual world of ours we see the divine unfolding itself in the process of evolution from the lower to the higher, and the course of evolution is naturally limited at every step. This manifestation of God, if we use the

language of religious symbolism, is the second person of the Trinity; it is God the Son; and though it is everywhere divine, though it is an incarnation of God, though it even may be pursuing the right path of the straight line of progress, it is everywhere hampered by conditions, it is imperfect by being of a particular kind, and therefore, as Dr. Townsend says, limited. In this sense and this sense only, God has limitations; however, it is not God in the eternal aspect of his being, but God as his revelation, God as he incarnates himself in his own creature.

My conception of God, when rightly understood, disposes of the criticism that evil must be part of God. If God is the norm and the result of infringing upon the norm is evil, evil is not part of the norm. Evil may be unavoidable, and I do not hesitate to say that it is. Evil may be part of existence, but according to my definition of God it is not part of God. I have expressly denied that I accept pantheism but I notice that Dr. Townsend tacitly assumes that my God is pantheistic. In my conception of God, God is not identical with the All; he is one feature of the All. God is the normative, the most important, the dominant feature of existence. He is not the sum total of existence, nor is he the totality of all conditions; he is their determinant and their ultimate *raison d'être*. Thus it happens that the old paradox of the ancient Greek sages becomes true that "the part is greater than the whole."

By monism I understand that all is consistent; all is subject to one rule. There are no contradictions in the rule, and thus all truths are different aspects of one and the same truth. But with all the consistency there are contrasts. We are confronted everywhere with opposites. There is rising and sinking temperature; there is heat and cold; there is action and reaction; there is inwardness and outwardness in man's experience; there is soul and body; there is matter and mind; there are always two possible standpoints in every proceeding and the details of the world are split up into an infinitude of particulars. If this is called pluralism let it be, and if the contrasts in existence are to be called dualism, I would have to be counted among the dualists. However, dualism is generally understood not to be a mere contrast of aspects or standpoints, but a contradiction of two independent realms, of two separate existences; and according to dualism, the world is a combination of two radically different factors. Dualism in this sense I reject, while the duality of contrasts is in my opinion an undeniable fact. Further, if pluralism means that the world consists of a plurality of concrete particulars, I would be the last to oppose pluralism;

but if pluralism denies the consistency and unity of the world I oppose it. The decisive feature which makes the world one is again its normative determinant which in the language of religion has always been called God, and this normative determinant manifests itself in the rigidity of form, of formal law and all formative agencies. Its result is the cosmic order of the world, what on former occasion I have called its "lawdom,"* and this alone makes reason possible; it alone constitutes the rationality of reason; it makes science possible and on its account alone can we speak of the divinity of man.

Evil has been the stumbling block in all philosophical and religious systems, but it seems to me that in the Philosophy of Science which simply formulates the facts it finds its proper place. Wherever life stirs, particular beings endeavor to actualize their aspirations. Life is everywhere struggle, and struggle is impossible without exertion, without conflict, without competition, without wounds and occasional defeats. There is the one straight line of progressive movement, but there is also the possibility of innumerable aberrations on all sides and the various paths of aberration are tried. They lead astray and involve aspiring creatures into error and the consequences of error, into evil. Troubles and evils are therefore indispensable features of existence and we must not expect that this life is a millennium where we can reap without sowing, where we enjoy pleasures and have no pain, where we can celebrate triumphs without gaining victories. In a word we must make up our minds to face the truth that evil is part and parcel of existence, and he who does not recognize this fact will meet with disappointment.

My position concerning determinism and free will is simply this: If a man can act according to his character he is free; an act which he performs without let or hindrance is called an act of his free will, and this act is rigidly determined by his own character, by himself. Accordingly an act of free will is as much determined as an act of compulsion. Any conception of a free will which is undetermined and is the result of arbitrariness, in which a man could will and act against his own character, is to me merely a confusion of thought and has produced much unnecessary discussion. I do not

THE GOD PROBLEM. IN COMMENT ON A. E. BARTLETT'S
"EVOLUTION OF THE DIVINE."

Mr. A. E. Bartlett's article on the "Evolution of the Divine" attempts to solve the problem of the shortcomings of the world, especially the existence of evil, by conceiving God as "a principle in the process of evolution." The author goes too far when combating the theory of "the static conception of the divine." God is both static and dynamic. He is the eternal and he is also the principle of evolution. This is a contrast but need not be a contradiction, and a synthesis of these two opposites furnishes the third characteristic of the deity, going far to justify the old trinitarian conception.

Our author uses many expressions which appeal to the average reader, though when closely considered they are but glittering generalities. Such are the terms "infinite" (as here used, which is not always in its strictly scientific interpretation), "divine essence," "fundamental essence," "creative energy" and "the absolute." The author's conception of evil follows the popular trend of to-day when he says "evil is not an essential attribute of nature," and "evil is not abiding." This point of view is untenable. Evil, with all that is implied thereby, pain, disease and death, is unavoidable, and in addition to physical ills there are moral aberrations which will crop out under the most favorable conditions as necessarily as weeds will grow wherever there is a chance. This principle was enunciated for the first time by the great founder of Buddhism, Gautama Siddhartha, called by his adherents the Buddha. Evil may be limited. Many of its most dastardly forms may be overcome, pain may be reduced more and more, but that evil could be absolutely removed is as unthinkable as the hope that death can be eliminated. According to the argument of Buddha it lies in the very nature of corporeal existence that things are compounds and compound things originate by combination and will in time be dissolved. Life is change; it involves both the building up and breaking down of organized forms, and thus occasional pain and finally death are inevitable.

Our author is carried away by a modern notion of God which has not yet been matured by a rigid scientific critique. Thus the idea of personality slips in and attributes to God "latent feelings," whatever that may mean, and the "trinity of feeling, will and thought."

There are many striking comments which our author makes by the way, such as "the universe is a democracy not an absolute mon-

archy," and "the divine despot must have in his nature a strain of wickedness." Further we would call attention to the appreciation of the infinite as the indispensable background of the finite. The finite is the object of the senses while the infinite is the mental frame in which sense-perception is set.

Our own method of approaching the problem of God is twofold: partly it is historical, partly philosophical. We try to understand what people meant by God, and we find that whatever superstitions are connected with the idea, they always think of God as that something which determines our duties; or, briefly stated, God has always been the authority of conduct and this authority of conduct is an actual fact of our experience. The question is not whether God exists or no, but to investigate and to determine the nature of the authority of conduct with which we are confronted. Since I have devoted a book of over two hundred pages to this problem I can simply refer my readers to my own solution (*God, an Enquiry and a Solution*, Open Court Pub. Co., 1908); and will now sum up by stating that the God whom science must recognize is an omnipresence governing the world with the unfailing dominance of natural law. He is not a personality like man, but he is a super-personality, the prototype of man's own personality. Further, God, or to use another term the cosmic world-order, is like logic or arithmetic, immanent in nature and yet at the same time supernatural, for the principle of the world-order is independent of nature and would exist even if nature were non-existent. P. C.

A THING AS THE UNITY OF SEVERAL SENSATIONS WITH REFERENCE TO F. D. BOND'S "IMMEDIACY."

The current number of *The Open Court* contains a thoughtful article by Frederic Drew Bond, entitled "Immediacy," in which he explains the immediacy of the meaning of vision and generally of sense-perception. The editor of *The Open Court* has discussed a kindred subject when dealing with the problem of the inverted picture on the retina, stating in this connection that the problem is based on a misunderstanding of the nature of vision.

The truth is we do not see the picture on the retina, but the picture on the retina in connection with its brain structures in the center of vision sees the object. Thus the direction in which the object lies is laid down in seeing. Points which we look for above naturally appear on the lower part of the retina. What we see is not a speck on the lower part of the retina but a direction which, passing through a point on the lower part of the retina, turns our eyes up-

ward. To repeat, the picture which an outsider could see on the retina is not the object seen but is the function which performs the act of seeing in cooperation with other sensations, among them the sensed muscular motions of the eye.

The same is true of the interpretation. We do not feel the sensation but the sensation is the feeling itself and this sensation culminates in its interpretation. We look for the purpose of our sensation and have grown accustomed to think of this our aim upon which our sensation is concentrated. We are interested in the result and this flashes into consciousness. Here all our attention is concentrated. A number of subconscious states coalesce into a unit and this unit, this product of a number of physiological activities, is lit up by consciousness. The cooperation of a number of feelings creates a new unit. Our attention is not focused in the several parts but in their combination, which as such is called perception.

Thus the immediacy of perception is due to the origin of a higher unity, and the unity becomes conscious, not its several subconscious elements. We are here confronted with the complicated problem, one portion of which is the problem of the one and the many discussed in our recent little book on *Personality* (page 31 or 36).

It is a mistake which is met with quite frequently even in the philosophies of great thinkers, to look upon the elements of existence, or as in our present case the elements of perception alone, as actualities and to overlook the actuality of the unities which are produced by a combination of parts.

The truth is that these unities, and not the elements, are the actual facts. The elements are stable, they persist if a unity has been dissolved, but the unity is the actual thing and the living presence. A unity originates and passes away. It may reappear according to the laws of formation. Its nature is determined by the eternal laws of causation, and causation depends on the laws of form, static as well as dynamic. Hence the enormous significance of the laws of form which reveal to us the nature of becoming and furnish us with the key to the explanation of the world problem.

Mr. Bond condemns the theory that perceptions are projected into the world of space, and as he means it he is right. There is an interpretation superadded to sensation and this interpretation is immediately perceived. It appears as the result of sensation in

jecting our interpretation of retinal sensations into the outside world, physiologists and philosophers make use of figurative speech which is quite allowable, for our interpretation locates the cause of certain sensations in outside space, and we may very well call this operation a projection.

Mr. Bond concentrates his attention mainly upon the interpretation of vision, as in the meaning of printed pages when read. We actually read the sense and overlook or rather neglect the elements from which sense originates, and here again the real explanation must be found in the significance of the unity which is worked out in our interpreting the combined figures of letters, or figures of any kind. The problem of the one and the many, together with the significance of the origin of new unities by a combination of parts dimly followed by Plato and discussed with great vigor in his "Pythagoras," has a much greater significance than to our knowledge has ever been noted by any philosopher.

We sum up. Several sensations combine into a unity and this combination is the perception of a thing. Our attention is concentrated in the unity; while the details, the elements of the sensation and the parts of the thing are not specifically noted. Thus the thing itself, the result of a number of sensations, flashes up in consciousness in a wonderful immediacy; the object seen is the work of our own mind and it comes to us like a mysterious revelation, while the data from which we construct it, or, perhaps better, from which it rises, remain unobserved.

P. C.

MISCELLANEOUS.

DR. EDMUND MONTGOMERY.

Dr. Edmund Montgomery, the hermit philosopher, died April 17, 1911, at Liendo Plantation, near Hempstead, Texas, where he had passed a great part of his life, having sought there a peaceful home near to nature like so many other idealists after the fashion of the Brook Farm colony. His wife was the late Elizabet Ney, the artist, who retained her maiden name and was noted for her work in painting but especially in sculpture. She has left some valuable marbles, many of which now stand in her studio at Austin, Texas.

Dr. Montgomery was of Scotch extraction and birth, but he was educated in Germany where he studied medicine. He came to the United States in 1870,



LIENDO PLANTATION.

and led here a retired life in his Texas home. They lost one child in infancy while another son has grown up on the farm and is the father of a family of three children.

Dr. Montgomery has published a number of books, among which we will mention his recent and most extensive work, *Philosophical Problems in the Light of Vital Organization* (New York, Putnam's Sons, 1909), which has been carefully summarized by Mr. Charles Alva Lane in an article in *The Monist* of October, 1909; and his last volume *The Revelation of Present Experience* which the same writer has reviewed for the coming number of that quarterly (July, 1911). Not the least valuable of his thoughts have been con-

tributed to *The Monist* and *The Open Court* in the articles entitled: "Monism in Modern Philosophy and the Agnostic Attitude of Mind" (*Open Court*, I, 9, 37, 65); "Are we Products of Mind?" (*loc. cit.*, 423, 459, 480, 512, 587, 617); "Cope's Theology of Evolution" (*loc. cit.*, 160, 217, 274, 300); "Karl Theodor Bayrhafer and His System of Naturalistic Monism" (*loc. cit.*, II, 831, 865, 914, 934); "Psychical Monism" (*Monist*, II, 338); "Automatism and Spontaneity" (*Monist*, IV, 44); "To Be Alive, What Is It?" (*Monist*, V, 166); "Actual Experience" (*Monist*, IX, 359). The last of his contributions was a "Dialogue Between an Idealist and a Naturalist," which appeared in *The Monist* of January, 1909. For further references to his life see *Open Court*, I, 103, and *Monist*, XIX, 160 and 630.

Judge Reese was with Dr. Montgomery in his last hours, and other friends would have come if the letter of his faithful servant written in German could have been deciphered.

Mrs. Joseph B. Dibrell, wife of Judge Dibrell of the Texas Supreme Court and a friend of Elizabet Ney, sends us a photograph of the plantation house in which Dr. Montgomery lived and died, taken in August, 1908.

THE HISTORICITY OF JESUS AGAIN QUESTIONED.

Prof. William Benjamin Smith of Tulane University, New Orleans, is by profession a mathematician but by avocation a theologian. He is one of the best-informed men on New Testament criticism and he has come to the conclusion that Jesus never lived. Others have held the same view but reached their conclusion by other arguments. Professor Smith introduces modern methods and brings into the field a formidable array of critical theology. He could not find a publisher in the English speaking world for his first book *The Pre-Christian Jesus*, but he excited interest in his theory among personal acquaintances in Germany. Professor Schmiedel, an orthodox theologian, went so far as to encourage the publication of a German translation because he deemed it necessary to bring Smith's views broadly before the public so as to have them thoroughly refuted.

Professor Smith's theory caught fire in another German scholar, Arthur Drews, professor of philosophy at Karlsruhe, and strange to say Drews succeeded in attracting public attention where Smith had failed. He concentrated the interest of all Germany upon this new conception of Jesus as a humanized god and now Smith becomes better known even in his own country. Drews lectured before large audiences and entered into debates with his orthodox opponents. The dailies were filled with reports and the ecclesiastical government of the German states became alarmed. Finally he published his theory under the title *The Christ Myth* (English edition, London, T. Fisher Unwin).

In the meantime Professor Smith has written a second volume entitled *Ecce Deus* in which he takes the positive ground and shows that Jesus is originally a god and that all the stories reported in the Gospels will indicate the divinity of his character. It is typical for the Jew that he cannot accept a myth. Stories of gods are to him superstition. He humanizes the gods with whom he becomes acquainted. This can be seen in the stories of the Old Testament and this also is the character of the synoptic Gospels.

Professor Smith's second work shares the fate of the first one. It has appeared first in a German edition.

As Horace says, *Habent sua fata libelli*, "books have their destinies," but

among all the books there has scarcely been one heretofore which has had to appear in a foreign tongue before the author became known in his own country. When the original appears it will come to us after the world has become acquainted with its contents through a German version, and when published will make its appearance as if it were a translation.

Both books of Professor Smith, *Der vorchristliche Jesus* and *Ecce Deus*, can be ordered through the Open Court Publishing Company, 623-633 Wabash Ave., Chicago.

JONAH AND NINEVEH.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

A propos of your article "The Jonah Story" the following may be of interest to some readers. *Why is Jonah the hero of the book bearing his name?* The Jonah story, one of the later books of Hebrew literature according to its language and other reasons, is obviously a condemnation of narrow Jewish national hatred and patriotism as introduced by Ezra. To Jonah nothing is sweeter than the destruction of Nineveh, the great national enemy of Israel. But think of it, Yahveh, the national God of Israel, is merciful to the city. It is therefore significant that the author, who has embellished his parable with all kinds of wonderful elements, the fish story, the miraculous plant, Nineveh a city of three days journey, has chosen for the hero of his book a prophet mentioned in 2 Kings xiv. 25, who seems to have been a great patriot of the northern kingdom. The passage says that Jeroboam II restored "the border of Israel from Hamath to the sea of Arabah according to the word of Yahveh spoken by his servant Jonah, the son of Amittai, of Gath Hepher." As we know from the Old Testament, Hebrew prophets often played a great political rôle. From the little said in 2 Kings xiv (comp. rest of chapter), Jonah seems to have been one of those characters. This Israelitish Chauvinist is surely a well-chosen hero for the parable.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

While it is true that the book of Jonah forms an exception in the Old Testament on account of the breadth of its view, while it lacks the narrowness and chauvinism of the typical Jew, it must have been written by a Jew of the Dispersion who had broadened out into humanitarian sympathy in all respects. We do not believe that this is the outspoken tendency of the author, for it is nowhere especially emphasized, and while Jonah is indifferent to the faith of Nineveh, he bears no grudge toward the Ninevites on account of Israel's suffering through the old Assyrian kings. If the book had been written with this tendency of condemning narrow Judaism the idea would have been made more prominent. Therefore it seems that the book is simply the expression of the Jew living in the Dispersion, presumably living in Assyria, the country of which Nineveh is the capital. The story is probably located there because the original from which it is taken belonged to Assyrian folklore, and it seems more than likely that this Assyrian original made the prophet preach in the streets of Nineveh.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF HIGHER BUDDHISM. By *Timothy Richard, D.D.*.

ent volume consists of translations of these two works with introductions to each and a General Introduction to the whole. The former of these treatises together with its introductory material was published in Shanghai in 1907 and was reviewed at some length in a recent issue (April, 1911). Dr. Richard says his rendering is interpreted according to a standard Buddhist book, and claims that it harmonizes fully with Christian philosophy and religion. With regard to the second treatise he says: "I have to show that in *The Essence of the Lotus Scripture* as interpreted by Chinese and Japanese 'initiated' Buddhists (but not as by the enlarged version in Kern's translation in the *Sacred Books of the East*) we find the same teaching as in the Gospel of St. John in regard to Life, Light, and Love, a teaching which forms a wonderful bridge crossing the chasm between Eastern and Western religion and civilization."

This Christian missionary among Buddhist people has faith in a millenium when the world will unite in one system of religion, and to this end offers the present volume as a contribution. He says: "By following the interpretation of a standard work on *The Awakening of Faith* and by relying on the judgment of the 'initiated' as to the true teaching of the Lotus Scripture, Western readers will be in a better position to understand the vital connection between Christianity and Buddhism, and to pave the way for the one great world-wide religion of the future."

The Siepmann Modern Language Texts (published during 1910 by the MacMillan Company) are selections from the best German and French literature which have been edited by Otto Siepmann assisted in the case of the French texts by Eugene Pellissier. They are intended for use in schools and are of convenient size and excellent type. Each text contains sufficient material for two terms' work, and is interesting in its subject-matter, literary in style, practical and useful in its vocabulary and instructive with regard to the life and manners of the country to which it relates. Besides a short biography and critical introduction each volume is supplied with notes giving explanations of textual difficulties and obscure allusions in the text. The Elementary and some of the Advanced texts contain comprehensive vocabularies, and all are provided with Appendices offering lists of "Words and Phrases for *viva voce* Drill," "Sentences on Syntax and Idioms for *viva voce* Practice," and "Passages for Translation." Some are provided with lists of the irregular words used, some with instances of word formation, while the six Classical French Texts contain summaries of the chief grammatical peculiarities, and are to be studied not only from a philological but also from a literary and historical point of view.

The selection lying before us consists of (1) Elementary German Texts:

THE CHRIST MYTH

BY

ARTHUR DREWS, Ph.D.

Professor of Philosophy at Karlsruhe.

300 pages. Cloth, price \$2.25 net, post paid

THIS book is an able attempt to show that the origin of Christianity can be accounted for without the assumption of an historical Jesus. By a comparison of the myths current in the early Christian period with the Pauline Epistles and the Gospels the author reaches the conclusion that Jesus was not an historical figure but the suffering God of a Jewish sect, to whom the metaphysical speculation of St. Paul gave universal significance.

As a scientific and well-documented study in comparative religion the work is likely to be of much interest, even to those who are not able to accept the author's more extensive views.

"'Die Christusmythe,' by Arthur Drews, has stirred the heart of Protestant Germany and roused it into keen opposition. It is an essay in Christian mythology on lines similar to those followed in Mr. J. M. Robertson's 'Pagan Christs' and 'Christianity and Mythology.' Only faint echoes of the controversy which Drews has called forth have reached our shores, but with the appearance of an English version his book is not unlikely to become a storm center of Christian thought here as elsewhere. As an illustration of the importance of the 'Drews' controversy in Germany we may mention that large popular meetings have been held in various places at which the question 'Hat Jesus gelebt?' has been discussed by scholars of the first rank."—The Inquirer.

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BENTEN, THE JAPANESE GODDESS OF DIVINE LOVE.

From a relief preserved in the Field Museum. (See page 391.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XXV. (No. 7.)

JULY, 1911.

NO. 662

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THE FISH AS A MYSTIC SYMBOL IN CHINA AND JAPAN.

BY THE EDITOR.

CHINA is perhaps not as rich in folklore as India, for the Chinese are more prosaic and less poetic than other Asiatics; nevertheless the mystical significance of the fish appears as predominant here as in any other country, and the same must be said of Japan.

Professor Hirth publishes in his *Scraps from a Collector's Note Book*¹ an attractive picture which illustrates an episode of an ancient Chinese fairytale taken from the *Lieh sien chuan*. The story reminds us of Arion riding on a dolphin, the more so as the hero is a musician and his name K'in Kau, the first part of which means "lute."

The story goes that the king of the country had engaged K'in Kau as court musician on account of his musical talent, but in addition to his musical accomplishments the royal court musician indulged in some magic feats, among which his preference for living in the water is most noticeable. He used to swim the rivers of China and haunt the ocean. Finally he disappeared from his home and was no longer seen. His relatives and friends built a little temple by the riverside in memory of him, but how great was the general astonishment of the inhabitants when after 200 years K'in Kau returned by the riverside riding on a huge red carp. He carried a sword in his hand and a sun-hat on his back, tokens of his adventures and journeys in distant parts of the world.

It will not be difficult to recognize in K'in Kau a fairy-tale representation of the hero of resurrection and of life immortal. He

¹ Published by E. J. Brill, Leyden, 1905.

is the solar deity that disappears in the western ocean and after crossing the waters of the deep where lies the realm of the dead, returns in the east with undiminished vigor. Time does not affect him, and centuries are to him no more than so many hours to a mortal man.

The fate of K'in Kau reminds us of European fairy-tales. In the Greek story Arion is represented as a human being, a mortal



K'IN KAU ON THE RED CARP.

After a painting by Hwang Hau.

man, but when we consider that the story is a fairy-tale and originally an ancient myth, we shall not miss the meaning of it if we look upon him as a god, either Dionysus or Eros or a kindred deity that travels over the ocean on a fish.

The story of K'in Kau also reminds us of Rip van Winkle, who disappears for a long time but comes back and is astonished at the changes which in the meantime have occurred in the world.

Washington Irving incorporates in his story of Rip van Winkle the materials of those ancient German fairy-tales which are preserved in "The Sleeping Barbarossa," and also in the legend of the monk of Heisterbach who being alone in the woods one morning, forgot himself, the world and time in an ecstatic state of heavenly rapture, and lived as it were for a moment in eternity. When he



K'IN KAU ON THE RED CARP.
Sketch by Hokusai.

returned to his earthly existence, a century had elapsed and he found the conditions of the monastery in which he had stayed entirely changed.

The fairy-tale of K'in Kau is very popular in Eastern Asia, and it was quite natural that it traveled also to Japan where it has been illustrated by the famous Hokusai, who pictures K'in Kau on

a big carp which seems to swim through clouds, part of the fish being hidden in the fog.



KWAN-YIN ON THE FISH.

By Hokusai.

The same artist furnishes us with a beautiful picture of Kwan-yin on the fish. This divinity is a female form of Buddha which

originated in China. She is considered the divinity of mercy, charity, love and motherhood, so that her pictures are very similar in spirit to those of the Virgin Mary in Christianity. It is not



KWAN-YIN AND THE FISH.

In the Pei-lin at Singan-fu.

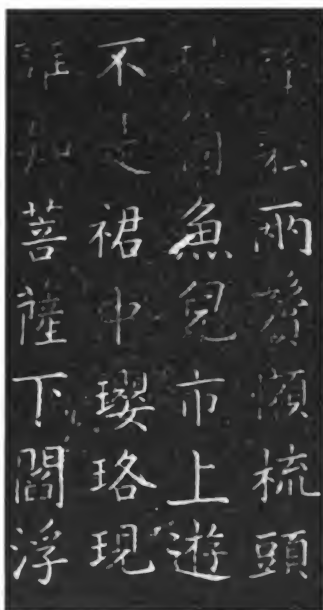
After a Chinese color-print.

impossible that the prototype of Kwan-yin is an ancient Chinese goddess who became thus transformed when Buddhism entered the country and changed its traditions. She is also claimed to be of Indian origin. That Kwan-yin is somehow connected with the fish

appears from the fact that dolphins sometimes ornament the pedestal of her statue and Hokusai paints her as riding on a fish.

Among the new acquisitions of the Field Museum of Natural History of Chicago,² we find several beautiful Kwan-yin figures of a special type, different from the Kwan-yin riding on the fish and representing her as a poor woman, without ornaments, carrying a fish to market.

A poem accompanies a picture of this figure which is preserved in the Museum Pei-lin of Singan-fu and dated 1451:



"Her hair dishevelled over the two temples, she is too easy-going to comb
 her hair;
 Holding a fish she goes to market.
 Not wearing her petticoat and her glittering necklace,
 Who would divine that it is a Bodhisatva descending on Jambudvipa (the
 universe)?"

Judging from the poem this goddess is regarded as a divine in-

² We here publicly express our thanks to the Field Museum of Natural History of Chicago for permission to utilize its new collection of Asiatic antiquities recently procured through Dr. Berthold Laufer, even before the objects have been catalogued; and also for the generous courtesy of supplying us with photographs of several monuments. The director, Mr. F. J. V. Skiff, as well as Dr. Laufer, have thereby rendered us no small and thoughtful help in our researches, and enabled us to render important material accessible to our readers.

carnation which unbeknown to mortal ken represents divinity on earth.

The frequency of Kwan-yin with the fish indicates what a favorite this peculiar goddess was, and she must have been a saviour in female form.

Among the seven popular gods of Japan the goddess of divine love Benten corresponds to this special conception of Kwan-yin and is practically identified with her. A beautiful carving of this goddess in high relief is preserved in the Field Museum. Here she is represented carrying a fish like Kwan-yin. (See our frontispiece.)

Another one of these seven gods of bliss (*Shichi Fukujin*) is always represented with rod and fish. Mr. Teitaro Suzuki in his article on "The Seven Gods of Bliss" (*Open Court*, XXI, 400) says of him: "Ebis—in spite of his name which means 'foreigner' or 'stranger'—is a thoroughly indigenous production of Japan. He belongs to the mythical age of Japanese history. He was the third child of Izanagi-no-Mikoto, the first mythical hero of Japan, and was the younger brother of the famous sun-goddess Amateras. He somehow incurred the displeasure of his elders and was expelled to the Western sea, where he spent his remaining life as a fisherman. Accordingly, he always wears an ancient Japanese court dress, carrying a fishing rod in his right hand and a large reddish braize under his left arm. This fish, which is zoologically known as *pagrus cardinalis* or *major*, is considered by the Japanese the most delicious provision on the table, and as indispensable at all important festivals as is turkey at an American Thanksgiving dinner."

Ebis appears usually in the company of Daikok, another of the seven jolly gods easily recognized by the money-dripping mallet in his hand. Mr. Suzuki says:

"Daikok may be said to be principally a patron of farmers, and Ebis of merchants and tradesmen. The birthday of Ebis which falls in November, is celebrated by the commercial people, especially the dry-goods dealers, by offering the public a special sale. Some think that any fancy needle work made of the material bought on Ebis day brings the owner good luck."

A drawing by Hokusai is characteristic of the influences which these divinities exercise upon Japan. It represents four of the gods of bliss. Ebis with the fish is uppermost at the right hand, while underneath we see Daikok who has just thrown his mantle over a carrot-like plant with two roots. It is a *daikong* (literally translated "horse radish") a typically Japanese plant, which is one of



THE SEVEN GODS OF BLISS.



DAIKOK.



EBIS.

Japanese medallion.



DAIKOK.



EBIS.

From photographs of impersonators.

the most popular of their vegetables. In English it is called the "gigantic Japanese radish."



FOUR GODS OF BLISS.

Another picture of four gods of the seven shows a carriage drawn by two dappled stags. Jurojin, the god of longevity, is the

charioteer and blows a big trumpet. Bishamon, the god of strength and wealth, gallantly helps the goddess Benten, the Japanese Venus, to enter the carriage. The god Ebis flies high in the air on his fish smiling with glee upon some poor fellows who are in desperate pursuit after good fortune. One of them is turned over in the blizzard, while the other one gesticulates wildly with his hands in despair at not being able to reach the god of luck. Everything typifies the spirit of good humor for which Ebis has been especially famous.

We add on the next page an illustration of a scene in Japanese



GODS OF BLISS AND LAUGHING CHILDREN.

By Hokusai.

folklore in which a ragged demon carrying a flask and a fish is accosted by a hungry friend of the animal world. We reproduce the picture from a collection of Hokusai's drawings but are unable to offer an explanation.

The figure of a carp is commonly used as a paper flag all over Japan denoting male heirs or boys.

We learn from an interesting essay by Berthold Laufer on "Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty" that during the Han period in China cooking-stoves were buried in the graves of the dead obviously with the same purpose as when the Egyptians painted all

kinds of refreshing meats and drinks on the walls of their funerary chambers. These pictorial supplies were intended to provide the



apparitions. Mr. Laufer says on the subject: "The burial of clay cooking-stoves in the imperial graves of the Han dynasty is expressly mentioned in the 'Annals of the Later Han Dynasty.' Two were used for the emperor, but there can be no doubt that they were then a favorite mortuary object also for all classes of people."



FUNERARY CLAY STOVES FOUND IN A TOMB OF THE HAN PERIOD.

But the peculiarity which causes these stoves to be of interest to us in connection with the fish appears in the fact that some of them bear on their top plain pictures of fishes. They may have no other intention than to indicate the food to be used by the spirit of the deceased, but they are evidence that fish was supposed to be an acceptable diet for the dead.

We may add in this connection that the fish was a favorite ornament in those days in ancient China. We reproduce here from the same source a bronze basin of the Han dynasty the inscription of which declares that this basin is dedicated to the memory of the teacher by his sons and grandsons of the third generation. The



BRONZE BASIN WITH THE DOUBLE FISH.

words of the inscription begin with the characters "great year"; then follows the date; further down the words "to the deceased master by the third round of sons and grandsons." The Chinese inscription in the corner explains the subject to be a "pair-of-fishes basin," and it is dated "Han dynasty Ch'u P'ing (i. e., First Peace Period), fifth year (194 A. D.)"

Here we see the fish used in connection with honor paid to the dead, and here too we find the fish doubled, in the same way as in the zodiac, in Indian scriptures and on Indian coins as well as frequently also in the Christian catacombs.

Another instance of the double fish pattern for funerary use has been found on a bronze mirror of the Sung period discovered in a grave of the Shantung province (Laufer, *op. cit.*, Plate LXXIII, No. 7). A. Volpert (*Anthropos*, Vol. III, p. 16) describes a number of mortuary stone chambers of the Han period and mentions that in one of them he saw two rows of fishes represented on the lower edge of the lateral stone slabs enclosing the coffin.



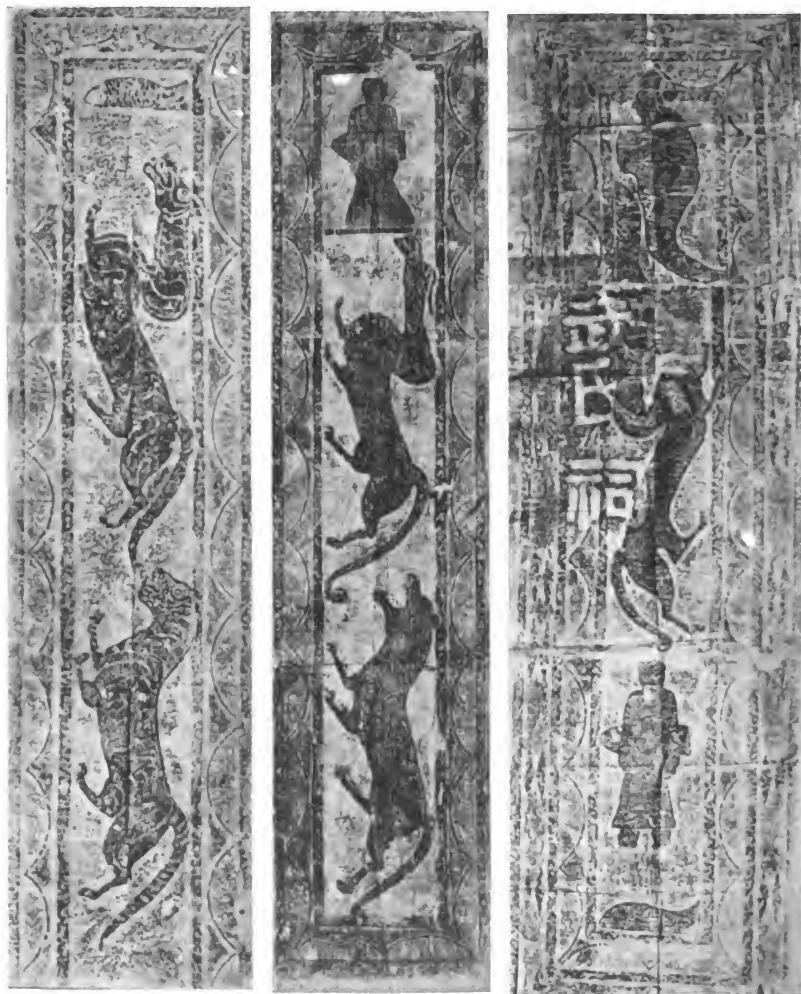
BRONZE VASE OF HAN PERIOD.

Concerning the fish as an ornament Dr. Laufer add as a footnote (*loc. cit.*): "The fish is indubitably one of the most ancient motives in Chinese art. I have here inserted a Han bronze vase after the *Hsi ch'ing ku chien* (Book 21, p. 19) called 'vase with wild ducks and fishes,' showing ducks holding eels in their bills, and others with fishes in front of them, besides rows of swimming fishes (probably carp) with tortoise interspersed."

We must remember that tortoises have a similar significance as the fish, being a common emblem of longevity. The same is true of birds of passage such as wild ducks, wild geese and wild

swans. I am unable to explain why some ducks are represented holding eels in their bills.

There are many more traces of mysterious fishes and fish sym-



THE FISH WITH MONSTER AND TIGER.

Three panels from monuments of the Han period.

bolis on the ancient monuments of the Middle Kingdom but the explanation of their meaning has in most instances been lost. Chavannes has published in his *La sculpture sur pierre en Chine* a great number of reproductions of ancient monuments and illustrations

to which we have no key. We find for instance a stone bas-relief illustrating an army of fishes going to war, thus presupposing the existence of a Chinese fish-epic which may have been a battle of the fishes corresponding to the Homeric Battle of the Frogs and Mice.

Other Chinese illustrations of the fish bear a close resemblance to European legends in which the fish symbolizes the sun. We must remember that according to the Babylonian and Hebrew world-conceptions the waters were divided into the waters above the firmament and the waters in the deep under the firmament. The former are the waters of the clouds, the source of rain and occasionally the cause of a deluge; the latter comprise the ocean and the waters below the earth coming forth in the form of springs. The sun-god passes through these waters either as a fish or in his barge. The sun-boat was known to both the Egyptians and Babylonians. In Greece and Rome the idea changes to a chariot or a wheel but we may assume that the idea of the sun as a fish is the older. This conception explains also why Oannes the Babylonian mediator between God and mankind appears as a fish emerging in the morning from the Erythrean sea in the East and descending in the evening into the Western Ocean.

The same legend must have existed in China although none such has been discovered and does not now seem to be extant. But we reproduce here from Chavannes² several panels which seem to bear witness to a similar myth. In one of them we see a monster in dragon form pursuing a fish and being in turn pursued by a tiger. Another panel shows the same combination except that the fish is held by a man. A third panel represents another scene of the same incident. It shows the dragon and the tiger running away in the other direction. Above the tiger floats a fish, while underneath we see the same man holding a fish and below him another fish. No explanation is given.

Are we not justified in identifying the fish here with the sun and may we not assume that the Chinese at a certain period of their mythical development were in possession of the same conception of the sun as a fish? In such a case the scenes on these panels would symbolize an eclipse just as German myths account for the same phenomena by saying that the sun is swallowed up by a wolf. This view is strengthened by another monument which pictures a similar monster turning against a man who holds in his hands a face representing the sun in a style very similar to that in which

² *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, 2 vols., Paris, 1909.



THE BATTLE OF THE FISHES.

The original is on a stone bas-relief of the Han dynasty forming part of the sepulchral chamber of the Wu family preserved in Shantung Province at the foot of the Wu-tse-shan. These sculptures may be dated roughly at about 150 A. D. The photograph has been made from an original rubbing taken from this bas-relief, in the Field Museum, and our attention has been called to it by Dr. Berthold Laufer of that institution. He writes: "The idea of the fish representing a warrior is, curiously enough, also expressed by a famous Confucian scholar of the later Han Dynasty, Ma Yung (79-166 A. D.) who interprets its scaly armor as a symbol of martial efficiency."

the sun is frequently pictured by prehistoric peoples in Mexico and other places.

Corresponding in China to the Babylonian Oannes who revealed to mankind the arts of writing, agriculture, and other means of



GRAVESTONE OF HAN DYNASTY.
Forming part of a mortuary chamber.

civilization, stands Fuh-Hi who is generally pictured with the mystic tablet containing the first symbols of the Yang and Yin, the mysteries of heaven and earth. It is a very strange coincidence, if not positively the indication of an historical connection, that this same Fuh-Hi together with his consort and retinue is pictured as posses-

sing a fish-tail. This monument appears in the same place as those mentioned before on the fourth stone in the rear compartment among many other strange figures and is here reproduced from the same



FUH-HI AND NÜ-WA WITH FISH-TAILS, ACCOMPANIED BY FISH-TAILED RETAINERS.

After Chavannes.

source. Fuh-Hi's connection with the water further appears from the fact that the writings which he reveals to mankind are carried



THE DRAGON HORSE WITH THE MAP.



THE DRAGON HORSE WITH THE SCROLL.

by a tortoise emerging from the waters of the Ho,⁴ and that the dragon-horse which bore the mystic tablet rose from the same river.

The dragon-horse (*Lung Ma*) is also called a hornless dragon

⁴Yellow River or Huang-Ho, commonly known as Ho which means the river.

and among the dragon tribe it is said to be the most honored one, the Yellow Dragon. Yellow has become the imperial color in the course of history, presumably because it was the color of the Buddhist monks who came dressed in yellow robes. And the mysterious animal that brought to Fuh-Hi the elements of writing came from



MONSTER APE WITH FISH AND MAN.

From a bas-relief of the Han Dynasty after Chavannes.

the Yellow River. The elements of writing are sometimes said to be written on a scroll, sometimes on a map or tablet and we here offer two illustrations representing both interpretations. We must bear in mind that the interpretations are more recent and the original tradition simply insisted on a divine revelation which Fuh-Hi received through supernatural animals.

From other monuments we here reproduce from the same source a very strange illustration for which no explanation is offered. It shows a savage ape in the center with a man on his right hand and a fish on his left.

The fish figures also among the Chinese symbols of good luck, and besides the single fish we find the double fish and also the twin fish. The double fish is frequently used as an artistic ornament,



THE DOUBLE FISH AS ORNAMENT.

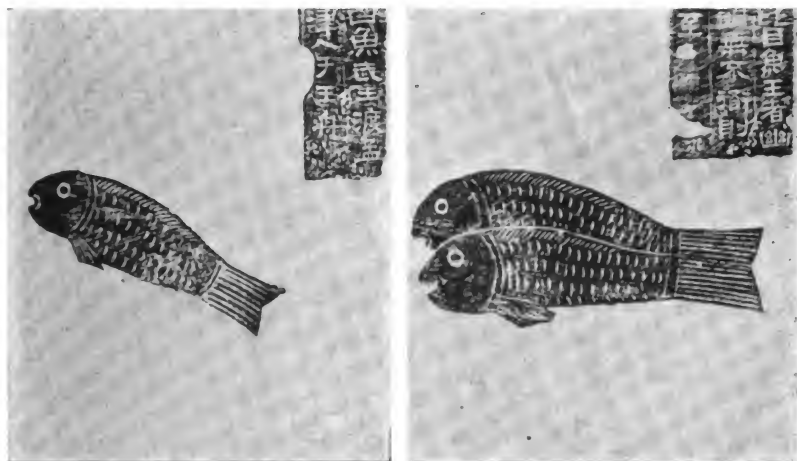
From *Fang shih mo pu* (1588), in the possession of Dr. Laufer.

for a religious symbol originally used for protection naturally changes little by little into a purely ornamental design. This is true of the cross in Christianity, of the swastika, of the solar wheel so frequent in prehistoric monuments, especially in Mycenae, and of other symbols. We reproduce here a design taken from a Chinese book in the possession of Dr. Berthold Laufer which shows the double fish moving playfully in the water among fish green. The design in this case is apparently artistic but the position of the

double fish is the same that we find in funerary offerings and also in the pictures of the constellation Pisces.

Dr. Laufer informs us that the fish has become the symbol of harmony and marital union. The idea is based on the observation that the fish can live only in the water and is therefore in harmony with that element (expressed by the phrases *yü shui hsiang ho*, "the mutual harmony of the fish and the water," or *yü shui ho huan*, "fish and water are happy in their union").

Different from the double fish is the twin fish which is peculiar to China. The double fish has made its way from Babylon over Europe into the symbols of modern astronomy, but the twin fish



THE FISH A LUCKY OMEN.

THE TWIN FISH A LUCKY OMEN.

Nos. 96 and 97 of Chavannes, Plate XLVIII, entitled *Les objets merveilleux de bon augure, d'après le Kin che souo*.

together with other twin formations, a twin duck, other twin birds, a twin horse, etc., are not found elsewhere so far as we know.

The fish as a good omen appears with one special application in the shape of a carp jumping up a cataract, referring to the passing of a government examination. Such illustrations are sent to the successful candidate as congratulations. Dr. Laufer sends us the following explicit explanation:

"A frequent subject in Chinese and Japanese art is a carp attempting to swim against a stream or to jump over a waterfall. This originally goes back to the ancient legend that the sturgeons ascend the Yellow River in the third month of each year and those among them which succeed in passing over the rapids of the Dragon-

Gate (*Lung-men*) become transformed into dragons. It is obvious that this notion sprang from the name of the Dragon-Gate; it is usually understood in a figurative sense for successful graduation at the literary examination. The young student is looked upon as a fish who after passing the cataract of the examination becomes a dragon, as in the good old times the German freshman, or fox, was called an ass and became promoted to the title of horse in his



JUMPING THE FALLS.

Chinese symbol of an examination. From *Fang shih mo pu*, in the possession of Dr. Laufer.

capacity of *Bursch* as a full-fledged university student. A picture of a carp trying to jump the fall, presented to the assiduous young scholar, accordingly implies the wish, 'may you succeed and prosper in the competitive examinations!' The fish is therefore, in this case, the symbol of diligent perseverance and endurance."

Other interesting information concerning the fish has been communicated to us by Dr. Laufer. He says: "There are several ref-

erences in Chinese literature to written messages that have been found in the bellies of fishes. In an ancient song it is said: 'A stranger having come from afar has presented me with two carps. I bade my servant cook them and, lo! a letter written on silk is discovered in them.' Hence expressions like 'fish-document,' 'pair of fish' or 'pair of carp' have come to assume the meaning of letter. An emperor of the Han dynasty when hunting in his park once killed a wild goose to whose foot a piece of cloth was attached, containing the words, 'Su-Wu and his companions are away in a certain marsh.' At once messengers were despatched to the Hiung-nu and the prisoners believed dead were released.' Hence the origin of the phrase *yü yen wang lai*, 'the coming and going of fish and goose,' meaning the same as correspondence.

"The faculty of knowing man's heart is attributed to fish. Kiang T'ai Kung was a virtuous statesman living in the twelfth century B. C., and his virtue was even acknowledged by the fishes for which he angled. Though he had the eccentric habit of angling with a straight iron rod without bait, thus offering no inducement to the fishes, they were attracted simply by his virtue and voluntarily impaled themselves on his hook. This has given rise to the familiar saying: 'Kiang T'ai Kung is fishing—only those that are willing are taken,' employed as illustration of spontaneity of action. He is supposed to have sat on his fishing perch in entire disregard of the entreaties of the numerous ministers of State who begged him to come down and become engaged in political affairs. Hence the proverb: 'See him seated on his fishing-terrace, he will not move,' which is said of one who takes no interest in an affair. He did not come down until the king himself besought him and then he exchanged the straight rod for the staff of civil office. (A. H. Smith, *Proverbs from the Chinese*, p. 94).

"In regard to two celebrated beauties in Chinese history it is recorded that they washed clothes by the river-side, and that the fish, illuminated by the light of their resplendent countenances, were dazzled and sank to the bottom (A. H. Smith, *Proverbs and Common Sayings from the Chinese*, p. 122)."

In addition to the coincidences between Chinese monuments and western mythology we must include one more remarkable case, which is the combination of the fish and the bird. This reminds us of the goddess Astarte in Hierapolis with the two emblems, the fish and the dove, and we find the same combination in the catacombs where the fish is explained as a symbol of Christ and the dove either as the dove of peace sent out by Noah or as the Holy Ghost. The Chi-

nese bird used in conjunction with the fish is explained as the heron, but the position is very similar to that of the fish and dove as it appears in the *Roma Sotterranea*.⁵



鷺
魚
洗
和

此黃秋
金拓本
鵬雖未
見其能
而字畫
花紋工
秀如星
洵上品
也

永和三年造
鷺魚

THE BIRD AND THE FISH ON THE BOTTOM OF A BRONZE BASIN
DATED 138 A. D.

From a Chinese book in the possession of Dr. Laufer.

From a number of illustrative Chinese pictures we select one taken from a Chinese book entitled *Kin Shih So*, also in the possession of Dr. Laufer.

⁵ See "The Fish and the Dove," *The Open Court*, March, 1911.

The facts here presented prove that the fish was held in awe in Eastern Asia as well as in Europe, in Egypt and in ancient Babylon. In prehistoric times it possessed a religious sanctity. It was a symbol of immortality as which it is found in different styles in graves, and it is freely used as an emblem of good luck. Most popular, however, is its use in connection with the female Saviour who in one of its most favorite forms appears as a woman carrying a fish in a basket.

CLIMATIC CHANGES.

BY DR. J. R. GORRELL.

IS our climate becoming milder, and are our winters less severe? If so, what is the cause? There exists a consensus of opinion among close observers of meteorological conditions that there has been a perceptible change during the last fifty years. We may—they say—be unable to discover any difference from winter to winter, but a comparison of our late winters with the winters of 10, 20, 30, 40 and 50 years ago, appears to justify the belief that a gradual change is occurring in our climate.

There are those who believe that the artificial groves throughout Iowa and adjoining states, have contributed materially to raising the temperature during the winter months. It is no doubt true that the rigor of the winds has been lessened thereby, but as the absolute temperature is unaffected even by blizzards, it appears improbable that the groves have any effect on the climate. There are others who attribute our milder winters to thermal regions in space through which our solar system as a whole is passing. The solar system consisting of the sun, the planets—Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, Neptune—their Satellites, the Asteroids between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter, and all meteoric matter and comets that belong to our system, is rushing through space with a velocity of 39,600 miles an hour, and the direction is so near a straight line that it will require many millions of years to complete one revolution. It is therefore not impossible that the regions in space through which we have been passing during the last two, three, four or five decades, has had a higher temperature than that through which we passed before, because we may have approached nearer to some other sun in the sidereal system to which our solar system belongs. The grove theory is unsatisfactory, and the effect of our movement through space is naught else than speculation.

The heat of the surface of the earth and the atmosphere is

derived almost wholly from the sun. If the earth is a molten mass within, the heat from that source, in hot springs, geysers and volcanoes—if any of these have any connection with the central heat, which is improbable—is so small that it need not be considered in a discussion of climatic conditions and causes.

Some substances are transparent to light and heat that are opaque to heat without light. For example, if a pane of glass is held between the face and the sun, the heat passes through the glass and the face is burned. If the same pane is held between the face and an intensely hot cannon ball that is not incandescent, the glass acts as a perfect screen and no heat whatever is felt because the glass is opaque to dark heat.

John Tyndall was the first to call the attention of scientists to the fact that carbonic acid—carbon dioxide CO_2 —was partially opaque to dark heat, and to suggest its potency in producing a milder climate. The proportion of carbon dioxide now in the atmosphere is only about one-thirtieth per cent, but being opaque to dark heat it absorbs the heat of the earth that otherwise would be radiated into space, and thus acts as a blanket to keep the earth warm. The greater the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere the thicker becomes the blanket, and the more heat it absorbs. The other constituents of the atmosphere—oxygen and nitrogen—are transparent to dark heat, and would therefore permit the radiation of the heat of the earth into space, and the result would be a cold and lifeless planet.

Prior to the Carboniferous era all the carbon dioxide now stored in the coal measures of the earth (which consist of 200,000 square miles in China and Japan; 194,000 in the United States; 35,000 in India; 27,000 in Russia; 9000 in Great Britain; 3600 in Germany; 1800 in France; 1400 in Belgium, Spain and other countries, making a total of 471,800 square miles) was free in the atmosphere, and in consequence thereof there existed a tropical climate extending to the poles, as is indicated by the presence *only* of tropical plants in coal-measures. It is estimated that the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere during that period was from fifty to one hundred thousand times greater than the amount now in the atmosphere, and as a result of the warm moist climate there flourished during that geological era the most luxuriant growth of vegetation the earth has ever known, and the succeeding glacial period was the logical sequence of the withdrawal of the carbon dioxide from the atmosphere.

Prof. Joseph LeConte, in his *Elements of Geology*, says (page

617): "On account of its heat-absorbing properties, the carbon dioxide is vastly the most important element affecting the climate. It now only forms about one thousandth part of the atmosphere. With its thermal potency it will be seen that comparatively slight variation in the amount would produce great climatic effects. Physicists have long recognized this fact. It is believed that doubling the present small amount of carbon dioxide, would produce a mild climate to the poles, and that halving the present amount would bring on another glacial period."

The rapid increase in the consumption of coal, and the inevitable increase in the amount of carbon dioxide thrust into the atmosphere becomes apparent from the following facts: The consumption of coal in the United States in the year 1845, was four and one-half million tons; in the year 1864, twenty-two million tons; in the year 1874, fifty million tons; in the year 1884, one hundred and six million tons; in 1894, one hundred and fifty million tons; in 1899, two hundred and forty-three million tons. In Great Britain in the year 1845, there was consumed thirty-one million tons; in the year 1864, ninety million tons; in the year 1874, one hundred and twenty-five million tons; in 1884, one hundred and sixty million tons; in 1894, one hundred and sixty-four million tons; and in 1899, two hundred and ninety-five million tons. And the rate of increase in other countries—China and Japan, India, Russia, Germany, France, Spain, Belgium and Austria-Hungary—is approximately the same. There is at present a concurrence of opinion among the highest authorities that the world's supply of coal would probably last two or three centuries, but the rapidly increasing rate of consumption is becoming ominous. "The statements of former years that the supply of coal was inexhaustible were not only false and foolish, but pernicious."

The processes of combustion and respiration consume oxygen and liberate carbon dioxide and aqueous vapor. The incalculable combustion of coal and oil is gradually restoring to the atmosphere the hitherto confined carbon dioxide which when free produced a mild climate the world over, and will probably again create the same meteorological conditions of heat and moisture that existed during the Tertiary period—a tropical climate from pole to pole.

ON THE FOUNDATION AND TECHNIC OF ARITHMETIC.*

BY GEORGE BRUCE HALSTED.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF READING A NUMBER.

OUR marvelous positional notation for number is built of three elements, digit, base, column. The base it is which interprets the column. With base ten, 100 means a ten of tens. With base two, 100 means two twos. With base twelve, 100 means a dozen dozen.

The Romans had a base, or rather two bases, but neither digits nor columns. Their V is a trace of the more primitive base five, seen also in the Greek *πεντάζω*, to finger fit by fives, to count. This, combining with the more final base ten, X, explains their having a separate symbol, L, for fifty.

Their ten of tens has its unitary symbol, C, and their ten of hundreds is M, a thousand.

Each basal number is a new unit, an atom, a monad, a neomon, squeezing into an individual the components, making thus one ball to be further played with.

Our present basal number-word, hundred, is properly a collective noun, a hundred, literally a count or tale of a hundred; for its *red* is the root in German *Rede*, talk, and its *hund* is the Old English word, cognate with Latin *centum*, Greek *ἑκατόν*, to be found in Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, but seldom used after A. D. 1200.

The *Century Dictionary*, to which I may be forgiven for being attached, says *hund* is from the root of ten, and this idea leads it far, into the postulating of an assumed type *kanta* which it gives as a reduced form of an equally hypothetical *dakanta* for an assumed original *dakan-dakan-ta*, "ten-ten-th," from assumed *dakan*, on the analogy of the Gothic *taihun-taihund*, *taihun-tēhund*, a hundred, of

* Continuation of an article begun in the February *Open Court*.

which it regards *hund* as an abbreviation or reduced form. The same original elements, it says, without the suffix *d* = *th*, appear in Old High German *zehanzo* = Anglo-Saxon *teón-tig*, *ten-ty* = *ten-ten*.

The element *hund* occurring in the Anglo-Saxon *hund-seofontig*, seventy, etc., *hund-endlefontig*, eleventy, *hund-twelftig*, twelfty, it gives as representing "ten" or "tenth," and these words as developed by cumulation (*hund* and *tig* being ultimately from the same root, that of "ten") from the theoretically assumed *hund-seofon*, "tenth seven," etc. Murray is not well persuaded of all this, and says there is no satisfactory explanation of the use of *hund* in these Anglo-Saxon words.

For myself, even if the root of *hund* be that of ten, I can well conceive that *hund* should mean hundred without any first hypothetically postulated and hypothetically worn-away reduplication. Have we ourselves not "million," a simple augmentative of *mille*, a thousand?

Nor is the reduplication theory consonant with the fact that in Old Norse the word *hundrað*, "hundred," "tentale," originally meant 120; it was a tentale not of tens but of dozens, the rival base twelve, against which the bestial base ten, an Old-Man-of-the-Sea saddled upon us by our prehuman simian ancestors, has been continuously fighting down to this very day. And even in modern English remnants of this older usage remain. The *Glasgow Herald* of Sept. 13, 1886, says: "A mease [of herring] . . . is five hundreds of 120 each."

Chambers Cyclopædia says: "Deal boards are six score to the hundred."

This hundred was legal for balks, deals, eggs, spars, stone, etc.

Peacock, in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, I, 381, says: "The technical meaning attached by merchants to the word 'hundred,' associated with certain objects, was six score—a usage which is commemorated in the popular distich:

"Five score of men, money, and pins,
Six score of all other things."

All this abundantly proves that hundred is very far from being a simple numeral adjective, like, e. g., seventy; so that while we properly say seventy-five, to say a hundred-five is a hideous blunder.

Hundred is strictly not an adjective at all, but a collective noun; it is always preceded by a definitive, usually an article or

a numeral, and if followed by a numeral, this must invariably be preceded by the word "and."

A following noun is, historically, a genitive partitive, in Old English a genitive plural, later a plural preceded by "of." Thus 1663, Gerbier, *Counsel*, "About one hundred of Leagues." Hale (1668): "These many hundred of years." Cowper (1782) *Loss of Royal George*: "Eight hundred of the brave." To-day: "A hundred of my friends," "A hundred of bricks," "Some hundreds of men were present." [Murray].

Even if there be an ellipsis of "of" before the noun, the word hundred retains its substantival character so far as to be always preceded by "a" or some adjective. Compare "dozen," which has precisely parallel constructions, e. g., "a dozen of eggs." Hooke (1665): "A hundred and twenty five thousand times bigger." Murray's *Dictionary* (1901) gives as model modern English: "Mod. The hundred and one odd chances." Again it says: "c. The cardinal form *hundred* is also used as an ordinal when followed by other numbers, the last of which alone takes the ordinal form: e. g., 'the hundred-and-first,' 'the hundred-and-twentieth,' 'the six-hundred-and-fortieth part of a square mile.'" Gould Brown, *The Grammar of English Grammars*: "Four hundred and fiftieth."

All this furnishes complete explanation and warranty of the "and" which must always separate "hundred" from a following numeral. It marks a complete change of construction: "a hundred of leagues and three leagues"; "a hundred and three leagues." This fine English usage is unbroken throughout the centuries. Thus, Byrhtferth's *Handboc* (about 1050): "twa hundred & tyn"; Cursor Ms. 8886 (before 1300): "O quens had he [Solomon] hundrets seuen." *Myrr. our Ladye* (1450-1530) 309:

"Twyse syxe tymes ten, that ys to a hundereth and twenty."

Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Deacon's Masterpiece":

"Seventeen hundred and fifty-five.

Georgius Secundus was then alive,—

Snuffy old drone from the German hive."

The *London Times* of Febr. 20, 1885: "The hundred and one forms of small craft used by the Chinese to gain an honest livelihood."

The new *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Edition, 1911, Vol. 2, p. 523: "Thus we speak of one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six, and represent it by MDCCCLXXVI or 1876." Again, p. 526: "A set of written symbols is sometimes read in more than one way.

Thus 1820 might be read as *one thousand eight hundred and twenty* if it represented a number of men, but it would be read as *eighteen hundred and twenty* if it represented a year of the Christian era."

Though all the numerals up to a hundred belong in common to all the Indo-European languages, the word thousand is found only in the Teutonic and Slavonic languages, and maybe the Slavs borrowed the word in prehistoric times from the Teutons.

Very naturally thousand is construed precisely like hundred: "Land on him like a thousand of brick"; "The Thousand and One Nights."

And just so it is with that marvelous makeshift *million*, "big thousand," Old French augmentative of Latin *mille*, a thousand. Says Piers Plowman (A), III, 255:

"Coneyte not his goodes
For millions of moneye."

And the divine Shakespeare:

"Or may we cram
Within this wooden O the very casques
That did affright the air at Agincourt?
O, pardon! since a crooked figure may
Attest, in little place, a million!
And let us, ciphers to this great accompt,
On your imaginary forces work."

"Thus, we say six million three hundred and twenty thousand four hundred and thirty-six" [Whitney's *Essentials of English Grammar*, p. 94], which does not at all militate against our reading 10033 to the telephone girl as "one, double oh, double three." The word which specifies the local value of the digit is best omitted when this local value is unimportant or is otherwise determined. The date 1911 read "nineteen eleven." The approximation $\pi = 3.14159265$ read "*pi* is nearly equal to three, point, one, four, one, five, nine, two, six, five." Here, as in all decimals, the "point" fixes the local value of every subsequent digit.

The country schoolmaster's use of "and" solely to indicate the decimal point is not merely bad form and stupid; it is criminal. It introduces a completely unnecessary ambiguity, doubt, anxiety into the understanding even of oral whole numbers, since she (if it be a country schoolma'am who is reading them out) may end with a wretched fractional, such as hundredths, a retro-active dampener over all that has preceded it.

When that most spectacular of Frenchmen, who, like so many

great Frenchmen, was an Italian, witness Mazarin, Lagrange, etc.,—when the comparatively unlettered Corsican, Napoleon, sat upon his white horse at a German jubilee while an official opened at him an address of felicitation, the great Captain began to be puzzled at the silent strained attention of those listeners who were supposed to understand the German speech. He whispered to his aide, "Why do they not applaud?" "Sire," was the answer, "on attend le verbe." Just so when the country schoolmaster reads a number, one awaits the fractional!

ALBRECHT DUERER AND THE FREEMASONS.¹

BY W. P. TUCKERMANN.

HOW many blossoms of medieval culture have faded and disappeared, choked out by the Italian Renaissance! It is probable that their memory found an echo here and there as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century and the Thirty Years' War, but the devastation of Germany which that struggle occasioned swept away every trace of the old culture, so that those who wish to study the earlier period must grope their way as painfully as antiquarians elsewhere. A promising field for investigation is furnished by Albrecht Dürer's copper-engravings, etchings and woodcuts, which in addition to their other great merits in the faithful portrayal of the life of his time have caught and handed on to us many old traditions. Real mines of information are Dürer's mystically symbolic copper-plates, "which have always been treasured and admired—to-day more than ever—although their meaning has remained an unsolved problem."² Of these puzzling will-o'-the-wisps the most important is the one entitled "Melancholy," which was formerly considered the first picture in a cycle representing the various moods of the soul, but which now, viewed in the light of the Nuremberg developments, is seen to be an exposition of the now completely forgotten medieval freemasonry.

What the freemason lodges, those romantically mysterious guilds of builders with patrons and honorary colleagues, accomplished from the earliest Middle Ages in the construction of the great Gothic cathedrals of France, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and other countries, is everywhere known and admired; but names, organizations, technical and ethical teachings, the content of their secrets, have remained secret or have been forgotten. Yet their

¹ Translated from the German by R. T. House.

² Moritz Thausing, *Dürer*.

operations can be traced in England until far into the sixteenth century, and in Germany to the end of the fifteenth century, as it is known that in Strassburg, in 1498, Emperor Maximilian I gave the German lodges whose patron and honorary brother he was, a new organization, charter and coat of arms. The years from 1439 to 1477 were occupied in the construction of the choir of the church of St. Lorenz in Nuremberg, with its rich, artistic Gothic vaulted roof; and when we remember the dates of Dürer's birth and death, 1471 and 1528, the figures fit together so well that the probabilities seem to point to Dürer's personal contact with the Nuremberg fraternity and his knowledge of their teachings; and a closer examination of his engraving "Melancholy" will show very clearly that he is enforcing the ethical doctrines of freemasonry by the use of the conventional symbolic formulas.

Symbolism, that double form of expression, having a naive and innocent form for the larger public and a hidden meaning for the intelligent initiated, is well known to have been the resource of the medieval freethinking teacher who was forced to pick his way with the utmost care among the rocks of the Inquisition. Victor Hugo calls the images on the portals of Notre Dame the "freedom of the press" of that epoch. It was natural that the architects, sculptors and painters of the Middle Ages, in their criticisms and satires directed at social evils, should have shielded themselves from the church, which, moreover, employed symbolism in the promulgation of her own mystic dogmas. Hence it is that Dürer avails himself of this stratagem in the promulgation of his humanistic ideas by his drawings, which were sold at the fairs under the inquisitorial eye of the church; although the church, in spite of her severe punishment of humanistic activities, was unable to prevent the public appearance of the Reformation in Nuremberg after the year 1524.

Humanism involved a revival of Platonism and the hope of an assimilation of the antique with the Christian view of life—a fusion which after the destruction of Byzantium was advocated especially by the Greek scholars who had removed to Italy and by the secret societies founded by them and termed Platonic Academies. But at even an earlier date the contagious doctrines of Greek philosophy had permeated the Masonic teachings and given them their ethical content, as can be inferred, among other reasons, from the fact that the great Aristotelian Albertus Magnus was a member of the lodge in Cologne. Thus these two secret organizations, the academies and the masonic lodges, are united in the pursuit of the moral development of mankind, and seek this end in a fraternity which

has freed itself from church supervision. During Dürer's stay in Italy as a student in 1505, which took him to Bologna, he undoubtedly made the acquaintance of the academies there, as appears clearly from copper-plates like "Great and Little Fortune." On the other hand, in view of his extensive knowledge of mathematics and engineering he must have been associated with the Nuremberg lodge, and was probably even a member of it. That he publicly handled the ethical doctrines of the latter, which through their agreement with teachings of the humanists were already known to a large circle of the uninitiated, in the regular symbolic language, indicates that the most severely kept secrets in the lodge were not these teachings, but some ritual which is known no longer.

When we examine the picture of Melancholy in a purely objective fashion, we come to the conclusion, from a view of the most elevated figure, that of the writing angel, that the theme is some divine command which this being is communicating, a revelation or an ethical teaching. The content of the latter is drastically brought out, as always with Dürer, by a sharp contrast, the contrast in this case between the lower material handicraft and the higher symbolic labor, so that in the arrangement of figures the former is placed on a lower level, the latter on an elevated platform. On this level appears the prominent figure of the whole picture, a genius with mighty wings, much larger than the little angel, who in accordance with the old symbolism is represented as a small winged child. The leading figure is a woman in rich festal attire, a garland on her loosened hair, her head supported thoughtfully on her left arm. Her right arm rests on a book, probably the Bible, and in her right hand she holds an open pair of ornamented compasses with which she is drawing figures on the tablet on her knees suggested by the form into which her skirt is drawn. Humanistically interpreted, this genius is the personification of some virtue operating with the writing angel, and the use of the compasses suggests the activity of the masons. The explanation is given added weight by the polygonal structure with the ladder and the great building-stone leaning against it. But all this does not mean the completion of the work; it has only symbolic significance. In this the three great Platonic virtues, beauty, wisdom and strength, play a leading part as the means to human perfection—just as Raphael, for instance, treats them in the *Segnatura*—and are here evident as the content of the three main elements in the picture. First the angel, who sits on a round stone hung with a rich fringed cover, symbolizes wisdom because he is the means of divine revelation. At his left the

great winged genius, the prominent person in the picture, is Beauty. In her is symbolically represented the main interest of the fraternity; she is their guide and adviser, who teaches them to handle the compasses in the production of beautiful architectural figures.



MELANCHOLY.

Copper engraving by Albrecht Dürer, 1514.

Finally, at the right of Wisdom, Strength is represented, not in a personification, but by an indication of the result, by a symbolizing of labor as the principal object of the effective Masonic lodge. This lesson is taught by the great, many-sided building-stone, with the shaping-hammer at its side, the conventional symbol of labor. The

logical conclusion of this ethical teaching is the landscape in the background, with a sun breaking forth from rain-clouds and a diabolical creature who has no place in the calm scene and who is hastening to leave it, bearing a sign which labels him Melancholy.

This sad attitude of soul, which would to-day be called pessimism, is ascribed only to the fleeing, banished devil, not to the genius of Beauty—serious as this personage, in common with Dürer's characters in general, appears—nor to the picture as a whole, which is thus wrongly named. This general characterization of the engraving as the ethical content of freemasonry is borne out by the symbolic additions. In the first place it is significant that exactly over the angel on the outer wall of the polygonal structure the scales are hung, the well-known symbol for the judgment of the world and divine justice. This arrangement therefore characterizes the polygonal structure as a temple, the symbol for the perfection of all humanity.

Only two faces of the building are represented, before whose broader front sits the genius of Beauty. Beauty, according to the Platonic conception, is moderation and harmony of the soul; in technical masonry it is rhythm in architectural proportions. This genius has a secret to guard, as is indicated by the bunch of keys and the bag suspended from her girdle. The subject of the secret is indicated again by the articles on the temple wall, especially the hour-glass, the symbol of our fast fleeting life and the careful valuing of earthly and heavenly goods. On the dial above the hour-glass the hand stands between the figures 3 and 4, which can be distinctly seen with a magnifying glass. These two numbers play an important part in the figure that follows, which is a so-called magic square,—hung up likewise on the temple wall, and reading 34 in every direction.

16	3	2	13
5	10	11	8
9	6	7	12
4	15	14	1

If the reader will make the trial with the numbers from 1 to 16 written in the sixteen squares he will be astonished at the result. The same sum, 34, is obtained not only in the horizontal and vertical rows, but also in the diagonals, in the four smaller squares, in the middle square, etc. In the symbolism of numbers 3 is the number of completeness and 4 indicates the extension of space in four direc-

tions, to the right, to the left, upward and downward. Hence 4 is the symbol for the world and the house, moreover for the masonic lodge and the masonic fraternity. If these symbols are combined with the bell symbol above, the meaning is this, and may be put in the mouth of the genius as follows: "Here sits the genius of Beauty, whose efforts are directed toward securing harmony between God and the world, and in view of the transitory nature of life she invites an active interest in the symbolic temple structure, which represents a perfected world."

All these explanations are taken from well-known works on Christian symbolism and the symbols of the old Christian catacombs. The seven-runged ladder also, which leads into the temple, has its significance, as have the surfaces of the great building stone. We must assume that Dürer, the accurate draughtsman, has made a correct picture; and in fact any one who goes scientifically to work to secure the projections of this stone will be surprised at the many conclusions to be derived from a study of this traditional piece of apprentice-work. One surface is an equilateral triangle, another a regular pentagon, two are trapezoids and two irregular pentagons. An architect acquainted with old buildings recognizes the block as the keystone for the vaulted ceiling of a six-sided cloister room, a chapel with a round apse in which belongs the flat circular stone, whose center where the altar stands is cut with a double opening, all with symbolic significance. The keystone is to be so placed that the triangular side comes underneath, with the point toward the altar and the base toward the entrance. It is easy to reconstruct such a building, and the result opens up a wonderful perspective into some as yet unknown connection between the masons and the Templars, the order which was destroyed in 1313 and whose prototype for all their chapel structures is just the plan we have described. One more symbol is to be mentioned, the melting-pot which stands beside the stone, burning vigorously and ready to fuse the lead. This symbol is unknown elsewhere but can reasonably be assumed to indicate the Brotherhood fused together in love, as the clamps and braces are leaded and secured by the help of the flame.

We have already spoken of the landscape in the background, but we must add that there is no evidence of a comet, as some commentators insist; it is the sun breaking through rain-clouds and sending out somewhat exaggerated beams. If it were not the sun the rainbow could not be where it is, seen by the spectator with his back to the sun, so that he looks out of the picture. According to the old Christian symbolism the rainbow is a sign of peace and the

covenant between God and men. When this alliance with the Most High is perfected, the batlike, nocturnal devil's imp, Melancholy, flees from the temple and the scene. On the label there appears after the word which has led to so mistaken a conclusion, a figure 1 or an *i*. The scholars who insist on a series of four pictures dealing with moods of the soul, considered this drawing the first because they read a 1; but if it is the letter *i*, it indicates an abbreviated Latin word, appropriate to the general tone of the picture, for example *iacet*. Then it reads "Melancholia iacet," Melancholy falls in defeat or flees, which indicates the thought of the picture as a whole. Now if the old interpretation of the engraving, which makes the great winged genius the personification of Melancholy, is abandoned, and the new one accepted, the meaning of the articles scattered about on the ground is clear. They are the carelessly dropped, as it were discarded, tools of the trade at the feet of the winged genius, just as in Raphael's celebrated picture, Saint Cecilia discards the musical instruments which seem to her inadequate.

In contrast to the higher symbolic spiritual implements, these tools, pliers, beveling tool, plumb line, plane, iron band, saw and nails, represent incompleteness. But among them we see the sleeping dog, the ball, and an article which is not absolutely clear, but which is perhaps a vessel for incense. The dog, who lies very significantly under the round altar-stone, represents in Christian symbolism, on account of his watchfulness and fidelity, the priestly order, as is indicated by the phrase *Domini canes*. When this order disregards its duty and, like the dog here, falls asleep, it belongs among the discarded tools and gives the laity who constitute the masonic fraternity the right to open communication with the Most High without clerical mediation. As a pendant to this could not the article lying near, an unused incense-vessel, the symbol for the prayers which are pleasing to God, indicate that this vessel, belonging to the priesthood, is also discarded and that in its place we have the loving alliance of those who seek perfection through their own efforts, symbolized by the melting-pot? The ball, elsewhere a mathematical sign of completeness, here standing for the earth, is probably also a symbol of earthly imperfection, in view of which the flight into purer regions of the spirit seems all the more necessary.

Many scholars undervalue Dürer's inventive independence. Thus we read in Dohne's *Kunst und Künstler*: "There is no reason for imputing profound thoughts to him; Dürer was no nineteenth

century philosophical thinker, but his was a genuine artist-nature, and in works like 'Melancholy,' 'Nemesis,' and others, we may be sure that he was working under the orders of learned patrons." Who of the Nuremberg humanists—Pirkheimer perhaps, or the town-clerk Lazarus Spengler—could have coupled with his philosophical training so intimate a knowledge of the practical demands of stonemasonry? It is just here that we have an evidence of Dürer's peculiar nature, which this ethically symbolic material, appealing to his mystic bent, fitted exactly. Hence this profound artist-philosopher, who sought to train his contemporaries in wisdom and beauty to strength, becomes for us a still far from exhausted source of the highest pleasure and the noblest teaching.

AN ORTHODOX CRITIC.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN reviewing *The Pleroma*¹ in the *Princeton Theological Review* of April, 1911, a very courteous but hostile critic, the Rev. Gordon M. Russell of Crawford, New Jersey, makes the following comment:

"The works of the author of this essay, and many of the other publications of the Open Court Company are not, as they claim to be, and no doubt honestly strive to be, merely unprejudiced scientific investigations in the field of Comparative Religion. They are part of a great modern propaganda. They voice the demand that all religions are to be explained as evolutionary in origin, natural in development and similar in aim and authority. Of course, they take for granted at the outset that the peculiar activity of the Supernatural in history and revelation as it has been claimed to be manifested in the Bible does not exist and never was so manifested.

We do not deny making a propaganda, but it certainly is exactly our intention to be unprejudiced and scientific. As to the term "supernatural" we must say that it is a word which has been frequently misused. The question is, what is natural and what supernatural. If we understand by "natural," lower nature, the purely physical and material, we must grant that man's spirit develops from the natural and reaches from the physical into a spiritual sphere which is a kind of supernatural. The term "supernatural" is justified for all those conditions which range above purely physical existence. The mathematician knows that mathematical truths, the theorems of geometry, arithmetic and logic, are above material existence. They are literally supernatural, for they apply equally to any kind of nature. In this sense we have pleaded that mathematical truths have a just title to be called supernatural. This supernatural element pervades all nature in the same way that God is believed to be omnipresent. In fact we go one step farther and

¹ Paul Carus, *The Pleroma*. Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Co., 1909.

claim that the mathematical truths, including logic and arithmetic, are part and parcel of God.

We make this statement to indicate that in our propaganda we do not take a onesided view but incorporate traditional conceptions into the world-conception of modern science. We see that the old contains many truths, but what dogmatism formulates in allegories and symbols condensed in the symbolical books as confessions of faith, we trace in the laws of nature as formulated by science.

Our kind critic continues, and here lies the main difference between his views and ours:

"Before considering in detail this essay we must therefore remember the fundamental position which underlies the author's work when he begins by denying as impossible one of the chief claims of Christianity, the immediate supernatural personal revelation of God to men chosen to receive this, and then adds to it the denial of another doctrine also everywhere insisted upon in the Scriptures, that the inspiration of the Bible is peculiar to itself and that therefore Christianity and Christianity *alone* is a true statement of the relation of God and man and of the unseen world as well. When these denials are postulated it no longer becomes possible to have a really scientific investigation to determine the truth of the religion of Christ. Should such an investigation be commenced, it should take note of these claims; and instead of utterly disregarding them or considering them as no longer anywhere believed, it should carefully investigate them, weighing the evidence pro and con. In this way it would be necessary to consider not only the origin of each religion and its similarity to others but also its effects and to judge whether, in the light of the influence of Christianity upon the individual and the race, there was not required a sharp distinction between it and all others, between its sacred writings and the sacred books of all the other race religions."

Although we do not deny an immediate and constant revelation of the world power above and within us that makes for righteousness, although we recognize its spirit in Christianity, although we concede that "God" is an appropriate name for it, we do not see that it reveals itself in Christianity *alone*. We see its dispensation anywhere, and we affirm that it is broader and wider and higher than the traditional Christian conception of God. In recognizing the truth that is in others, I do not see that the adherents of any one religion suffer thereby in any way. When Christians broaden by comparing their own spiritual treasures with the noblest thoughts of pagan sages they shall certainly not lose the divineness of their own.

All further criticisms raised by Mr. Russell are in questions of detail which ought to be decided by historical investigation. For instance in denying that Christianity owes more to paganism than to the Jews and that many ceremonies, and among them the idea

of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Saviour, are directly opposed to Judaism, he says:

"The Communion Service or the Last Supper is strictly parallel to a Jewish feast, in complete harmony with the Passover ritual and not heathen in origin. Even the symbolism is connected with that of the paschal lamb. Also the difficulties raised here did not seem to trouble either the Christians or the Jews of the first century and therefore it is not reasonable to suppose that they are real."

And yet we do not eat for the Lord's Supper a paschal lamb, but partake of bread and wine, using the same kind of wafers and a eucharist cup as the Mithraists.

We need not enter into the several points on which we agree with this representative of dogmatic theology. It is natural that he would find the idea of a God-man in the Old Testament while we regard it as typically a pagan and anti-Jewish idea. The idea of a dying God who rises to life again is common to almost all pagan religions while the Jews have no trace of it and scorn the ceremony of women lamenting for Tammuz in the temple of Jerusalem. The Jews object to this doctrine just as Mohammed disclaims that God is a father, saying in apparent reproach of the Christians, that Allah is neither begetter nor begotten.

Our critic claims that the name Nazarenes originated in the meaning of followers of a man born in Nazareth, but this is scarcely tenable, and we need not here repeat our arguments. The same is true of the Ebionites or "the poor" and there is little need to discuss the passage on Mark xii. 35-37. Here Christ declares that the Messiah need not be the son of David because David himself calls the Messiah "Lord," and Jesus argues, How can a father call his son, Lord? thus implying that the Christ need not come from the family of David. It is true that later redactions of New Testament scriptures insert a genealogy of Jesus which presents some impossible family trees for the purpose of proving his Davidian origin and we also find that in the mouth of the poor people Jesus is called "Son of David," but the passage in question is clear enough: Jesus proves from the standpoint of his age that the Messiah need not claim descent from David.

Mr. Russell insists on a thorough study of the Bible and it goes without saying that we agree with him in this. He says:

"This essay makes increasingly manifest the need of thorough Bible study. Its form is so attractive, its material so well chosen and its conclusions, on their face, so natural and plausible that it can only harm those who will not investigate for themselves. Truth is ever good and ever necessary, but half truths are exceedingly dangerous to those who are either too lazy to study and

think for themselves or are too ignorant to be able to distinguish and to understand. The only real antidote for this propaganda is a thorough knowledge of what the Bible really is and what it really teaches, and this can come only through study. A church or a body of Christians ignorant of doctrine and the Bible must be ever at the mercy of the latest plausible and tempting theory."

We are not surprised to find objections to the interpretation of Christianity as the fulfilment of the times in the sense of being the result of a long preparation in the history of mankind, and Mr. Russell insists that in addition to the natural conditions there was also present the supernatural element of Christ. He concludes his views as follows:

"The fulness of time came but it did not of itself produce the needed religion. Some of the elements were present, some of the outward emblems, in their form at least, were in readiness; but there was no life, no power, no incarnation of truth. The world was skeptical, tired, and hopeless. Then God sent forth His Son, and hope became reality; and the Power of the Spirit of God has ever since proved the uniqueness and exclusive right of the good news of Jesus Christ."

In conclusion we will say that our position is not anti-Christian nor anti-religious in any sense. It is true we have dropped many dogmas of traditional Christianity, but we have done so under the stress of their untenability before the tribunal of science and have after all retained their spirit, thus creating a new conception of religion which in spite of its radical conclusions is conservative in attitude; and we would save all that is true and good in the old while boldly accepting the truth of the new scientific world-conception.

Liberals are commonly vague. They only know that the old has become untenable and they mean to tear it down. The policy of *The Open Court* has been different. We unhesitatingly accept new truths without throwing away the old. We believe that science can find out what is true and what is untrue and we need not discard the old because it comes to us in the form of a wrong interpretation. In this sense we believe in, and we propose, a new orthodoxy which states the truth in positive terms so far as all explanations of philosophical and scientific truths as well as statements of historical facts are concerned.

THE CHRISTIAN CONTRIBUTION TO JAPANESE EDUCATION.

BY DR. SEKIJI NISHIYAMA.

HAS Japanese civilization been influenced by Christian missions? Baron Kikuchi, president of Kiyoto University and formerly Minister of Education in Japan, was asked this question by the audience in Carnegie Hall, New York, at the close of his interesting and learned lecture on "The Intellectual and Moral Development of New Japan" for the Civic Forum, February, 1, 1910. His reply was a prompt and decided negative, but he afterwards added the qualification, "Of course they have given inspiration to young Japanese students, through the characters of such men as Drs. Hebron and Harris, Fulbeck, Brown, etc."

Evidently Baron Kikuchi believes that the only good influence exerted by Christian missionaries upon the spiritual world of Japan, is the inspiration afforded by the subtle force of personal character of some of the representative missionaries from America to Japan.

I wish to reply to this international question in a somewhat more affirmative way. I am not a convert to Christianity nor am I any too favorable to Christians; yet I have no prejudice against the Christian movement in Japan.

Often valuable results come from the third of Hegel's three methods of investigation, thesis, antithesis and synthesis, and it is this procedure which I shall follow in contrasting Baron Kikuchi's antithetical point of view with some historical events in Japan, the consideration of which is important for the solution of this very natural question from Christians in the United States.

The Japanese people were under the charm of Buddhism for more than ten centuries. Three centuries ago Tokugawa Shogun, the Governor of Japan, realizing the undesirable influence exerted on the Japanese people by the Jesuit missionaries who had been

brought by the Dutch and Portuguese to Japan in 1548, issued an order prohibiting the practice of Christianity.

Notwithstanding this edict, enthusiastic Japanese Christians did not change their belief back to Buddhism, but carried their pictures and images of Christ to the Japanese temple, and prayed to Christ there. The Government, ignorant of this fact and supposing the people were praying to a Japanese God, concluded that a wonderful change had taken place in the belief of these Christian converts. This fact proves how deeply religious the Japanese are as a nation, in spite of the opinion of American critics who say that they are irreligious. Statistics report thirty thousand Japanese Christians.

Forty years ago there were hardly any schools for girls in Japan. This was the natural result of the national conviction which could not recognize the necessity and value of the education of girls. Perhaps our Japanese proverb shows the situation. "The woman seems wise, yet she has failed to sell a cow at a higher price." It is necessary to have intelligence and fine diplomacy for success in commerce, and woman was thought to possess neither. Hence commerce was a wise man's business.

Christian missionaries saw the difficulty. They discovered the national neglect of the education of Japanese women, and started at once to establish a school for girls. By their efforts several schools were opened in different parts of Japan, and the Japanese girls who have been educated in these Christian schools have proved to our people the good results of the education of woman.

Finally the Japanese Government recognized the great importance of educating the girls and in 1890 the number of public high schools for girls was increased to seven! The government reports for 1903 stated that the number of schools for girls had increased to 155 and the total number of their students was 35,546 under the direction of 1094 women teachers. It should never be forgotten that by word and deed, by work and inspiration the Christian missionary gave a strong impetus to Japan in causing our people to recognize the vital necessity of the education of women.

Quite a number of Japanese women are physicians, some have become journalists, and many are trained musicians and artists. Some Japanese girls too are entering the business world as clerks. These facts could not even have been dreamed of in the visions of a poet twenty years ago, and prove how rapidly our Japanese people adopt, assimilate and actualize a good idea.

The good results of the education of Japanese girls by the

enthusiastic efforts of Christian missionaries made two great steps in the progress of Japan, (1) an unchangeable belief in the desirability and necessity of the education of women, and (2) woman's position in Japanese society has been improved, because the Japanese girls who received an education showed that there was an undreamed-of capacity for companionship and efficiency in Japanese women, and therefore we Japanese should fully appreciate the debt our civilization owes to Christian missionaries in the education of our girls. This great contribution should be written in full in the history of the New Japanese civilization.

THE FISH IN CHRISTIANITY.

BY THE EDITOR.

A COLLECTION of the scattered stories of the fish in pagan worship, as treated in previous articles, would be of little interest to us were it not for the fact that the fish has also been for centuries a most sacred symbol in Christianity. In fact the fish has been identified with Christ, and we have found it pictured again and again in the catacombs of Rome where it is assumed to be an evidence of Christian faith, and what in addition is interesting and instructive is the coincidence that the symbol of the fish is quite frequently associated both in paganism and in Christianity with the symbol of the dove. Just as Lucian speaks of the sacredness of these two creatures in one and the same sentence, and as the fish and the bird appear together on funerary basins in China, so we find them often represented side by side on one and the same tombstone of the early Christians.

Christianity did not flash upon mankind in a finished state. It grew and adapted itself rapidly, but step by step in a normal process of evolution. Its sacred symbols, the cross, the lamb and the fish, were not ready-made and the type of the Christ ideal in art remained undecided for many centuries. We are told that for a long time Orpheus took the place of Jesus, and Christian archeologists have claimed that the substitution was made because during the time of persecutions Christians concealed their belief in Christ under a pagan symbolism. This interpretation however is forced. If their consciences allowed them to hide their faith under the pretense of a pagan cult why did they suffer martyrdom at all?

Historians have gradually come to the conclusion that the theory of the secrecy of early Christian worship and stories of Christian persecutions, though not untrue, have been greatly exaggerated, and it has been claimed with good reason that some persecutions were pure fiction invented for the edification of pious souls.

It is plausible that if people painted an Orpheus in their funeral chapels they believed in Orpheus, and when they no longer believed in the letter of the myth, Orpheus remained to them the symbol of immortality and as such they continued to depict him on their tombs. To those however who became Christians the figure of Orpheus found its fulfilment in Christ. Thus we see in the Orpheus pictures a pagan element that lingers longest. Far from being a substitute for Christ, we think that it was gradually supplanted by the picture of Christ.

It seems quite probable that for a while the pagan beliefs lingered with the Christians who clung to old customs as much as they cherished the new interpretation that had become dear to them. The more clearly Christian doctrines became defined, the fewer were the pagan elements retained, and those symbols alone continued in use which in one way or another had adapted themselves to the new religion.

This is best seen in the fish. The fish was dear to Christians before they knew why. Christians were compared to the fish, and this is accidentally done in the Gospels. Many of the apostles were fishermen, and Jesus promises them that they shall become fishers of men. In the same connection the kingdom of heaven is compared to a net (Matt. xiii. 47). The Jonah story is remembered in its symbolical meaning with reference to immortality (Matt. xii. 40; Luke xi. 32); further we read in the Gospels of fish meals taken in a mystical, almost sacramental, way with miraculous multiplication of food, as also after the resurrection of Christ in John xxi, a passage where it is told that fish are roasted on coals and eaten.

All these references to fish in the New Testament are of a general nature and nowhere can we find the slightest hint that Christ himself should be called a fish. Similar ideas are expressed in the old Testament. In Jer. xvi. 16 God promises to send many fishers, "and they shall fish" the children of Israel from among the Gentiles. Even Buddhism, as we have seen, represents Buddha as a fisherman, and in the same way Christ is originally not a fish but

The tradition that the Saviour was a fish was not unknown to the Jews, for the word fish in Hebrew, *Dag*,² being in number value 4+3, was identified with the Messiah, and the Messiah himself is called fish or *Dag*.³ In the Talmud the fish is the symbol of innocence on the basis of Micah, vii. 19, and the birth of the Messiah is to take place when Jupiter and Saturn meet in the constellation of the fishes (Pisces).⁴

In spite of the Jewish tradition Christ is not compared to a fish in the early church during the first century. So far as we know, the first thus to refer to him is Tertullian who lived from 150 to 230, a few years earlier than Origen; but Origen does not seem to have known of Christ as a fish, and we must observe that Tertullian is a Roman and the fish-symbol has its center in Rome.

Tertullian says in his essay on Baptism (Chapter I), "We little fish following the $\text{IX}\Theta\text{Y}\Sigma$, our Jesus Christ, are born in water [baptism] and cannot be saved otherwise than by remaining in water." It is not sure whether Tertullian knew of the Christian interpretation of the Greek word $\text{IX}\Theta\text{Y}\Sigma$ which is an acrostic from the words $\text{Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ}$, "Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour," for this acrostic became prominent in Christian literature in the third and fourth centuries, and found its classical expression in the Sibylline oracles where it appears in Book VIII, verses 217 and following.

From the Sibylline books it has been quoted by St. Augustine (*De civ. dei*, XVIII, 23) and Eusebius (*Or. con. ad coetum SS*, XVIII). The acrostic itself is frequently mentioned in the fourth and fifth centuries especially by Bishop Optatus of Mileve (*De schismate donatistorum*, III, 2), Maximus of Turin (*Tractatus quatuor contra paganos*), and Paulinus (*Epis. XIII ad Pammachum*); and the idea of Christ as a fish grows on Christians until Severianus of Gabala says, "If Christ had not been a fish he could not have risen from the dead."

The origin of this symbol cannot be sought in the New Testament but must come from another, an independent source. Indeed it seems that the symbol was used before the interpretation of the acrostic had been invented. The fish was used in the catacombs mostly but not exclusively by Christians and its interpretation as $\text{IX}\Theta\text{Y}\Sigma$ seems to be secondary.

² דג

³ See Buxdorf, *Synod. Jud.*, XXIV.

⁴ See Münter (*Sinnbilder*, page 49) who refers to *Abraham* and other sources.

The interpretation comes as an afterthought which endeared to Christians this pre-Christian symbol of immortality.

Strange to say, the Sibylline oracle spells the word *Christos* as "*Chreistos*." Another well-ascertained instance of the spelling *Chreistos* is recorded by Münter in his *Sinnbilder* on Plate I, No. 2, where a gem is pictured with an anchor and two fishes and the inscription "*Ἰησοῦς Χρειστός*." The spelling is assured in the oracles because the letters *e* and *i* have their special verses in this peculiar acrostic poem, but we must bear in mind that the spelling *Christos* was not as yet settled in the second century, for Justin Martyr used still another spelling, *Crestos*, which also is well assured, for Justin comments on its meaning in the sense of the Greek word *chrestos* meaning "useful," an unmistakable evidence that he himself prefers this spelling at least in the passage referred to. But we may add that otherwise the spelling *Chrestos* is the better version according to the best manuscripts, and we may therefore positively say that the spelling *Christos* has been decided on only since the derivation of the word "Christ" from the Greek *χρίειν*, "to anoint," has become universally accepted.

Obviously the original meaning of the word *Christos* is still an open question. The word *χρίειν* means more "to besmear" than "to anoint," and we may be sure that if it really had been intended as a translation of the Hebrew "Messiah," the Greek translator would have used a more dignified word. The probability still remains that the name *Christos* was the title of a saviour, used broadly among certain classes of people, and became finally established in the general sense of saviour corresponding to the Hebrew Messiah.

The suggestion has been made that *Christos* might be a corrupt form of the Sanskrit name *Krishna*, but how shall we account for the change of *n* to *t*? And in lack of any further evidence nothing positive can be said on the subject.

The Sibylline oracles date back to the beginning of the third century. Being a collection it is a matter of course that many oracles are of an older date.

An English translation of this acrostic by Neale was published in *The Open Court* of June, pages 332 and 333.

* * *

The similarity between Christian and pagan symbols can scarcely be accidental, and we become more and more assured of an historical connection by observing that among the tombstones containing the symbols of the dove, and especially of the fish, there are many

which must be regarded as doubtful while some are unequivocally pagan, and at least one is Jewish. Accordingly we have a connecting link between paganism and Christianity, and the peculiarity is that in all cases the fish serves as a symbol of immortality, and is therefore especially used in connection with funeral ceremonies. We see in the monuments of ancient Babylonians that the priests at the sick bed engaged in keeping away the goddess of death are dressed in fish skins, presumably in commemoration of Oannes or Odakon, which indicates that the dead have to become fish like Oannes in order to pass together with the setting sun through the ocean of death and thus survive this dangerous state of transition.

A crossing of the ocean becomes the symbol of the conquest of death, and thus the ship has, in the same sense as the fish, become a symbol of salvation. We find the emblems of the ship in the most ancient tombs of the Mediterranean races, and the Teutons in ancient times preferred to be buried in tree boats. We have reason to believe that some of these boats were never used in the water but had been made for the purpose of burial which goes far to prove that the underlying idea is of a religious or a symbolic character.

The church is commonly represented as a ship, and in Buddhism the same symbol has been used since the days of its founder. Since Buddhism spread and took root among the large masses, the Buddhist church accented this innovation by claiming to be a large vessel or Mahayana in contrast to the Hinayana, the small vessel or little boat of the older church. The Buddhist canon is full of references to what is called the ocean of life and death, symbolizing Sam-sara, the world of Mara the evil one, the deity of death. Nirvana is the safe shore, or the island on the other side of the water. Buddha passes over the ocean of life and death and walks on it as one would walk over flagstones, while his disciples who are firm in the faith will be able to follow him over the stream dry shod. The same story is told of Jesus and Peter in the Christian gospels.

Again for the same reason birds of passage, especially cranes and wild geese, have become symbols of transmigration and of immortality. We find them pictured in the frescoes of the Buddhist caves in India, and they are frequently alluded to in the folklore of Tibet, China and Japan, but they are less used as religious emblems in the West.

In this connection we will incidentally remark that the main symbol of Christianity, the cross in all its several shapes, as the simple Greek cross, the Latin cross, the swastika or Buddhist cross,

the *crux ansata* or hooked cross, i. e., the key of life of the Egyptians, was used before Christianity among all pagan nations, being regarded as a sacred symbol to ward off evil, but it has received the name of cross, and its interpretation as the martyr instrument on which Christ died, only in Christian times. Before the Christian era and in its first century this same symbol, the two intersecting lines, or the "thwart" as we propose to call its general form, was called the *signum salutis* or "the sign of salvation"; but since the second century this same symbol has been so identified with Christ's cross that the latter (though merely called "wood" in the New Testament) is now commonly thought to have had the form of a thwart.

The same process which changed the thwart into a cross has taken place with the fish. The fish, the ancient symbol of resurrection, continued to be used as an emblem of immortality, and was used as a talisman to ward off evil. The pagans used it as well as the primitive Christians, but the later Christians gave it a new interpretation. They saw in it a symbol of Christ the Saviour. The pagan interpretation was the more easily superseded as the original pagan significance had long been forgotten and its use had become a mere habit of tradition. The dove met with the same fate. It was the symbol of Istar, the Great Mother goddess, and became the emblem of the Holy Ghost, who was regarded in primitive Christianity as the mother of the Logos. The Koran still identifies Mary with the Holy Ghost, and if the word *pneuma*, spirit or ghost, in Greek had been a feminine noun as it is in Hebrew (*ruakh*)⁵ it is not improbable that the Christian trinity would have remained a trinity of God Father, God Mother and God Son, such as it was in several other religions, especially in Egypt where in many temples the trinity consists of Osiris, Isis and Horus.

Thus the dove naturally took its place as the emblem of the Holy Ghost and the passage in the New Testament in which it is said that the Holy Ghost descended upon Christ in the form of a dove canonized this emblem for all Christian churches.

If a new thought takes possession of mankind we invariably find that it assimilates the traditional customs but gives to them a new interpretation. The old forms remain but they are filled with new meaning. So it happened with the symbol of the cross, so with the dove, so with the fish.

The underlying meaning of them remained practically in all

⁵ רוּחַ

cases the same in spite of the unlimited variety of applications. This is most apparent in the fish which, from the beginning down to Constantinian Christianity and even further, represented man's hope of immortality. It served as an emblem of the Saviour and a talisman for the protection of the soul on its journey through the ocean of death.

MISCELLANEOUS.

VERSES BY LI T'AI PO.

TRANSLATED BY JAMES BLACK.

[Li T'ai Po (705-762) was a wonderfully romantic figure and a born poet. The words he wrote of another poet may well be applied to himself:

“Still shall the poet's name a day-star shine
When clean eclipsed his lord's imperial line.
Inspired, he writes, and, writing, shakes the hills,
And, wrought the luminous line, with pride he thrills.”

For an account, all too brief, of his riotous youth, his glittering manhood, his embittered later life, the interested reader may be referred to Professor Giles's *History of Chinese Literature*.

The following extract from one of the prefaces of his “Collected Works” describes the occasion on which these verses were written, and gives a characteristic glimpse of the T'ang court and some of its personages: the Emperor Ming Huang-ti, the favorite T'ai Chen Fei, the eunuch Kao Li-shih, and the poet himself.

“Having obtained four species of peony, a red, a purple, a pink and a white, the Emperor ordered them to be planted in the palace grounds east of the Hsing Ching pond, fronting the Chen Hsiang pavilion, and when the time had come that the flowers were blooming in great profusion, the Emperor rode there one night in his night-chariot, and T'ai Chen Fei followed him in a wheeled sedan. He ordered also the best of the palace musicians to come thither, making sixteen instruments in all. Li Po, who was famous for leading the music, was about to start the musicians, when the Emperor suddenly said: ‘With those beautiful flowers and T'ai Chen Fei, why should we use the old songs?’ and he ordered Li Po to take the imperial tablets and write something new. Li gladly obeying, though still somewhat affected with wine, took the pencil and wrote three verses to the tune called ‘Ching Ping Tiao.’ The poem finished, he presented it to the Emperor, who ordered the musicians to try it with the music, and Li to sing it. T'ai Chen Fei, holding in her hand a costly goblet of West Liang raisin wine, received the song with smiles, and, wishing to do honor to it, the Emperor ordered the jewelled flutes to be used, that the music might be played in harmony, and he wished that at the end of each verse the melody might be prolonged. This he did to please T'ai Chen Fei, who having finished her wine, gathered up her embroidery, and bent before him repeatedly. Thenceforth the Emperor looked upon Li as the greatest of all the Hanlin scholars, and he ordered Kao Li-

shih to undo his shoes, which the latter considered a great humiliation. Another day, Kao-Li-shih, hearing T'ai Chen Fei constantly humming the song, said: 'At first you seemed to dislike Li Po intensely, what has made you change your mind?' T'ai Chen Fei was startled by the question, and replied (as she really disliked Li Po): 'How is it that those Hanlin scholars insult people so?' Li-shih replied: 'In comparing you with Fei Yen, surely he has insulted you greatly.' T'ai Chen Fei thought that truly this was the case. It seemed that the Emperor had many times desired to confer upon Li Po an official title, but had always been prevented by the influence of the palace women. (And so intrigues were renewed against Li which bade fair to cost him his life.) But Li, in the course of his travels, had once visited Ping Chow, and there made the acquaintance of a local ruler of Fen Yang, at that time serving with the troops, and him he had rescued from a certain punishment, and greatly encouraged, so much so that he himself came near being involved in the same trouble. This man had now accomplished some meritorious work for which the Emperor was to reward him with certain dignities, but he came forward and asked that his reward should be the ransom of Li Po. To this the Emperor acceded, being thus enabled to save the poet. Such was Li Po's knowledge of men, and such was the ruler of Fen Yang's manner of requiting a kindness shown him."]

Cloud-like her garments, and her face a flower.
Spring zephyrs waft their fragrance through her bower.
Surely I saw her on Chun-yu's magic mount,
Or 'neath the glistening moon on Yao-tai tower.

A garland she, dew-drenched, rich, fragrant, fair.
Sadly the Wu-shan maids with her compare.
In what Han palace could you find her like?
'T was art that rounded Fei Yen's beauty rare.

Imperial flower and kingdom-conquering queen,
Both by the Emperor's smiling eyes are seen.
Ill-will, that wind-like blows, be far from here.
See; on the Chen Hsiang latticed fence they lean.

Note.—"Chun Yu mount," the hill of jade; "Yao tai tower," the jewelled tower; "Wu shan," the fairies' hill (all fabled, not real, places inhabited by beautiful women); "Han," the Han Dynasty, one of the emperors of which had a favorite named Fei Yen; "Chen Hsiang pavilion," a pavilion in the palace grounds at Chang-an, the T'ang capital.

"EVOLUTION OF THE DIVINE."

BY DR. JAMES G. TOWNSEND.

In addition to those incisive comments made by Dr. Carus on Mr. A. E. Bartlett's most suggestive study of a great theme, may I be permitted to add a few words of commendation and criticism? (See Mr. Bartlett's article in the June issue, and the editorial discussion entitled "The God-Problem.")

In the assertion that the mind must work in the circle of the "infinite and the eternal" Mr. Bartlett has made a brave plea for the sufficiency of the intellect to find a solution of the problems which confront it. "The universe

must submit itself to the critical review of the human intellect." He certainly is not in sympathy with that conventionalism which maintains that all the great religious generalizations have been made, all the fundamental things said. Indeed the knowledge we coordinate, the questions we ask, the ideas we conceive, the problems we assail are greater, nobler than any in the past.

Mr. Bartlett's theory is that the integrated soul of all, which Fechner calls "God," makes constant effort "to realize an ideal personality." And he says: "This ideal personality, which is the goal of evolution must also be looked upon as the potential *cause* of evolution." This looks very much like reasoning in a circle. And how does Mr. Bartlett know that the universe has sprung from a fundamental "force-entity"? And how can an unconscious, unintelligent "force-entity" have the passion for the "unfolding of an ideal personality"? And the question might be asked: Was there a time in the past eternity when this "force-entity" began to be?

Mr. Bartlett contends that this "force-entity" is possessed of "latent feeling, will and thought," and proves it by the "beneficence of nature," the prevalence of august moral laws, and the affirmation "that the creative essence hears our petitions because our aspirations invariably set in motion forces that gradually work out in our character the results for which we long" (a sentence that ought to be written everywhere in gold).

Now these contentions may be true, but if they are not the baldest anthropomorphism I do not know where to find it.

Undoubtedly many of our chief men of science no longer believe evolution to be the senseless raging of blind mechanical forces; they admit there is in nature something more or less psychical, a consciousness, an "impulse of progress," a ceaseless striving, a passion to produce a more perfect form, a "higher personality," some ever nobler goal. And with this view, that there is in the universe a divine element groping after law, order, beauty, truth, Mr. Bartlett is in accord; and he is so far a pluralist that he admits the divine is susceptible of growth, and that the universe may rise to self-comprehension in the human personality. As Professor Jacks intimates, our reasoning, our philosophy, may be one of the methods in which the absolute "becomes conscious of itself."

Mr. Bartlett further affirms that "if nature is evolving God, God must be already involved in nature." This assertion is very much like the arguments of the Catholic priests who thought they had demolished evolution by the phrase, *minus nequit gignere plus*. But men of science said there are increments not in the original substance, and Mr. Bartlett seems to imply this in his peroration. And why may not God meet new conditions, and find new problems awaiting him for solution?

Mr. Bartlett seems to think that evil "is not a reality but only an imperfect stage in development"; and Dr. Carus thoughtfully says: "Life is everywhere struggle and struggle is impossible without exertion, without conflict, without competition, without wounds, without occasional defeats."

But neither of them, in my judgment (I have not had the privilege of seeing *God an Enquiry and a Solution*) touch the heart of the awful problem. For evil is more than "imperfection" or "struggle." It is a black, pitiless, absolute, irremediable, degrading reality. I mean even something worse than the Martinique volcanoes or the cruelties of nature. Think of the millions of innocent children whose childhood, which ought to be pure and happy, is blighted! Think of the millions of peasants who because of foul conditions

and ignorance have lived for thousands of years in huts and hovels ankle deep in unnamable filth! Think of the millions who to-day live in the slums of the great cities!

Across the white page of Mr. Bartlett's "beneficence of nature" are these *black* lines of cruelty, ignorance, injustice, pollution and crime! And according to "monism" the absolute cannot be surprised, cannot be ignorant, cannot be mistaken. Then God is involved, implicated in his creation. According to "monism" the universe, or God, is one great conclusive entity outside of which is nothing. So evil must be an essential part of God. What then becomes of the divine goodness?

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

These comments on Mr. Bartlett's article have been received just as the Editor is leaving for Europe to attend the Universal Races Congress at London, July 25-29. Although we have not time to read them carefully we notice the last paragraph, and thinking that by the general term "monism" Dr. Townsend means to refer to our own views, we wish to urge that according to our conception of monism God is not an entity. We object to Dr. Townsend's identification of God and the universe. We repeat what we have said before, that God is that something, whatever it may be in the world, in the universe, in existence, which directs, helps, governs, rules it, and by the existence of which it becomes an orderly whole. God is that feature of existence which makes law possible, which produces reason, and through the prevalence of which rational beings develop; which makes man a human being, gives to him all his ideals, his rationality, his aspirations and the potentiality of rising higher and higher. This God-conception may frequently be called monotheism, and it is quite different from the old pantheism which identifies the universe with God. God is not the sum total of things; God is the law, the order, the governing principle which makes it possible that from physical forces the higher powers of rational and moral life can develop.

THE RT. REV. HIKKADUVE SUMANGALA. OBITUARY.

The Anagarika Dharmapala informs us of the demise of the venerable Hikkaduve Sumangala, the Buddhist high priest of Ceylon, in these words:

"Universally respected by the millions of Buddhists in Asia for his immaculate character and almost superhuman learning, the great and illustrious Buddhist Chief Priest, His Holiness Hikkaduve Sumangala, leaving thousands of scholarly pupils and the whole Buddhist world to mourn him, departed this world in his eighty-sixth year, on the morning of April 30 at the Oriental University at Colombo, Ceylon.

"Till the day of his passing away the late high priest was in good health, and never for a moment lost the spirit of cheefulness which was an innate characteristic in him. European and American Orientalists held him in the highest personal esteem. Throughout the world of Oriental scholars there was none to excel this great gifted, self-sacrificing scholar. For nearly sixty years he was engaged in disseminating knowledge throughout the Buddhist world. In 1873 the principal Buddhists of Colombo invited him to take the presidential chair of the Oriental College founded by them, and since then he has been its devoted head.

"The Vidyodaya College so named by him became through him the foremost seat of Oriental learning in the world. Students from all parts of the Buddhist world came there to learn Pali, Sanskrit, Elu, mathematics, Indian astronomy, etc., and the high priest was kind to all his students.

"The late illustrious high priest was also the President of the Maha Bodhi Society.

"Buddhist kings sent valuable gifts to the high priest, and when the late king of Siam visited Ceylon his majesty paid reverential homage to the illustrious scholar. The yellow robe has been the sign of spiritual supremacy from the time of the Lord Buddha and crowned heads have bowed down to the symbol of wisdom and holiness since the days of ancient India. According to Buddhism the wearer of the yellow robe is above men and gods, and the Bhikkhu (monk) is a member of the Most Holy Church founded by the Lord Buddha 2500 years ago.

"In the late illustrious and saintly monk were found all the virtues required of a high character. He was born of a noble family in South Ceylon, became a novice when he was seven years old under the late illustrious monk Walane, and from his boyhood showed signs of phenomenal learning. He inherited the virtues of the succession of great monks of the Buddhist church founded in Ceylon by the son of the Emperor Asoka, 2200 years ago. If ever a person lived a virtuous, holy, self-sacrificing life it was this most noble personage, and his loss to the world is irreparable. He was the embodiment of phenomenal activity from the time of his ordination when he was 21 years old. His daily ecclesiastical duties began at 4 A. M., and he was active till midnight. He mastered the whole Buddhist law and scriptures, the Dhamma and the Vinaya, and the title conferred on him by the Buddhist Church was that of "Supreme Master of the Holy Three Pitakas." He was an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, and of several Continental learned societies. He was the recipient of gifts from the late King Edward VII, when the latter visited Ceylon in 1875 as Prince of Wales. He was the Lord Abbot of the sacred temple of Adam's peak. Ever affable, full of solicitude, willing to help every one that came to him, by spiritual advice or instruction, he was loved by all, revered by king and peasant, admired for his marvelous learning, and we feel that with him the sun of Ceylon has set. Death is no respecter of persons, king or peasant, high or low, rich or poor, the wise or the foolish, but the good that we do remains and we find the good only in an individualized personality.

"The memory of the late high priest shall never die for he was the embodiment of all the high virtues found in human ideals."

An account of some of the academic honors conferred upon this Oriental scholar and of the rigors of the nonastic life he led was given in our issue of May, 1910.

THE BUDDHA ANNIVERSARY.

The 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's attainment of enlightenment becomes the natural occasion for a revival of interest in the life and teachings of that great teacher. Vaman Baji Kulkarni, secretary of the Buddhugami Society, is making every possible effort to arouse the Buddhists around Bombay to an appreciation of their opportunities. He is not trying to inaugurate any independent movement but is in full sympathy with the corresponding

efforts of the Anagarika Dharmapala in Calcutta, nor does he wish to confine the interest to Buddhists alone. At a preliminary meeting held in April to arrange for commemorating Buddha's memory by a fitting tribute, he invited "all persons, all lovers of truth, rich or poor, whether Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians, Parsees or Jews, to attend and think over to do something substantial in memory of one to whom not only India but the whole world ought to be grateful." In his appeal the secretary pertinently remarks, "It is really a matter of great shame and humiliation that India with her sublime genius for hero worship has altogether forgotten her ideal hero."

The "memorandum of association" under which the Buddhanugami Society is to be registered enumerates nine objects of the society. Besides general items with regard to spreading the doctrines of Buddha and celebrating his anniversary we find two of the objects named are "to promote universal brotherhood by abolishing caste, creed and race animosities; and to promote social intercourse among different classes and creeds by destroying caste and race prejudices," thus inculcating the principles of universal brotherhood from a Buddhist point of view.

SARDINIA'S CONNECTION WITH BABYLON.

BY ALAN S. HAWKESWORTH.

Dr. Luigi A. Milani, Ph.D., Professor of Etruscan Antiquities at the University of Florence, gives an exceedingly interesting paper of 31 pages on "The Sacred Things and Sacred Symbols of the Sardinians" in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*. The article is illustrated by 44 pictures of prehistoric Sardinian antiquities; many of them now in the Museum at Cagliari.

This is the sole essay in the volume not directly bearing upon some Babylonian subject. And yet, as Dr. Milani shows, there was without doubt some connection between prehistoric Sardinia, with its queer *Nouraghes*—round-towers—and weird weapons on the one hand, and the culture of primeval Asia Minor, Phrygia, Egypt, and Babylonia on the other—a connection the closeness of which will possibly be the discovery of some future archeologist. Indeed, in this respect, every student of Egyptology will recall the "Shardana" of the Tell el Amarna tablets; the "Shardana" bodyguard of Rameses II, with their queer horned helmets, and especially the two solitary naval victories of Egyptian history, under Menephtah (1208 B. C.) and Rameses III (1180 B. C.), on which occasions the invading galleys of the "hosts of the sea"—Cretans, Dardanians, Sardinians, etc., were beaten off and annihilated. The Philistines indeed of early Israelitish history, with their variants, the Cerethites and Pelethites of David's bodyguard, were the debris and remnants of said invaders.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

ZUR LEHRE VOM GEMÜT: Eine psychologische Untersuchung. Von Dr. Johannes Rehmke. Leipzig: Dürr, 1911. Pp. 115. Price 3 marks.

Professor Rehmke of Greifswald, author of a textbook on general psychology, has no patience with the modern psychology which he cites constantly as the "psychology without a soul," basing his own theory on the efficacy of the soul as a unit. He claims that the words "sensation," "feeling" and "idea" have no meaning without the assumption of an individual as a subject, that they are not specific notions but represent relational ideas.

"This individual (*Einzelwesen*) however," continues Professor Rehmke in his outspoken dualism, "that perceives, feels and thinks is not that familiar thing which we call 'man'... For man is not an individual at all, not even an individual composed of simple individuals as an object is made of atoms, but he is the constant unity of action of the individual's 'body' and 'soul.' However if man cannot be conceived as an individual, we cannot speak of him as perceiving, feeling and thinking, for only individuals can perceive, feel and think. Nevertheless man, this constant unity of action, unquestionably possesses such an individual, the soul; and that which in its relation to the individual 'soul' we call the soul's sensation, feeling or idea is conceived of in these words as the distinguishing singularity (*Bestimmtheits-besonderheit*) of the individual 'soul.'"

MOTHER AND CHILD. Being Letters from an Old Nurse to a Young Mother. By *L. M. Marriott*. London: Walter Scott, 1910. Pp. 126, Price 1s.

This little book appears as one of "The Red Useful Series" which contains besides popular works on hygiene books of such varied themes as *New Ideas on Bridge* and *On Choosing a Piano*. The book before us deals not only with the proper care and management of children but includes also general suggestions from furnishing of the nursery to the treatment of servants. It will be found of great practical value to young and inexperienced matrons. *p*

Arthur Baker, 700-714 East 40th Street, Chicago, an enthusiastic Esperantist, has written a brief Esperanto grammar, and being convinced of the usefulness of the language is anxious to make a propaganda for its general introduction, promising to send out free copies to any person sufficiently interested in the establishment of an international language. He solicits criticism and so he encloses a stamp for reply. He is pleased that Esperanto has been well received by more than 50 nations, but noticing that it has been criticized sometimes harshly, sometimes by irresponsible judges, he desires to reach thinking persons who wish to familiarize themselves with the new language and so to be enabled to form their own opinion.

Two Chicago professors of psychology, James R. Angell and Carl L. Rahn, introduce to the English speaking public Oskar Pfungst's explanation of Herr Von Ostend's remarkable horse which has become known to the whole world under its name Clever Hans. The English translation has been published by Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1911, and we can only say that it is a most important contribution to animal psychology. The frontispiece shows the owner of the horse by the side of Hans, placed before two black boards covered with figures and problems which the latter is ready to solve.

There is now before the house a bill to "establish in the District of Columbia a laboratory for the study of the criminal, pauper and defective classes." There is no question that such an institution is much needed, and buildings for a similar purpose have been made abroad under the supervision of several governments. Laboratories of this kind ought to be connected with all large cities, prisons, penitentiaries and their results made available for our criminal courts.

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"'Die Christusmythe,' by Arthur Drews, has stirred the heart of Protestant Germany and roused it into keen opposition. It is an essay in Christian mythology on lines similar to those followed in Mr. J. M. Robertson's 'Pagan Christs' and 'Christianity and Mythology.' Only faint echoes of the controversy which Drews has called forth have reached our shores, but with the appearance of an English version his book is not unlikely to become a storm center of Christian thought here as elsewhere. As an illustration of the importance of the 'Drews' controversy in Germany we may mention that large popular meetings have been held in various places at which the question 'Hat Jesus gelebt?' has been discussed by scholars of the first rank."—The Inquirer.

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"Then the abacus with pebbles to represent the fingers and a row of grooves for the row of men. Centuries of intellect using the decimal system, but struggling with it because unable to comprehend the possibility of the cipher to indicate position in the row of men or in the grooves of the abacus; centuries of struggling with other symbols, adopting Hindoo numerals, but failing to find a character which would indicate 'nothing' — to indicate that a position was empty. 'A Hindoo genius' created zero. Hindoo numerals have been traced back to the early part of the third century B.C.

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THE SARCOPHAGUS OF LIVIA PRIMITIVA.
In the Catacombs. (See pages 481-484.)

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THE BURIAL OF ST. CECILIA IN THE CATACOMBS. W. A. BOUGUEREAU.
Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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KING TSING, THE AUTHOR OF THE NESTORIAN INSCRIPTION.

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER.

NO man of culture who takes an interest in the history of Christianity should fail to make himself acquainted with the Nestorian monument which is the greatest historical document produced by the Christian religion in Eastern Asia; and no student of Chinese ought to neglect to make it the basis of a thorough and untiring study. In making accessible to the general public a well printed text of the famous inscription accompanied by Alexander Wylie's excellent translation, the Open Court Publishing Company has merited the thanks not only of Chinese scholars but also of the public at large.¹ Their unpretentious and yet fruitful little book is well fitted to be placed as a text-book in the hands of university students or young missionaries who could select no better guide than this marvelous inscription to sharpen their sagacity in unravelling Chinese constructions and phrases and to familiarize them with the methods of Chinese philology.

It is not generally known that the Nestorian inscription is a literary production of the highest order, a perfect understanding of which requires the most extensive knowledge of ancient Chinese in all its various branches of style and literature. The following notes which do not lay claim to any originality of research may therefore be welcome to students.

The text of the Nestorian inscription is regarded by Chinese

¹ *The Nestorian Monument; an Ancient Record of Christianity in China*, Chicago, 1909. This pamphlet was published with special reference to the replica of the Nestorian monument recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York.

scholars as a composition of considerable literary merit, and remains up to the present day one of the finest examples of Chinese erudition and elegance in style. The emperor K'ang-hsi, decidedly a good judge on such matters, greatly appreciated the style of the monument, and the abundance of metaphors and literary allusions have ever endeared it to Chinese scholars since the days of its discovery in 1625. The author of the inscription was the first to be confronted with the difficult task of rendering Christian terms into Chinese, and was quite right in following a sanctioned Chinese usage of borrowing quotations from Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist writers. There is, accordingly, a double signification inherent in many terms used in the inscription, and a Chinese scholar of wide reading will experience the same sensation of enjoyment in perusing it as, e. g., a humanist of the sixteenth century in studying a theological treatise written in a gracefully flowing Ciceronian Latin. Father Henri Havret who has devoted a life of study to our inscription published the most profound investigation on this subject betraying a truly stupendous erudition.² He had a Chinese savant prepare a list of these borrowings, with the result that more than thirty phrases were found to be derived from the Book of Mutations (*Yih-king*), nearly as many from the Book of Songs (*Shih-king*), and about twenty from the Book of Annals (*Shu-king*). The so-called classical literature (*king*) furnishes altogether a total of about 150 allusions. The historians yield a tribute of over a hundred other terms, the philosophers about thirty, and the remainder is made up by various collections.

To quote a few examples: All divine attributes occurring in the inscription are derived from the *Tao-Teh king* of Lao-tse,—eternity, veracity, tranquility, priority of existence, intelligence, independence, profoundness, spirituality, mysterious causality of all beings; the term *San-i* (lit. Three-One) denoting the Trinity is met with in the historical Annals of Sze-ma Ts'ien and in the History of the Former Han Dynasty (*Ts'ien Han shu*) where it refers to the three unities Heaven, Earth, and Chaos to which the emperor offered a large sacrifice every third year. Curiously enough, the word *A-lo-ha* formed to signify the Hebrew word *Elohim* can be traced back to Buddhist sources which, as the Saddharmapundarikasutra, translated into Chinese early in the fifth century, employ this term as the equivalent of Sanskrit *Arhat*. Another much more common way

² *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, in 3 parts. Part I. (Shanghai, 1895) contains the text in facsimile reproduction; Part II (*ibid.*, 1897) gives the history of the monument (420 pp.) and Part III (*ibid.*, 1902) the translation with admirable commentary, unfortunately a fragment edited after his death.

of writing this word in Chinese is *Lo-han*, and the Chinese-Jewish inscriptions of K'ai-fung fu use this form for the transcription of the name Abraham.

The Nestorian inscription is, after all, not an exception in this respect, though exceptionally well and carefully written, for the Mohammedan and Jewish inscriptions of China are framed on the same principle and also teem with classical allusions and selections. It should be well understood that this process of language is not wholly identical with what has been practised all over the world when new religions were preached and a new terminology had to be coined for them; Nestorians, Mohammedans, and Jews were not satisfied merely to form the necessary words for their doctrines, but shot far beyond this mark in parading with verbose quotations from Chinese classics, and forcing them into a new meaning which the uninitiated could not always grasp at once. In this connection it may be interesting to refer to the Buddhist studies of the author of the Christian inscription.

The fact that the Nestorian missionary Adam, presbyter and chorepiscopus, and papas of China, called in Chinese *King Tsing*, which means "illustrious and pure," was interested in Buddhist literature and actually engaged in the translation of a Buddhist work from Uigur, a Turkish language, into Chinese, was first established by Dr. I. Takakusu, professor of Sanskrit and Pali at the University of Tokyo, in an article published in the *Journal T'oung Pao* (Vol. VII, 1897, pp. 589-591). In the Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka, there is a book extant under the title *Chêng-yüan sin ting Shih kiao mu-lu*, i. e., Catalogue of Buddhist Books newly drawn up in the period *Chêng-yüan* (785-804 A. D.), compiled by Yüan-Chao, a priest of the *Si-ming* Monastery in Si-ngan fu. In this work, Takakusu discovered a passage relating to the Nestorian missionary, translated by him as follows:

"Prajña, a Buddhist of Kapiça in North India, traveled through Central India, Ceylon, and the islands of the Southern Sea (the Malayan Archipelago) and came to China, for he had heard that Mañjuçri was in China.³

"He arrived at Canton and came to the upper province (northern China) in 782 A. D. He met a relative of his in 786 who had arrived in China before him. Together with King Tsing (Adam),

the Satparamitasutra⁴ from a text in the *Hu* (Uigur) language, and completed the translation of seven volumes.

"At that time, however, Prajña was not familiar with the *Hu* language, nor did he understand the Chinese language; and King Tsing did not know Sanskrit, nor was he versed in the teachings of the Buddhists. Thus, though they pretended to be translating the text, yet they could not in fact obtain half of its gems (i. e., its real significance). They were seeking vain glory for themselves, regardless of the utility of their work for the public. They presented a memorial (to the emperor), expecting to get their work propagated. The emperor (Tai-Tsung, 780-804 A. D.) who was intelligent, wise, and accomplished, and who revered the canon of the Buddhists, examined what they had translated, and found that the principles contained in it were obscure and the wording diffuse.

"Moreover, since the Samghārāma (lit. the park of the clergy, i. e., monastery) of the Buddhists and the monastery of Ta-Ts'in (i. e., the Nestorians) differed much in their customs and their religious practices were entirely opposed to each other, *King Tsing* (Adam) ought to hand down the teaching of Messiah (*Mi-shih-ho*), and the Āramana, the sons of Ākya, should propagate the Sutra of the Buddha. It is desirable that the boundaries of the doctrines may be made distinct, and the followers may not intermingle. Orthodoxy and heterodoxy are different things just as the rivers *King* and *Wei* have different courses."

It seems that the last clause is part of an imperial edict. The year is not given in which the translation alluded to was made, but as Prajña did not reach Si-ngan fu until 782, and as the Nestorian monument was erected in 781, it seems that this translation work took place after the time of the inscription. At all events, this striking passage throws light on Adam's literary inclinations and ambitions, and his interest in the study of Buddhist literature. It was most natural for him, as Takakusu justly remarks, to obtain a knowledge of Buddhism in order to learn the correct religious terms in which to express his ideas to the people.

The Chinese characters representing the word "Messiah" in the above document are phonetically the same as in the inscription except that the syllable *shih* is expressed by a different character, but one having the same sound. The Sutra translated by Adam and Prajña is preserved in the Buddhist canon but is attributed exclusively to the latter (in Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1004); the question as to whether the existing translation is identical with the

⁴ Treatise of the Six Perfections (*paramita*).

one made by both has not yet been investigated. There is no doubt that an examination of this Sutra may shed some light on the phraseology of the inscription.

Father Havret,⁵ when commenting on this passage, is doubtless right in considering the account of Yüan-Chao exaggerated. In opposition to Takakusu he prefers to conjecture that King Tsing took up this Indian moral treatise in the expectation of finding Christian doctrines attested therein. He might have believed that Buddhist books owed their first inspirations to Christianity with as much good faith as de Guignes later recognized a "false gospel" in the well-known Sutra of the Forty-Two Articles, the first Buddhist work translated into Chinese. The reproaches indirectly addressed to King Tsing by Yüan-Chao for having attempted to confound two doctrines, the one true, the other false, Havret is inclined to think, render this explanation sufficiently probable. The choice made by him for this venture was fortunate, for he could have made use of such moral categories as occur in the last part of the Sutra in question, for instance, charity, morality, patience, energy, contemplation, wisdom. However it may be about these conjectures, Havret concludes his argument, we must insist on the fact that King Tsing was fond of mental labors, and that his researches in Buddhist literature doubtless dating back much earlier had accustomed him to, and endeared to him, the terminology of this religion.

I concur with F. Havret in the supposition that the vast Chinese erudition embodied in the text of the monument cannot be the individual work of King Tsing alone, but that he availed himself of the assistance of a native scholar, and, even more likely, of several scholars. He must certainly be credited with having prepared the first draught of the document which he submitted to his staff of learned assistants together with suggestions and recommendations. Presumably the text has been revised and rewritten several times before receiving its final shape from the hands of the chief editor King Tsing who was surely justified in signing the article with his name, as expressly stated in the inscription that it is composed (*shu*) by him.

F. Havret most felicitously points out also the Buddhist influence in the very name of King Tsing. Just as the Buddhist monks after ordination abandoned their family names and surnames of worldly origin and chose a monastic name usually composed of two words, sometimes a translation or reminiscence of

⁵ *Op. cit.* Part III, p. 6 (Shanghai, 1902).

some Indian name, so the presbyter Adam adopts the two words *king tsing* meaning "illustrious and pure," the word *king* being the appellation of his religion (*king kiao*). Other analogous Nestorian names appear in the inscription, as *King Tung* and *King Fu*. Moreover, he assumes the prefix *sêng* before his name, a Chinese abbreviation of the Sanskrit word *samgha* denoting the Buddhist clergy and a Buddhist priest; as a matter of course, it serves to *King Tsing* merely as a translation of the Syriac word *qassisa*, "priest." Also in his designation as "the priest of the temple of Ta-Ts'in," the word *sze* for temple is derived from Buddhism, and the style of wording *Ta-Ts'in sze* for "Syrian church" is fashioned after Buddhist models.

IDOLS AND FETICHES.

BY JAMES B. SMILEY.

THE conditions of primitive life were such that men were more or less familiar with temporary suspensions and a later resumption of the activities of life. In the many wars and fights which took place men would be knocked on the head, or so wounded that unconsciousness would occur for a time, and later it would return, and the victim would revive. In fainting spells there would be a dormant period and a later revival, and daily in sleep there would be a period of quiet and unconsciousness followed by an awakening. By these and other occasional phenomena, such as fits, etc., primitive men would come to believe that the similar quiet of death might be followed by a more or less speedy awakening.

Even with all the accumulated experience of modern medicine it is none too easy, at times, to tell with certainty that death has actually taken place. Hence, with primitive man, as with many savages of recent times, the belief prevailed that death was only a temporary quiescence of the activities of the body. The spirit was believed to be still residing in the body, as it did in sleep, fainting spells, etc. Many savages have shown this belief by talking to the dead, imagining the spirit could hear them. Thus we are told that in Loango "a dead man's relatives questioned him for two or three hours why he died; and on the Gold Coast, 'the dead person is himself interrogated' as to the cause of his death."¹ Similar customs are found elsewhere.

Out of the belief that death was only a temporary suspension of activity would come the conviction that all the bodily desires

tempts to supply the desires of spirits, which have been world-wide, seem to have grown the customs of religious sacrifices, as I have elsewhere explained.³

If the spirit continued to reside in the body, the conviction would naturally arise that if the body was destroyed in any way the spirit would be homeless and would suffer. It would become a homeless and wandering ghost. And so men would try to preserve the bodies of friends in order to provide a home for the spirit as long as possible. The belief in a revival of bodily activity, similar to that which took place after sleep, probably gave rise to the wide-spread ancient belief in a resurrection, for the resurrection was merely an awakening of the corpse. When that took place, if the body is not ready for the spirit to inhabit again it was considered a great calamity. The religious conviction that the body must be saved for the spirit to again take up its abode is a belief inherited from savage ancestors, and in many cases has been a great hindrance to the introduction of cremation, which is the most sanitary method of disposing of the dead.

This necessity of retaining the body for the dwelling place of the spirit led to many efforts to preserve it, and various devices were tried. In some cases concealment was aimed at, as in the case of the New Zealand chiefs who were "secretly deposited by priests in sepulchers on hilltops, in forests or in caves." The Dakota, Iroquois and Mandan Indians placed bodies on raised scaffolds, on which Catlan said "their dead live," and where they were kept out of the way of wolves and dogs. Some South American tribes buried the bodies in chasms and caverns, and the Chibchas made a kind of cave for the purpose.⁴ A further effort to preserve the body would result in an effort to prevent decay. Thus the Loango people in Africa smoke corpses for this purpose, and some of the Chibchas, in America, "dried the bodies of their dead in barbacoas on a slow fire."⁵

As intelligence increased, elaborate methods of preserving the dead would be invented which the more ignorant savage could not devise. With the advance of Egyptian civilization the art of embalming or mummifying the dead was carried to a high degree of perfection. But the whole development of this process was based on the belief that the body must be preserved to furnish a home for the spirit. Thus we are told that "a comparative study of sepulchral

³ See art. on "Religious Sacrifices," in *The Open Court* for February, 1911.

⁴ Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 87. Many other examples are there given.

⁵ *Ibid.*, sec. 88.

texts" has "furnished Egyptologists with convincing proof that the inviolate preservation of the body was deemed essential to the corporeal resurrection of the 'justified' dead. . . . Between death on earth and life everlasting there intervened, however, a period varying from 3000 to 10,000 years, during which the intelligence wandered, luminous, through space, while the soul performed a painful probationary pilgrimage through the mysterious under-world. The body, in order that it should await intact the return of the soul whose habitation it was, must meanwhile be guarded from corruption and every danger. Hence, and hence only, the extraordinary measures taken to insure the preservation of the corpse and the inviolability of the sepulcher; hence the huge pyramid, the secret pit, and the mysterious labyrinth. The shadowy and impalpable *ka*—the mere aspect, be it remembered, of the man—was supposed to dwell in the tomb with the mummified body."⁶

"It was formerly supposed that the bodies of the dead were merely dessicated under the ancient empire, and that actual embalming was not practiced before 2000 B. C. Recent excavations compel us to ascribe a very early date (possibly 3800 or 4000 B. C.) to the beginnings of the art."⁷ The process of mummification varied in different parts of Egypt, and at different periods.

In ancient Peru a similar belief led to a similar custom. Thus it is stated that "faith in the immortality of the soul was one of the fundamental ideas among the Peruvian nations." They believed that "after a certain time, not exactly determined, they [the spirits] should return to their bodies, beginning a new terrestrial life, continuing the same occupations, and making use of the same objects which they had left at the time of their death. This belief induced them to preserve the body with great care."⁸ So also Prescott says of the Peruvians that "it was this belief in the resurrection of the body which led them to preserve the body with so much care."⁹ In Peru, as well as in Egypt, the art of mummifying the dead was highly developed.

Believing the spirit to reside in the corpse attempts were made to supply its wants, and these have been described by many writers. Thus it is said that in Egypt "Diodorus and the papyri show that it was not an uncommon thing to keep the mummies in the house after they had been returned by the embalmers to the relatives of

⁶ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, art. "Mummy."

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Rivero, *Peruvian Antiquities*, pp. 152, 153.

⁹ Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, Vol. I, p. 92.

the deceased, in order to gratify the feelings which made them desirous of having those they had loved in life as near them as possible after death. Damascenus states that they sometimes introduced them at table, as though they could enjoy their society." Lucian says that he was "an eye witness to this custom."¹⁰

When the time came for the burial the funeral procession advanced to the catacombs, where "the mummy, being taken out of the sarcophagus, was placed erect in the chamber of the tomb; and the sister or the nearest relative embraced it, commencing a funeral dirge, calling on her relative with every expression of tenderness, extolling his virtues, and bewailing her own loss. In the mean time the high priest presented a sacrifice of incense and libation, with offerings of cakes and other customary gifts for the deceased."¹¹ The cakes, etc., were intended to feed the spirit and supply its other wants.

"When the mummies remained in the house, or the chamber of the sepulcher, they were kept in movable wooden chests with folding doors, out of which they were taken....to a small altar, before which the priest officiated....On these occasions....they [the priests] made the usual offerings of incense and libations, with cakes, flowers and fruit; and even anointed the mummy, oil or ointment being poured over its head."¹² At times friends embraced the mummified body and "bathed its feet with their tears."¹³

The attempts of the Egyptians to supply the wants of the spirits believed to reside in the bodies of the dead, correspond to similar customs found in other nations. Thus it is said that their "funeral oblations answer exactly to the *inferiac* and *parentalia* of the Romans, consisting of victims, flowers, and libations, when the tomb was decorated with garlands and wreaths of flowers, and an altar was erected before it for presenting the offerings. And that this last was done also by the Egyptians, is proved by the many small altars discovered outside the door of the catacombs at Thebes."¹⁴ On these altars sacrifices were placed, to supply the desires of the spirits.

We have already seen that in ancient Peru bodies of the dead were also mummified and preserved. It is said that "the goodwill of the dead was in Peru thought to be necessary to the prosperity of

¹⁰ Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. III, p. 432.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 370.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 360.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 428.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 361.

the living. Hence they had a part in all the affairs of life; they were consulted like the gods on important occasions, and brought out [i. e., the mummified body in which the spirit was believed to dwell] to share in feasts, whether secular or sacred. Arranged in order according to their seniority, each mummy was duly served with a portion of food, which was burnt before it; chicha was poured into its lips from its own drinking vessel,"¹⁵ being thus intended to reach the indwelling spirit.

Again it is said that on sacred festivals the Peruvians "brought out the bodies of the dead lords and ladies which were embalmed, each one being brought out by the person of the same lineage who had charge of it. During the night these bodies [mummies] were washed in the baths which belonged to them when alive. They were then brought back to their houses and warmed [fed] with the same coarse pudding called *cancu*, and the food they had been most fond of when they were alive."¹⁶ Young knights addressed their embalmed ancestors, "beseeching them to make their descendants as fortunate and brave as they had been themselves."¹⁷

Another writer says that in Peru "individual or household gods were innumerable; each house and individual possessed its characteristic and tutelar divinity. Among the former, and deserving of special mention, were the so-called *Mallquis*, or *manaos*, which were the entire bodies of the ancestors reduced to a mummy or skeleton state, which the descendants piously preserved in the *machayo* or tomb, arranged in such a manner that they might easily see them and offer them sacrifices; at the same time they gave them food and drink, for they interred with them vessels and dishes which they filled from time to time with food,"¹⁸ i. e., for the spirit to consume. The spirits, dwelling in the mummies, were deified and worshiped as gods.

In other places, as "in Virginia, in some parts of South America, on the Madeira Islands, the original population dried the corpse over a slow fire into a condition to resist decay; while elsewhere the nitrous soil of caves offered a natural means of embalming. The Alaskan and Peruvian mummies, like those of ancient Egypt, were artificially prepared, and swathed in numerous cerecloths." But everywhere "the same faith in the literal resurrection of the flesh was the prevailing motive" for preserving the

¹⁵ Payne, *New World*, Vol. I, p. 600.

¹⁶ Markham, *Yncas*, p. 25.

¹⁷ Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 83.

¹⁸ Rivero, *Peruvian Antiquities*, p. 170.

body, for it was believed that it "must be preserved in order that it might be again habitable for the soul, when this ethereal essence should return to earth from its celestial wanderings."¹⁹

Usually no definite time was given when the resurrection would take place, but in Egypt during the dynasties the date was postponed to a time from 3000 to 10,000 years in the future, as above stated.

A good example of the way in which skeletons were worshiped, where the body was not mummified but the skeleton was preserved, comes to us from Africa. The skeletons of the former kings of Ashanti were preserved at Bantama, and to those remains sacrifices were made. On February 5 the king went to "where the remains of his deceased predecessors were preserved in a long building, approached by a gallery and partitioned into small cells, the entrances of which were hung with silken curtains. In these apartments reposed the skeletons of the kings, fastened together with wire, and placed in richly ornamented coffins, each being surrounded with what had given him most pleasure in life. On this occasion every skeleton was placed on a chair in his cell to receive the royal visitor, who, on entering offered it food, after which a band played the favorite melodies of the departed." Then a human victim was killed, and the skeleton was washed with his blood. "Thus was each cell visited in turn, sacrifice after sacrifice being offered, till evening closed ere the dreadful round was" completed.²⁰

The ancient Egyptians, "holding the belief that the statue of a human being represented and embodied a human *ka*, concluded that the statues of the gods represented and embodied divine *kas*."²¹ Here the belief seems to have developed that gods as well as ghosts could enter and dwell in statues or images, and this belief was common among primitive people. Again it is said that in Egypt "the statue of the deceased in which the double [spirit] dwelt took pleasure in all the various scenes which are painted or sculptured on the walls of the tombs,"²² i. e., it was believed that the spirit residing in the mummy or statue could look on and enjoy the activities going on around it.

So important was it to preserve the body that "no more formidable punishment to the [ancient] Egyptian was possible than destroying his corpse, its preservation being the condition of im-

¹⁹ Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 211.

²⁰ Ramseyer and Kuhne, *Four Years in Ashanti*, p. 117.

²¹ Wiedemann, *Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, p. 21.

²² Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 218.

mortality."²³ It is said that in ancient Assyria "the mutilation of the dead body was also a terrible punishment to the dead, and we are told that the person who disturbed a grave is not to be permitted to enter the temple. The desecration of the grave affected not only the individual [spirit] whose rest was disturbed, and who, in consequence, suffered the pangs of hunger and other miseries, but reached the survivors as well. The unburied or disembodied shade assumed the form of a demon, and afflicted the living.... The kings punished their enemies by leaving their bodies to rot in the sun, or they exposed them on poles as a warning to rebels." Assurbanipal "takes pleasure in relating that he destroyed the graves of the Elamitic kings, and dragged their bodies from their resting place to Assyria. Their shades, he adds, were thus unprotected. No food could be tendered them, no sacrifices offered in their honor."²⁴ A similar belief has been found elsewhere, as among the Greeks and Romans who believed that the spirits of the unburied dead would pursue and take vengeance on the living because no sacrifices could be offered them, and so the ghosts would suffer hunger.

Primitive man knew nothing about psychology or the laws of mental action. To him the events which appeared to take place in dreams seemed as real as those which actually took place when he was awake. Thus it is stated that by the New Zealanders "in sleep the soul was supposed to quit the body and wander about, holding converse with its friends, and returning again to its body; dreams were regarded as realities."²⁵ "The dreams which come to the Indian are to him, though not to us, as real as any of the events of his waking life. To him dream acts and waking acts differ only in one respect—namely that the former are done only by the spirit, the latter are done by the spirit and body."²⁶ "The Dyaks regard dreams as actual occurrences. They think that in sleep the soul sometimes remains in the body, and sometimes leaves it and travels far away, and that both when in and out of the body it sees, and hears, and talks.... Fainting fits, or states of coma, are thought to be caused by the departure or absence of the soul on some distant expedition of its own."²⁷ Thus when the savage dreamed that he

the body, engaged in the chase, and returned to the body again before it awoke. As every other event dreamed about as happening in a distant place was accounted for in the same way, the belief was common that spirits readily and frequently left and returned to the body.²⁸

When through dreams and other natural phenomena the belief had developed that spirits could leave the body and return to it during life, the belief would naturally arise that after death the spirit could similarly leave and return to the corpse, in which it was thought to reside. Thus the Iroquois Indians left holes in both coffins and graves, to allow the spirits to pass in and out,²⁹ and a similar belief has been found elsewhere. Thus spirits of the dead would be regarded as wandering around, and then returning to the bodies in which they dwelt.

In time the belief became common that spirits flitted everywhere and entered various objects. Evil or angry spirits were believed to enter the bodies of other men, and it has been a world-wide belief that insanity, epilepsy, and all the other diseases to which human flesh is heir, were caused by spirits thus entering the body and making trouble. Thus we are told that in New Zealand it is the native belief that "each ailment is caused by a spirit. . . . which, sent into the patient's body, gnaws and feeds inside." In fact, "the savage theory of demoniacal possession and obsession. . . . has been for ages, and still remains, the dominant theory of disease. . . . among the lower races."³⁰ Even with a nation as advanced as the Chinese this is the theory entertained at the present time.³¹ It was the belief in ancient Egypt, in Babylonia, in Greece, and generally in antiquity. Where this belief was entertained the whole science of medicine consisted of attempts to drive out the intruding spirits. By that method it was thought that any disease could be cured.

When the belief had arisen that spirits could enter and dwell in various objects, attempts were made in different parts of the world to provide artificial bodies, or homes for them to reside in.

²⁸ In the brief space allotted to this article I cannot enter at length into the effect on the primitive mind of dreams, shadows, reflections in the water, echoes, etc. Those interested can consult the works of Spencer, Tylor, and other anthropologists. It was probably largely through dreams, shadows and reflections in the water, that the belief was developed in the minds of men that the spirit could leave the body and return to it—but dreams were probably one of the strongest reasons. I refer principally to them here, but presume that most of my readers are conversant with the others.

²⁹ Morgan, *Iroquois*, p. 176.

³⁰ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 124, 127. For many other examples see pp. 124-130.

³¹ De Groot, *The Religion of the Chinese*, p. 36.

These became idols, and the indwelling spirits gods, and men worshiped and offered sacrifices to them. A few examples may be given. Whatever care was taken to preserve a body or mummy, there was always a possibility that it might be destroyed. It is stated that in ancient Egypt it was the belief that if the mummy was destroyed or damaged the *ka* was liable to meet disaster. "In view of this danger, the Egyptians, by stocking his sepulcher with portrait statues, sought to provide the *ka* with other chances of continuance, these statues being designed, in a strictly literal sense, to serve as supports or dummies for the *ka*."³² That is, a number of statues, resembling the body, were provided in the hope that if the body or even several statues should be destroyed, one might survive to serve as a home for the spirit to enter, and they were "always secreted in hidden chambers." As many as "twenty duplicates have been found in a single tomb."

When cremation had been introduced, a substitute body was sometimes made from the ashes of the dead, or to hold them, thus retaining parts of the original body. Thus it is said that the Mayas of Yucatan "made wooden statues of their dead parents and left a hollow in the neck where they put their ashes and kept them among their idols." They also made "hollow clay images, or hollow statues of wood, in which they placed the ashes of the burned bodies of their monarchs. They offered food to these images [idols] at their festivals." "The Mexicans preserved the ashes, hair and teeth of the dead, and put them in little boxes, above which was placed a wooden figure, shaped and adorned like the deceased." In other instances the ashes of the dead were placed in sepulchral vases, or urns, on which a representation of the deceased was painted, and these were worshiped. "The worship of urns used in urn-burial has, of course, resulted from the association of the urn with the person deposited in it. The same is true of the idols which were made to hold the ashes of the dead. The worship is not at first directed toward the material part of the urn or idol, or even the representation it may have upon it of the deceased, but it is directed toward the *spirit supposed to reside there*."³³

Elsewhere, in Siam for instance and in Tartary, "people collect the ashes of the burnt corpses and make of them a paste to model into small Buddhist images, or into disks, which they afterwards put on the top of a pyramid. The corpse, thus transformed,

³² *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, art. "Mummy."

³³ Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, pp. 119-122. Other examples are given in that work.

becomes the lares and penates, and they are carefully kept, evidently as the supposed dwelling place of the shade of the departed."³⁴ A somewhat similar custom has been common, but it is needless to give more examples.

Bancroft says that "in Goazacoalco it was the custom to place the bones [of the dead] in a basket, as soon as the flesh was gone, and hang them up in a tree, so that the spirit of the defunct might have no difficulty in finding them"³⁵ when it needed them.

While it was the ancient belief that the spirit continued to dwell in the corpse, and also in preserved parts of the body, as in a figure made out of the ashes of the body or in the preserved skeleton, the belief would naturally arise that other objects could serve as a residence for the ghost. We have already seen that in some cases a hole was left in a grave, through which it was thought the spirit could pass in and out, and in some places a grave-stone, or post, was roughly hewn into a human shape, into which a spirit could enter. Thus Mr. McCoy says that "among the Ottawas [Indians] we often discovered at the heads of their graves a post somewhat proportioned to the size of the deceased. When any one visited the grave they rapped on the post with a stick, to announce their arrival to the spirit. On the upper end of this post was cut a slight resemblance to the human face. The Indians not far from Quebec, while the Jesuit priests were among them, whenever any one died, cut his portrait and put it on the grave, 'anointing and greasing that man of wood as if living,' says Father Lalament. Among the Algonkins a post was generally placed on the grave of the dead, and their portraits carved thereon."³⁶ Somewhat similar customs were practiced in Alaska, in Chili, in the West Indies, in Nicaragua, and in other parts of America. Spirits from the graves below were supposed to enter these posts.

Many customs have been found which had a large element of pathos in them. Thus it is said that "when a child dies among the Ojibways, they cut some of its hair and make a little doll, which they call the doll of sorrow. This lifeless object takes the place of the deceased child." The mother "carries it with her wherever she goes" for a year. "They think the child's spirit has entered this bundle, and can be helped by the mother. Presents and sacrificial gifts are made to it. Toys and useful implements are

³⁴ Letourneau, *Sociology*, p. 242.

³⁵ *Native Races*, Vol. II, p. 619.

³⁶ Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, pp. 117-120.

tied to the doll for its use.”³⁷ A similar custom was found among “the savages of the Canadas.” It is said that on the banks of the Niger in Africa “the maternal affection is so strong that after the death of their children the mothers will carry upon their heads small wooden images in commemoration of their little dead ones, and they will not allow these emblems to be taken from them. They seem to consider them as living images, and before eating themselves they always offer food to these little wooden children.”³⁸ In other parts of Africa we are told that if a woman has twins, and either dies, an image about a foot long is made, “carved in such a manner as to represent the human anatomy.” The woman regards such images as her “living children; she worships them every morning by splitting kolo nuts [i. e., for them to eat] and throwing down a few drops of palm oil before them.”³⁹

Of the Ostyaks it is said that they “make a rude wooden image representing, and in honor of, the deceased, which is set up in the yost and receives divine honors for a greater or less time as the priest directs. . . . At every meal they set an offering of food before the image; and should this represent a deceased husband, the widow embraces it from time to time. . . . This kind of worship of the deceased lasts about three years, at the end of which time the image is buried.”⁴⁰ It was the evident belief that the ghost dwelt in the image, and it was worshipped.

The statement is repeatedly made that savages worshiped a spirit believed to dwell in their idols, and not the images themselves. For example in New Zealand “the natives declare they did not worship the image itself, but only the Atua [i. e., spirit] it represented.”⁴¹ In Africa an idol “is believed for the time to be the residence of a spirit, which is to be placated by offerings. . . . of food.”⁴² In the Polynesian islands, “where the meaning of the native idolatry has been carefully examined, it has been found to rest on the most absolute theory of spirit-embodiment. . . . At certain seasons, or in answer to the prayers of the priests, these spiritual beings entered into the idols, which then became very powerful, but when the spirit departed the idol remained only a sacred object.” So also the New Zealanders “set up memorial idols of deceased persons near the burial place, talking affectionately to them as if

³⁷ Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, p. 116.

alive, and casting garments to them when they passed by, and preserve in their houses small carved wooden images, each dedicated to the spirit of an ancestor. It is distinctly held that such an *atua*, or ancestral deity, enters into the substance of an image in order to hold converse with the living. A priest can by repeating charms cause the spirit to enter into the idol, which he will even jerk by a string around its neck to arrest its attention, . . . it is quite understood that the images themselves are not objects of worship, nor do they possess in themselves any virtue, but derive their sacredness from being the temporary abodes of spirits. In the Society Islands, it was observed in Captain Cook's exploration that the carved wooden images at burial places were not considered mere memorials but abodes into which the souls of the departed entered."⁴³

In ancient Rome men who went to the temples to pray "used to treat with the officiating ministers to be placed as near as possible to the ear of the idol, so that they might be better heard,"⁴⁴ i. e., by the spirit inside. In the Sandwich Islands after a death in a family the survivors worship an "image with which they imagine the spirit is in some way connected."⁴⁵ In ancient Peru when a chief died, "a statue of gold was made in the likeness of the chief, which was served as if it had been alive, and certain villages were set apart to provide it with clothing and other necessities,"⁴⁶ i. e., to provide articles to sacrifice to the resident ghost.

Numerous statements are found which show that efforts to feed the indwelling spirits were made by rubbing blood or food on the lips, or placing it before the mouth of the idol. Thus Marco Polo says that he found that the Tartars had household idols, and "they never ate before first rubbing the mouths of these protecting divinities with the fat of their meat." In the island of Nian, when attempting to banish evil spirits, a pig was killed, and "the mouth of the idol was smeared with the bloody heart of the pig, and a dishful of the cooked pork is set before him."⁴⁷ Of the Mayas in America it is said that they "never went out to hunt without first invoking their gods [in idols] and burning incense before them; and on their

told that they would "pour daily broth into the dish at the image's mouth," and the Aztecs "would pour the blood and put the heart of the slaughtered human victim into the monstrous idol's mouth," and in "each case the deity was somehow considered to devour the meal,"⁴⁹ i. e., the deity that dwelt in the idol.

In China at the present time "tablets" are used in worship, which are believed to be inhabited by spirits, and such tablets have probably been in use there for several thousand years. They have been thus described: "Wooden tablets are employed as resting places for the spirits, both in the state worship of China and the ancestral. These are small rectangular pieces of wood, at least as high again as they are wide, set up in front of the worshiper, and having written upon them the characters, *shān wei*, 'seat of the spirit,' or *ling wei*, 'seat of the soul,' or *shān chū*, 'lodging-place of the spirit,' with perhaps the surname, name and office of the departed in the ancestral worship. While the worship is performed, the tablet is supposed to be occupied by the spirit specially entertained in the service; and at the conclusion the spirit returns to its own place, and the tablet is laid aside in its repository, till required for use again, being in the interval no more spirit possessed than any other piece of wood. . . . The tablet is not regarded as in itself either supernatural or sacred; and it has operated to prevent the rise of idolatry in the Confucian religion of China."⁵⁰

Such tablets are common in China, and we are told that "the truth is that the dead of a family actually are its patron divinities, worshiped and sacrificed to like all other gods, with quite similar incense, spirits, food, and dainties, quite similar genuflexions and *khotaos*, all with the plain object of obtaining their blessings. The truth is, also, that ancestral worship answers exactly to idolatry and fetichism, it being addressed to tablets deemed just as well as images of gods, to be inhabited by the souls of those whom they represent."⁵¹ It is probable that these tablets were developed from grave-posts or slabs. Thus it is said that at the tomb of an emperor there "stands the polished marble tombstone which bears the name of the emperor, engraved in the stone; this is in fact his soul tablet, a seat of his manes."⁵² The dynasty has ancestor temples, and "each ancestor or ancestress is represented in these buildings by a soul tablet."⁵³

⁴⁹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 380.

⁵⁰ Legge, *The Religion of China*, pp. 20-22.

⁵¹ De Groot, *Religion of the Chinese*, p. 84.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

The method of using these tablets and conducting the worship has been thus described: "Many a well-to-do family possesses its ancestor temple, where the soul tablets of its oldest generations are preserved, and where sacrifices are offered to them. . . . Here stands a huge table which has on it the tablets of parents, grandparents, and even of still older generations, not yet removed to the temple, side by side with images of other domestic gods which are not ancestors. The well-to-do there have shrines for these tablets and idols. A table in front of the altar serves for the offerings which are presented by the family on various fixed days in the calendar, with the father or grandfather at their head. . . . There are, then, for every man or woman in China, three altars for the exercise of ancestor worship: one at home, one at the grave, one in the temple of the clan."⁵⁴

During the period of the Chau dynasty [i. e., the twelfth to the sixth century B. C.] a substitute for the tablets was tried. "The wooden tablet was discarded, and the departed ancestors were represented at the service by living relatives of the same surname, chosen according to certain rules. These took for the time the place of the dead, received the honors which were done to them, and were supposed to be possessed by their spirits. They ate and drank as those they impersonated would have done; accepted for them the homage rendered by their descendants, communicated their will to the principal worshiper, and pronounced on him and on his line their benediction, being assisted in this point by a mediating officer of prayer. This strange practice of using living relatives at the ancestral worship, instead of the wooden tablets, passed away with the dynasty in which it prevailed."⁵⁵

Regular idols, however, as well as "tablets" are in common use in China, as the following account by an observer indicates: "The images of gods exist by tens of thousands, the temples by thousands. Almost every temple has idol gods which are in co-ordinate or subordinate rank to the chief god, or even regarded as its attendant servants. They are placed on the high altar, on side altars, or in side chapels. . . . Large idols are for the most part of wood and clay; the small ones are often of copper, bronze or porcelain. Icons painted on paper are worshiped in great numbers. . . . Also for the mountains, rocks, stones, streams, brooks, which the people worship, images are fashioned to be the homes of their souls, and temples are erected to them. . . . In short, every possible represen-

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79.

⁵⁵ Legge, *The Religion of China*, pp. 76, 77.

tation of a god is considered to be the abiding place of his soul, and therefore identical with the god himself.”⁵⁶ In fact, so common are the idols that we find the statement that “myriads of images thus stud the Chinese soil, characterizing it as the principal idolatrous country of the world.”⁵⁷



THE DEMON OF LIGHTNING.
A Japanese Temple Statue.

We find in Japan quite a similar custom and belief. Thus we are told that “in many private dwellings there is a *kami-dana* [god-shelf] where a *harahi*, consisting of a piece of wood from the Ise shrine, and tickets with the names of any gods whom the household has any special reason for worshiping, are kept. Lafcadio Hearn says that nowadays there is also a *Mitamaya* (august-spirit-dwell-

⁵⁶ De Groot, *Religion of the Chinese*, pp. 123, 124.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

ing) which is a model Shinto shrine placed on a shelf fixed against the wall of some inner chamber. In this shrine are placed thin tablets of white wood, inscribed with the names of the household dead. Prayers are repeated and offerings made before them every day. The annual festivals (*matsuri*) of the Ujigami, or local patron-deity, are everywhere important functions. Offerings are made, and the god, or rather his emblem, is promenaded in a procession."⁵⁸ Shinto appears to be the oldest religion in Japan, and in this worship they have *Gohei*, wands to which scallops of paper are attached, and these "are to be seen at every shrine and at every Shinto ceremony. Sometimes the god is supposed to come down and take up his temporary abode in the *Gohci*."⁵⁹ In Japan there appear to have been family and tribal or clan gods surviving from early times, and also national gods, similar to those found in other parts of the world, with tablets and idols in which they were supposed to dwell.

Thus it appears that the Japanese as well as the Chinese have for centuries used both tablets and idols. But in both nations the worship was essentially the same. A spirit was believed to enter some object (idol, tablet, *gohei*), and before these they prayed, beseeching the aid of the spirits, and offering to them sacrifices of various kinds intended to supply their desires, mollify their anger, and win their good will and assistance. The worship of these spirits appears to have been for ages, and is yet, the central and dominating feature of the religion of these nations. Out of this worship developed their religious customs, ceremonies and doctrines.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

⁵⁸ Aston, *Shinto*, 73-74.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 60.

THE CATACOMBS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE insight into the life of the early Christian church which we gain through patristic literature, is well illustrated by the tomb inscriptions and paintings of the Roman and other catacombs. The symbols which we see there and the short epitaphs are simple and sometimes crude; but knowing the faith they represented, we find them impressive witnesses of a most important period in the history of mankind.

Catacombs are subterranean cemeteries, and the ones usually associated with the term are those in the immediate neighborhood of Rome built during the first four centuries of our era. These subterranean burial places are labyrinths of narrow tunnels, scarcely more than three or four feet wide, dug in the soft tufa stone without any regularity, and considering the darkness underground it is not advisable to venture into them except with a guide well familiar with their topography. The gloom is increased by the funereal atmosphere, and it would be positively dangerous to life to breathe the air for any length of time. Other catacombs have been discovered in Naples, Cyrene, Sicily, Melos, San Jenaro dei Poveri, and other places in lower Italy, also in Alexandria and Paris.

In the days of the early Roman republic the bodies of the dead were buried, while later on it became the custom to cremate them; but because of the Christians' belief in the resurrection of the body, they revived the ancient custom of burial. Thus it happens that the character of the catacombs is mainly Christian although they contain also quite a number of pagan tombs. In addition, however, there is an extensive Jewish cemetery near the Via Appia. Some tombs have been used twice, and their slabs, called opisthographs, show in most cases a pagan inscription inside and a Christian epitaph outside, which suggests the theory that pagans started this mode of burial and the Christians continued it until finally paganism

disappeared. The earliest Christian tombs which can be dated with certainty belong to the second century.

The commonest and simplest graves are called *loculi* or "places." The larger ones leaving a space above the dead body are "table tombs," and those with an arched top are *arcosolia*. The tunnels lead sometimes to rooms in which several graves are cut into the walls. They are mostly family sepulchers, and are called crypts or *cubicula*.



THE JEWISH CATACOMBS.

Roller, *Les catacombes de Rome*, IV, No. 2.

In ancient times the catacombs were called cemeteries (*coemeteria*) but it happened that the first one of these burying grounds that became generally known was called the "cemetery near the catacombs" (*Coemeterium ad catacumbas*)¹ or simply "catacombs" which later on changed to "catacombs," and this name was gradually adopted for all burial places of the same type.

The most ancient report about the catacombs which is still ex-

¹ Derived from *κατακύμβαι*. It seems that this was the name of the locality around the third milestone of the Via Appia.

tant was written by St. Jerome who visited them when a boy in the year 354. St. Jerome says:



A BURIAL IN THE CATACOMBS.
By H. Le Roux.

“When I was a boy receiving my education in Rome, I and my schoolfellows used, on Sundays, to make the circuit of the se-

pulchers of the apostles and martyrs. Many a time did we go down into the catacombs. These are excavated deep in the earth, and contain, on either hand as you enter, the bodies of the dead buried in the wall. It is all so dark there that the language of the prophet (Ps. lv. 15) seems to be fulfilled, 'Let them go down quick into hell.' Only occasionally is light let in to mitigate the horror of the gloom, and then not so much through a window as through a hole. You take each step with caution, as, surrounded by deep night, you recall the words of Virgil:

'Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent.'

[Horror here everywhere frightens our souls; so does the dead silence.]"

In Jerome's time burial in the catacombs began to be discontinued and henceforth they came to be considered as tombs of the martyrs and thus became objects of reverence. With this thought in mind, Pope Damascus (366-384 A. D.) had the inscriptions renovated and the pictures improved by an artist Philocalus, a policy which was continued by several other popes.

Philocalus improved the artistic style, but he and his successors have done much harm to the historic value of these monuments.

The catacombs are referred to by Prudentius in his poem on the martyr Hippolytus, and further mention is made of them in itineraries of the seventh century. During the eighth century the tombs became gradually despoiled of their most valuable treasures, especially the sarcophagi, and the bodies of those who were assumed to be martyrs and saints. Pope Paul at the end of the eighth century started this work, and his example was followed by his successors until the catacombs had ceased to be an attraction for pilgrims. Most of the entrances became closed by sand and dust with the exception of the catacomb of St. Sebastian which remained accessible all the time.

The oldest of the Roman catacombs was that of Domitilla, a princess of the imperial house, near the Via Ardeatina. Others are the crypt of Saints Petrus and Marcellinus near the Via Labicana, the catacomb of St. Priscilla near the Via Salara, and those most frequented by visitors situated near the Via Appia, probably belonging to the third century, called the cemeteries of St. Calixtus and St. Cecilia and the Crypt of the Popes. We here reproduce a picture of the crypt of Pope Cornelius near the Via Labicana.

A volume might be written on the history of the investigation of the catacombs. We must here be satisfied with enumerating the names of the several scholars who have devoted much of their time

and energy to these curious monuments of the most interesting period of Christianity.

We will briefly mention Baronius, the church historian who



was the first to call attention to their significance. An enormous labor has been accomplished by Bosio, who laid the basis for all future work in his book entitled *Roma Sotterranea*, published in 1639. In 1651 Aringhi published a Latin translation of it, and in 1737 Bosio's plates were reedited and republished by Botteri. In 1770 Boldetti added to the contribution of his predecessors in his *Osservazioni*, and other valuable material was brought to light in 1825 by Seroux d'Agincourt, a French art historian. Raoul Rochette presented a valuable synopsis of all that was so far known but not much that was new. A new period begins with the *Monumenti delle arti cristiane primitive*, by the Jesuit priest Marchi, who for the first time refutes some wrong ideas concerning the origin of the catacombs as mere sand-pits, and proves that they were dug for the purpose of serving as regular burial places. This more scientific treatment of the subject is continued by Comendatori and



THE MAGI BRINGING GIFTS.

Marble now preserved in the Lateran Museum. From Roller, *Les catacombes de Rome*, pl. LXVII.

Michele de Rossi, of whom the former had worked for some time in company with Father Marchi, and the brothers published their results in three large folios under almost the same title as Bosio's work *Roma sotterranea cristiana* in the years 1864-1867. An English translation of De Rossi's exceedingly valuable work has been made by Northcote, Oscott, and Brownlaw, and a German one by Prof. Franz Xaver Kraus (second edition 1897).

Most helpful for people interested in the fish-symbol of the catacombs is the long essay of J. B. Pitra, a French Benedictine monk (later on cardinal) who published his investigations in an essay entitled "IXΘΥΣ sive de pisce allegorico et symbolico" in the third volume of an almost inaccessible periodical called *Specilegium Solesmense*, pp. 449-543. It is followed in the same periodical by another article on the same subject by Giovanni Battista de Rossi under the title "De Christianis monumentis IXΘΥΝ exhibentibus."

Among other less inaccessible publications that belong to this class we shall mention besides the valuable French work of Roller entitled *Les catacombes de Rome*, only two others, both written in German. One is the monograph by Ferdinand Becker on "The Representation of Jesus Christ under the Symbol of the Fish,"² and the other is by Dr. Hans Achelis on "The Symbol of the Fish and Fish Monuments in the Roman Catacombs".³ Both recapitulate in a condensed form the labors of their predecessors and quote all the passages of Christian literature in Greek or Latin on the fish, Becker reproducing a great number of illustrations in zincographs.

So far the investigation of the catacombs had been a monopoly of Roman Catholic scholars and only recently have Protestants in-



MIRACLES SCULPTURED IN THE CATACOMBS.

Marble in the cemetery of St. Calixtus. From Roller, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII, 2. Daniel and the lions; the miracle of Cana; the raising of Lazarus, Found on Mt. Vatican.

identally devoted themselves to the problem of their origin and character. Among these investigators we will mention Mommsen⁴ who dispelled forever the idea that there was any secrecy about the origin of the catacombs and that they had been places of refuge during the time of the persecutions. It would not be impossible that occasionally some fugitive may have hidden in the catacombs, but that they were used for this purpose to any extent, or that they were meeting places of the early Christians concealed from the knowledge of pagans, is quite excluded, if for no other reason, because the narrowness of the tunnels and crypts and the bad air would make a long sojourn in the catacombs dangerous to health.

² *Die Darstellung Jesu Christi unter dem Bilde des Fisches*. Gera, Reese-witz, 1876.

³ *Das Symbol des Fisches und die Fischdenkmäler der römischen Katacomben*. Marburg, Elwert, 1888.

⁴ See *Contemporary Review*, May, 1871.

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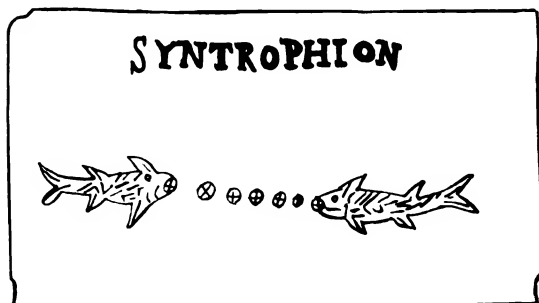
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THE TWO DOLPHINS.

An inscription only preserved in fragments discovered in the cemetery of Petrus and Marcellinus by de Rossi.



THE TOMBSTONE OF SYNTROPHION.

Discovered in Modena in 1862. The epitaph contains the name of the deceased "Syntrophion" and below it two fishes are swallowing seven small loaves or wafers marked with a cross.



CEBHPA

ET XI

MEAITIN



EPITAPHIS OF TWO CHILDREN.

The tomb of the former, by her parents called "Sweet Constant" was found in the cemetery of Priscilla and is reproduced by Bosio and again by de Rossi (No. 15) and Aringhi who regards it as pagan (*R. S.*, II, 288). The second marks the resting place of Cevera Melitina, a little girl of 11 years. The writing is in Greek and the age (*actate* XI) is written between the two names. It was discovered in the cemetery of Hermes and is reproduced in Lupi's *Ep. Sev. M.*, p. 65 (de Rossi, 16).



CARAE COIVGI · BENE · MERENTI

POSVIT

QVAE A^NNIS · VIXIT · M^ECV · XIII

MESES · X · DIES · V

AN ANONYMOUS TOMB.

This epitaph reads "To his dear wife the well-deserving, he has erected it." There is some mistake in the years which we cannot undertake to correct.

While pagan tombs are also met with in the catacombs these burial grounds from the second to the fourth century were mainly used by Christians. It was, as Mommsen has pointed out, an era of prosperity under pagan rule, which began with the golden age of Roman civilization under Augustus and ended in the time of Constantine. At that time Rome was the center of the world; but after Christianity became the state religion the decay of Rome set in. The city was plundered successively by the Goths, the Lombards and the Vandals, and the seat of Government had been removed by Constantine to Constantinople. During this period of neglect Rome lost in prestige as well as in wealth, and its relative impotence in conjunction with its old glory made it possible for the papacy to develop. Under its guidance Rome succeeded in conquering the world a second time and regained its lost leadership by means of spiritual arms.

The significance of the catacombs lies in the spirit of the early Christians which is displayed in their symbols painted on the tombstones. Many thousands of graves are without inscriptions, others have epitaphs commemorating the names of the dead, and still others are marked with Christian symbols. In addition we have frescoes in the crypts. Considering the enormous extent of the catacombs, however, and notwithstanding the important lesson involved in these monuments, it is remarkable how small the yield is which the investigators here have discovered. The art displayed remains with very few exceptions, in even its best portions, mediocre, and the inscriptions exhibit an appalling lack of education, for wrong spelling is not at all uncommon.

The symbols are limited to the Christogram, $\Lambda\Omega$, the swastika cross, the ship, bread, or seven baskets of bread, the anchor, the dove with an olive branch, and above all the fish.

Among the illustrations which decorate the walls of the crypts are, first of all and strange to say, the pagan deity Orpheus as a representative of immortality, then the Good Shepherd; further, the figure of an *orante*, the deceased in the attitude of prayer with raised hands, and a number of biblical subjects in general, the resurrection of Lazarus, the three men in the fiery furnace, Daniel in the lions' den, Moses striking the rock, together with scenes that deal with fishes and with water, such as fishermen, the scene of baptism, and the stories of Jonah and Noah.

From the material published by scholars from Bosio down to modern times we select the most interesting examples, and from among them especially those which exhibit the symbol of the fish

as most characteristic of Christianity at that time. It cannot be our ambition to present in this collection anything new, because the field has been thoroughly covered by these Christian archeologists.

* * *

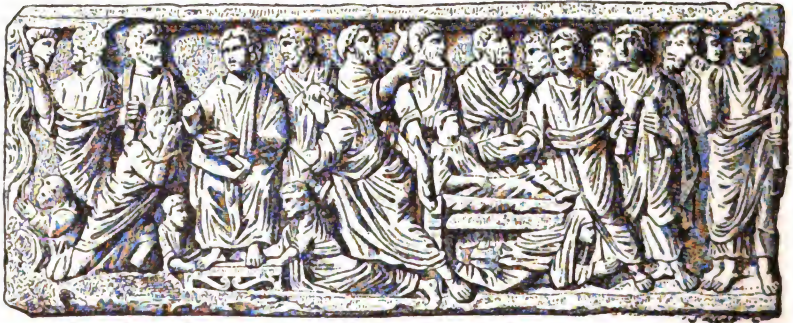
We will begin our enumeration with instances of fish-symbols which are not Christian. Becker refers to two pagan monuments



THE GOOD SHEPHERD DIVIDING THE SHEEP FROM THE GOATS.

Roller, pl. XLIII, 3.

at Rome which bear representations of fishes, but he does not hesitate to claim five other inscriptions as Christian because the word $\text{IX}\Theta\text{Y}\Sigma$ is inscribed on them, while our own conclusion leads us to the assumption that they belong to circles among the population



FOUR BIBLICAL SCENES ON A SARCOPHAGUS.

From Le Blant, *Sarcophages chrétiens*, pl. XVII, and p. 28 (1) Moses striking the rock; (2) adoration of Christ; (3) raising of Jairus's daughter; (4) Christ standing with right hand raised (incomplete).

of Rome where pagan and Christian views were mingled and where for safety's sake the efficacy of the symbols of both religions was resorted to.

A highly important monument is the sarcophagus which "Livia

Nicarus constructed to her sister Livia Primitiva who lived 24 years and 9 months." Bosio who first published a reproduction of this monument in his *R. S.* (p. 89) with his good knowledge of the character of inscriptions and monuments, suspected its Christian origin, and Aringhi (I, 321) adopted his arguments. After him Reinesius in his *Syntagma inscriptionum antiquarium* (1682), p. 785, No. 8, and also Raoul-Rochette in *Mémoire de l'acad. des inscript.*, (XIII, pp. 107-108, 224) declared the monument to be pagan and explained the Christian symbols under the inscription as later Christian additions. This however is excluded by the sameness of the incision which in both cases is not in relief but cut into the stone. Moreover it is not probable that the space should have



THE SARCOPHAGUS OF LIVIA PRIMITIVA
Found on Mt. Vatican.

been originally left blank. The inscription and symbols together fill the field so harmoniously that they must have been conceived at the same time. Victor Schultze (*Altchristliche Monummente*, p. 233) finds himself compelled to accept the pagan origin of both inscription and symbols, and in his argument he defends his view by the following considerations:

"It is well known that ancient art possessed a representation of a shepherd carrying a sheep in his arms, as well as Christian art. The graffito in question possesses two peculiarities which definitely prove that it is not Christian. On Christian monuments the shepherd either holds the sheep with both hands or he holds two legs (or all four) in one hand, or else the animal lies on his shoulder

without being held at all which in reality would be an impossibility. But on the sarcophagus of Livia Primitiva the shepherd is holding



THE GOOD SHEPHERD OF THE LATERAN.
Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, I, 227.



FRESCO SHOWING GOOD SHEPHERD AMONG OTHER CHRISTIAN SCENES.
In the cemetery of Petrus and Marcellinus.

the fore-legs of the sheep with his right hand while the left encircles the hind quarters of the animal, as is never seen in any of the innumerable representations of the Good Shepherd. It is likewise

without precedence in Christian art that the sheep standing around the shepherd should be distinctly indicated as rams.⁵ . . . Hence unless we recognize this to be an exceptional instance, we cannot escape the conclusion that the shepherd of the graffito on the Vatican sarcophagus is a pagan representation.

"This line of argument is decidedly confirmed by the difference in style easily recognizable to the less practiced eye between the



THE RAM-BEARING HERMES.
Fragment of an altar at Athens.



THE GANDHARA LAMB
BEARER.

central group and the emblems at each side. The center group is elegantly drawn and is carefully and skilfully shaded as is not the case with a single early Christian graffito. But the fish and anchor have indefinite outlines and no shading at all; besides, one arm of the anchor is not correctly foreshortened, an error which probably cannot be ascribed to the construction of the central graffito. Then too the lines of the figures at the side are much more deeply incised

⁵ In our outline reproduction this feature does not appear so plainly as in the original monument.

than those of the main picture and furnish a disturbing element in its tasteful arrangement.

"Under these circumstances we must regard the shepherd of the sarcophagus of Livia Primitiva as a pagan work and include it among the number of those pastoral scenes of which ancient sculpture and painting offer innumerable examples.

"The above lines had already been written when M. Berger, secretary of the Theological Faculty at Paris, undertook at my request to examine the sarcophagus with regard to this point. He made the following statement on the subject: 'Without daring to express an opinion on the great question as to whether the fish and the anchor are later than the Good Shepherd and the two rams, I will nevertheless observe that the anchor and fish appear less carefully drawn and incised; the anchor especially is out of drawing and is placed rather awkwardly behind one of the rams, therefore I would not be opposed to your hypothesis.'"

It does honor to Professor Schultze to notice the finer difference between the Good Shepherd and this presumably pagan prototype, but we would not rely upon it so much as Professor Schultze does. Nevertheless, it proves that this design must have been made before the typical attitude of the Christian Good Shepherd had been established.

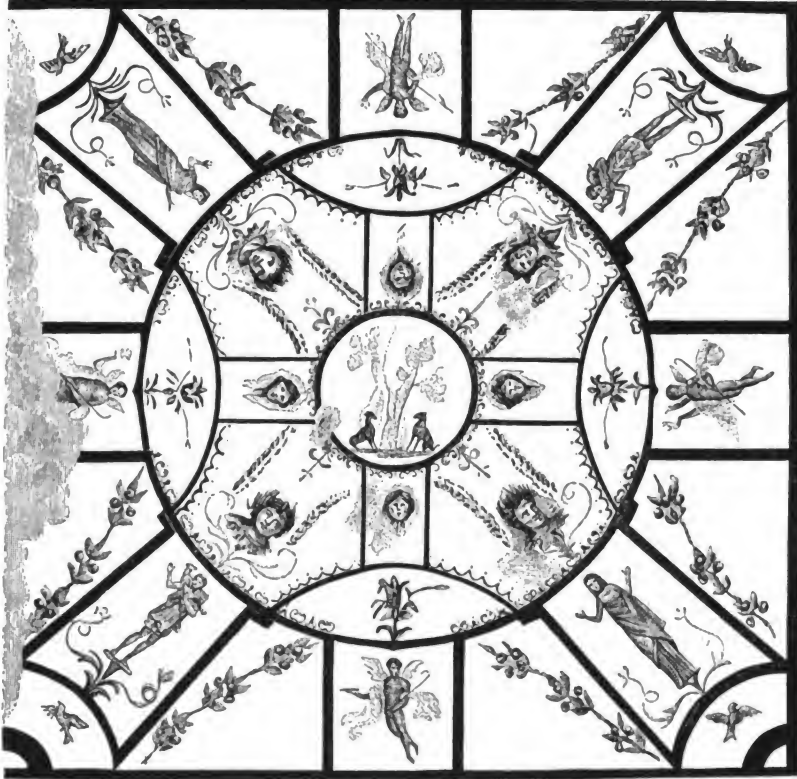
The difference between the style of anchor and fish from the rest of the monument is not convincing and we cannot see that the anchor is as incorrect as Professor Schultze assumes. In fact the foreshortening of one arm seems to add to the artistic effect.

We would here add that the symbol of the Good Shepherd appears even on Buddhist monuments at Gandhara whither it was carried by Greek sculptors, and even if fish and anchor would have to be regarded as being of the same style we see no reason why all the symbols should not be considered as pre-Christian, for anchors and fishes are not absent among pagan symbols, and the Good Shepherd ought to be really the main argument in favor of the Christian origin of this sarcophagus. If the Good Shepherd is proved to be pagan we would find no difficulty in accepting also the fish and the anchor as of the same workmanship. In fact we cannot discover any motive for adding these symbols for the purpose of making the monument appear Christian.

Whatever we may think of the monument it seems a striking evidence of the transition in the use of symbols from pagan to Christian times. We know from Clement of Alexandria (III) that the early Christians did not create new symbols but selected from

those that existed such traditional emblems as could find a Christian interpretation. Among those mentioned by Clement, and according to the context he presupposes them to be in use among the pagans, he especially mentions the anchor of the pagan king Seleucus and the fish.

The picture on the ceiling of Santa Lucina shows in the center a tree with two animals of doubtful nature, commonly supposed to



CEILING OF SANTA LUCINA.

After de Rossi.

be sheep. It is surrounded by ornamental heads, flowers, and birds, by Cupids and figures in the attitude of prayer. Considering the fact that this was the mode in which the ancients approached the gods and in which the souls of the dead were portrayed on their arrival at the throne of Proserpine, there is not one emblem on this monument of the catacombs that can be regarded as typically Christian.

The inscription "D. M." is an abbreviation for *diis manibus* and is a purely pagan invocation of the "gods of the dead," but Christians continued to use it because it was a traditional formula, which had best be respected. It is true it betrays a continuance of pagan thought but a close analysis of primitive Christianity will show that transition is everywhere the same. Even Constantine halted between both sides and was pleased to have the labarum serve as a pagan symbol by his pagan followers while the Christians saw in it the Christogram. But the "D. M." is used at least in one instance on an unequivocally Christian tombstone discovered by Visconti near Ostia, and dated by de Rossi according to the form of letters approximately in the beginning of the third century. It reads:

D. M.
M. ANNEO
PAULO. PETRO
M. ANNEUS PAULUS
FILIO. CARISSIMO.

The names, especially the combination of Peter and Paul, are an unequivocal evidence of the Christian character of the tomb.



FRAGMENT OF LICINIA'S TOMBSTONE.

Found on Mt. Vatican and now in the Kircher Museum.

Another tombstone marked "D. M." and bearing the inscription *ΙΧΘΥΣ ΖΩΝΤΩΝ* is claimed to be Christian, but the evidence seems insufficient. The wreath between the D and M rather indicates the Mithraistic faith, and we know too well that the pagans also believed in a "fish of the living." We should bear in mind at

the same time that the duplication of the fish finds no explanation in Christianity while we have seen that the double fish is found in India, in China and also in ancient Babylon, where the two fishes have been placed in the starry heavens as one of the constellations of the zodiac. The stone was dug out with other monuments on




EPITAPH OF POPOULENIA.

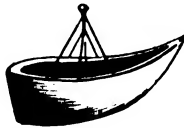
D M
POMPONIAE FORTVNV
LAE QVE DECESSET IN PACE
QVE VIXIT ANN. II. MEN. I. DIES XX



EPITAPH OF LITTLE POMPONIA.

Mt. Vatican in 1841 and is now preserved in the Kircher Museum at Rome. It is recognized, as expressly stated by Becker, that the form of the stone is unusual among Christian monuments and yet it is claimed as unquestionably Christian in spite of the D. M. because of the occurrence of the word ΙΧΘΥΣ. Victor Schultze deems "the fish of the living" a later addition by a Christian hand (*Arch.*

D  M
M·AVRELIO·ER
MAISCO
BENE MERENTI
(sic) QVEN OMNES SODALES
SVI QVERVNT



A PAGAN INSCRIPTION OF ROME.
After Cruter, *Inscript. ant.*, DCXLII.



DOLPHIN ON THE TRIDENT.
A pagan symbol in the cemetery of St. Calixtus.

Stud., p. 229 ff.) But if the Christian character of this monument is to be questioned we have no positive assurance that the fish or the word ΙΧΘΥΣ by itself can be regarded as unequivocal Christian evidence.

For other inscriptions marked "D. M." we may mention one

in the cemetery of Helena found on the tomb of Popoulenia, a Greek woman whose Christian faith becomes probable by the fish added beneath her epitaph; and also that of little Pomponia in the cemetery of Praetextatus, which de Rossi dates in the third century (No. 20). She lived two years, one month and 20 days.

Another inscription whose pagan character is indicated by the "D. M." bears the inscription "To Marcus Aurelius Ermaiscus, the

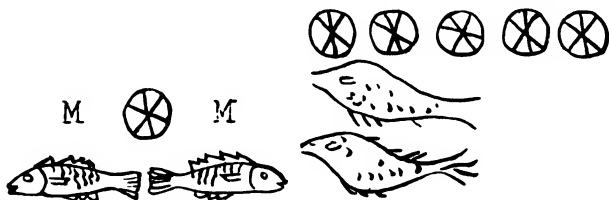


DOLPHINS AND PEACOCKS.

Though this slab from the cemetery of Praetextatus is now kept in the "Hall of Christian Sarcophagi" in the Lateran Museum, its Christian origin is by no means assured.

well-deserving, whom his comrades mourn." The trident too is a pagan symbol and where it is found we may assume that the tomb is probably non-Christian. Another inscription including a trident is found in the cemetery of Nereus and Achilleus. (See the first illustration on page 213 in the April *Open Court*.)

After the middle of the fourth century the dedication "D. M." disappears, an indication that about this time paganism has en-



FISHES AND BREAD.

The former epitaph (discovered in Ravenna) bears below the fishes an inscription in which Valerius dedicates the tomb to his wife and his sister. The double "M" may be a substitution for the more usual "D. M." The second is from the cemetery of Hermes and shows five loaves and two fishes without any inscription.

tirely died out. With the spread of Christianity, especially under the rule of Constantine, the use of the fish-symbol on Christian tombs increases, but strange to say it disappears suddenly and there is only one after the year 400 which utilizes this symbol of Christ. Among fourteen hundred Christian inscriptions dated up to the seventh century there is none found later than that date.

There are occasional tombs that seem to be Jewish, or if not Jewish they indicate plainly that the lines of demarcation cannot be definitely drawn. Jews and Gentiles intermarried and used their sacred symbols interchangeably. Once or twice we find the seven-branched candlestick on Gentile epitaphs, and fish are sometimes scattered on Jewish tombs. A possible instance of a Jewish or Christian-Jewish tomb is that of Atokai the wife of Moses.

In the Jewish cemetery on the Via Appia there is an unequivocally Jewish tomb⁶ which exhibits two groups, one of three and one of four fishes, so arranged that one of the fishes is placed upon a high basket while the others lie beside it on the floor. The fishes are surrounded by baskets filled with bread.



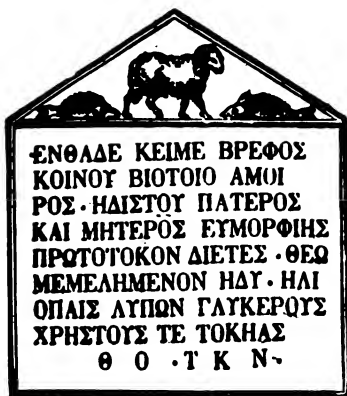
THE TOMB OF ATOKAI.

Possibly Jewish. (From de Rossi, pl. XXXIX-XL, 10.)

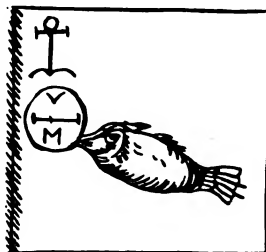
A tombstone now preserved in the Oberlin Museum at Strassburg, Germany, but discovered about two centuries ago in Rome where it existed in 1727 in the Via Giustiniana, published for the first time by Schöppflin in *Alsatia illustrata*, I, p. 601, bears an inscription which reads as follows: "Here lie I, a child not yet taking any part in the communal life, of the sweetest father and fairest mother the first born, two years old, beloved of God, Heliopais, leaving my good and sweet parents; a child of God." The name "Heliopais" means the child of Helios, the sun-god. In spite of this most pagan name the tombstone is classed as Christian on account of the ram and the two fishes. The original is written in

⁶Described without an illustration by Victor Schultze in his *Katakomben*, p. 121.

Greek verse but is partly spoiled by mistakes. The words here translated "Child of God"⁷ are abbreviated in the last line.⁸ The evidence will appeal to many, but considering the fact that the ram is not a lamb, and that we again have the fishes duplicated, and finally



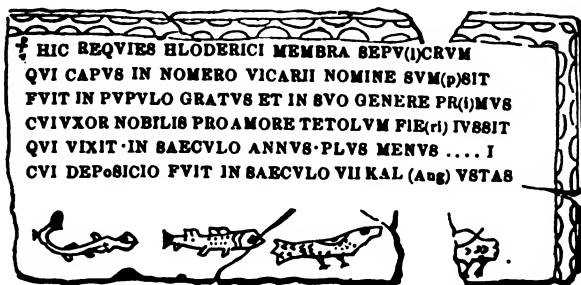
TOMBSTONE OF A CHILD.



TOMBSTONE OF A MATHEMATICIAN.

that the spirit of the verses is pagan and contains no reference to Christ, we must hesitate to accept the argument as conclusive.

Another slab marks the grave of a mathematician (as we believe) but scarcely a Christian. It is found in the cemetery of Nereus and Achilleus near the gate of San Sebastian and shows



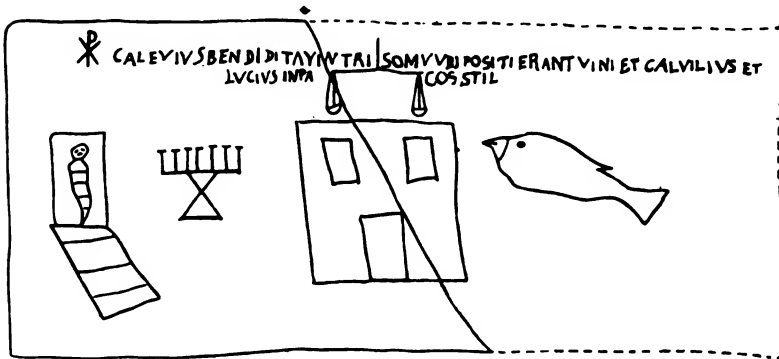
THE EPITAPH OF HLODERICUS.

three emblems, the fish, the solar disk and the anchor. The solar disk contains within it a line divided according to the golden cut so as to produce a proportion in which the smaller part of the line is to the larger as the larger is to the whole. The golden cut was regarded by the ancient mathematicians as an ideal norm analogous

⁷ Θεοῦ τέκνον.⁸ ΘΟ ΤΚΝ.

to the golden rule in ethics. The symbol above the line of the golden cut is doubtful. It may mean a flying bird, perhaps a dove, or even an angle, or the letter V standing for *vives*. And again V and M may be the numbers 5 and 1000, or the initials of the person buried there.

A string of fishes is pictured on the tomb of Hlodericus, a vicar of the monastery of St. Maximus near Treves. It was discovered in 1818 and the inscription reads: "Here rest is given to the limbs of Hlodericus in the grave, who held the rank of vicar. He was a favorite among the people and in his tribe the first. His wife, of noble birth, for the sake of her love had this inscription made. He lived in his worldly time, years —. He was buried in the time of



A CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 400.

Found in the cemetery of Quartus and Quintus on the Via Latina. The inscription relates that "Calevius sold to Avinius a *trismum* (a tomb for three bodies) which contains the two bodies of Calvilius and Lucius." The pictures of the fish, a house, a pair of balances, the seven-branched candlestick, and the tomb of Lazarus are extremely crude.

the seventh day before the Calends of August." The inscription must be old because the letters are scratched into the marble and the C is made of straight lines. The fishes and birds are of a very crude construction. Steiner ascribes this monument to the fifth century, Le Blant to the sixth or seventh, but Pitra places it as early as the fourth.

The pertinent suggestion has been made by Victor Schultze (*Katakomben*, p. 129) that a fish on a tomb sometimes indicates the former profession of the occupant; for instance "Amias" is the Greek name of a certain kind of fish, "Pelagia" means "belonging to the sea" and even "Maria" may be derived from *mare*. We here reproduce the epitaph of a certain "sweet daughter Pelagia, the

redeemed." The word *restitutae* indicates that the girl was a Christian, but the fish and anchors were probably selected as emblematic of her name.

Another fish and anchor that do not have this significance are found on the tomb dedicated "By Titus Claudius Marcianus and Cornelia Hilaritas to Cornelia Paula, who lived 10 years and 8 days." It is significant as showing that the fish was used as a Chris-



THE EPITAPH OF PELAGIA.

tian symbol in the year 234 which is given by the names of the consuls.

Clement of Alexandria advises Christians to have their seals ornamented either "by a dove, or a fish, or a ship scudding before the wind, or a musical lyre which Polycrates used, or a ship's anchor which Seleucus had engraved as a device; and if there be one fishing, he will remember the apostle, and the children drawn out of the water" (III, 11). If he had known of the fish as a

TI · CL · MARCIANVS · ET
CORNELIA · HILARITAS
CORNELIAE · PAVLAE · PAR ·
FECR · QVAE · VIX · ANN · X · DIEB
VIII · DEC · X · KAL · AVG · MAX · ET
VRB · COS.



THE EPITAPH OF CORNELIA PAULA.

symbol of Christ he would have mentioned it in this passage, but he simply lets the fish pass as one of the allowable symbols which Christians should be permitted to use on their seals, and so we may fairly well assume that the idea of the fish as representing Christ was not known to him. In the circles where he lived the use of the fish on seals was not objectionable, but it has not as yet acquired that deeper meaning which it gained shortly before and under the

rule of Emperor Constantine. We here reproduce four seals of which the first is of chalcedony from the Royal Antiquarium of Berlin, (IX, 130). It bears the inscription IXΘ for IXΘΥΣ; the second is an onyx published by Münter (*Sinnbilder*, I, 23) and the third is a stone from Le Blant's collection. The reverse bears an



FOUR SEALS.

inscription in Greek which means, "Maria lived for many years." The fourth is preserved in the Royal Antiquarium of Berlin (IX, 129). It is of red jasper set in gold and shows an anchor and the word IXΘΥΣ besides the initials of the owner, T. M.

The fish is inserted also on amulets, as for instance on a bronze



TWO AMULETS.

fish which bears a Greek inscription ΣΟΣΑΙΣ, "Thou shalt save." Similar fish-amulets made of crystal, mother-of-pearl, ivory, and other less precious metals have frequently been found in tombs. The eight-sided sard bears an anchor and two fishes together with the name of Jesus, IESOU.



TWO GEMS.

A gem now preserved in the Vatican Library bears the inscription IXΘΥΣ in which the X is marked as a Christogram. Another is a carnelian bearing on one side a fish and on the other the head of Christ. It belongs to the collection of Charles Forget and is published by Le Blant (I, 371).

It may appear strange to Christians of to-day that the catacombs contain no instance of the cross. Since the time of Constantine, or a little after, the Christian faith was marked by the Christogram, which as a pagan emblem was called the labarum. The greatest probability of the origin of the labarum seems to be the Gallic symbol of the sun and the world. The slanting cross represents the four quarters of the world and is crowned by a solar disk which changed into the Greek ρ . Since it was of Gallic origin the soldiers of Gaul used the symbol on their shields and helmets as a protective amulet. It is well known that Constantine used the sign before he was a Christian, but when he acknowledged his leanings towards Christianity the Christians were quick to recognize the appropriateness of the symbol, which according to the emperor's

DEO SANC  VNI



LVCITE
CVM PAC
CE

(sic)



TOMB OF LUCIUS THE COOPER.

After Navarro's *Filumena*, I, 283 (de Rossi, No. 44; Bosio, *R. S.*, 303.)

interpretation had assured his success in battle. The legend tells us that he saw the sign in a dream and learned that it would be conducive to victory. The same story is told in different ways by pagans and by Christians.*

The Christogram exists in several forms both as an upright and a horizontal cross, and its occurrence is quite frequent in the catacombs. One instance occurs on the tomb of Lucius. The Christian character of this monument cannot be doubted, for besides the repeated use of the Christogram and the Good Shepherd the inscription is essentially Christian in its formulation: "To the holy and one God, Christ. O Lucius, peace be with thee." The Latin of *tecum pax* is of course an error, as it should be either *tecum pax*, or *cum pax*. The fish here portrayed is shaped like an

* For details see "The Chrisma and the Labarum," *Open Court*, XVI, 428.

eel and thickly covered with filaments. The wooden pail or tub seems to indicate that Lucius followed the cooper's trade. This tomb was found in a cemetery on the Via Latina.

Another tomb bearing the Christogram is that of Aemilia Cyriace. It was found in the garden of the mendicant monks at Rome. It is now lost but a copy made by Lupi is preserved in the Vatican. The mistakes in the inscription are easily corrected. The statement is made that Eucarpus, her father, and Secunda, her mother, have



AEMILIA CYRIACE
(sic) DECESSIT DIE Y KAL
(sic) SCPI OYAE VIXIT
ANN XVI MENS VI
DIES VIII EVKARPVS
PATER ET SECVNDA MATER
FECERVNT BENEMERENTI

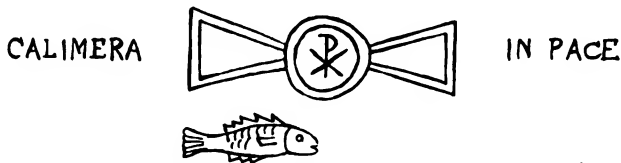


EPITAPH OF AEMILIA CYRIACE.

placed this tombstone to their little daughter Aemilia Cyriace, who lived 16 years, 6 months, and 8 days.

In the tombstone of Calimera the symbol of Christ's name is artistically framed in a conventional diagram and accompanied by a fish. It was found in the cemetery of Hermes.

The tomb of Pomponia is marked by a hammer as well as by the fish and Christogram, but this is not claimed as a symbol of



THE TOMBSTONE OF CALIMERA.

Lupi, *Ep. Sev. M.*, p. 53; de Rossi, 29.

martyrdom and admits of no explanation except that it bears some relation to the private affairs of the deceased.

The Christogram is found also on an altar piece in the church of St. Trophinus at Arles.

An inscription belonging probably to the fifth century and found in Palazzolo, Sicily, reads in an English translation thus: "Here lies Marinna who lived honorably and without blame, and left this world to go to the Lord at the age of 37 years, paying her debt on December 24, but she loved God. Do not disturb my tomb and do

not expose me to the light. But if thou shouldst admit the light may God show thee the light of his wrath." The tomb is marked by a Christogram and a Greek IXΘΥΣ, thus indicating the Christian

POMPONTIAQVIRI
ACEQVENATAEST
✠VKALDECETVIXIT
ANNXXXVIIIIMIII·DXII
EFFECTCVMMAKITO
SVOANNXXIMIII·DII BENMER

TOMBSTONE OF POMPONTIA.

See Mommsen, *Inscrip. regni. Neap. Lat.*, 7185.



AN ALTAR-PIECE AT ARLES.

From Le Blant, p. 44.

✠ IXΘYC

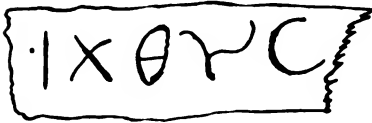
SYMBOL FROM THE TOMB OF MARINNA.

character of the inscription, although the curse at the end is a reminiscence of pagan times.

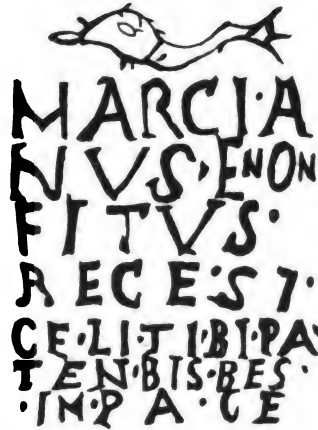
The word IXΘΥΣ, shown on the next page, is painted in black without further information on the wall of the crypt of Cornelius, in the cemetery of St. Calixtus. It is probably not a tomb inscription

but an expression of the faith of a visitor. Underneath it in our illustration we read that "Eutychus the father, a servant of God, has dedicated this to Eutychianus his very sweet son, who lived 1 year, 2 months, 4 days." He marks his Christian faith by the Christogram and the Greek word $\text{IX}\Theta\text{Y}\Sigma$. The fourth line is an abbreviation of *Dedicavit vixit annum unum menses duo dies quattuor*. The letter J before the Christogram may stand for Jesus. The third inscription in our illustrations is full of errors and means "Marcianus the neophyte has died. The heavens stand open to thee. Live in peace."

It will be noticed that together with the absence of the cross in all our illustrations from the catacombs we miss also any indication of martyrdom, and it seems that in the age during which the



EVTYCHIANO
 FILIO DVLCISSIMO
 EVTYCHVS PATER
 D. D. V. A. I. M. II. D. IIII.
 DEI SERVVS I X
 $\text{IX}\Theta\text{Y}\Sigma$



THREE INSCRIPTIONS.

catacombs served as burial places, the life of a Christian was much more peaceful than is commonly assumed, and the fact has gradually been conceded that ancient martyrdom has to be considerably limited. First we have the strange fact that Christian persecutions took place under the very best emperors, not under the villains except the first persecution attributed to Nero, but the Tacitean report of this has with good reasons been doubted and can no longer be regarded as historical. Concerning the pictures preserved in the times of ancient Christianity, Victor Schultze says in his *Katakomben* (page 261): "As in the circle of early Christian pictures contemporary representations of martyrdom are missing, so the inscriptions (in the catacombs) are void of any indication which characterizes or even merely suggests martyrdom. The titles which

mention a martyrdom have either been added afterwards, as for instance the epitaph of Cornelius (mentioned by Schultze, page 256), or are falsifications of a later date." To the latter class which are easily identified belongs the inscription communicated by Aringhi



DECORATIVE DETAIL IN THE CATACOMBS.

After a colored reproduction in de Rossi's *Roma Sott.*

(I, 33) from the cemetery Ostrianum, 1643, and the comment that a "flask with his blood has been placed beside it." The inscription reads: "Primitius in peace, who after many anxieties lived as a courageous martyr 38 years. He made it for his sweetest and well-

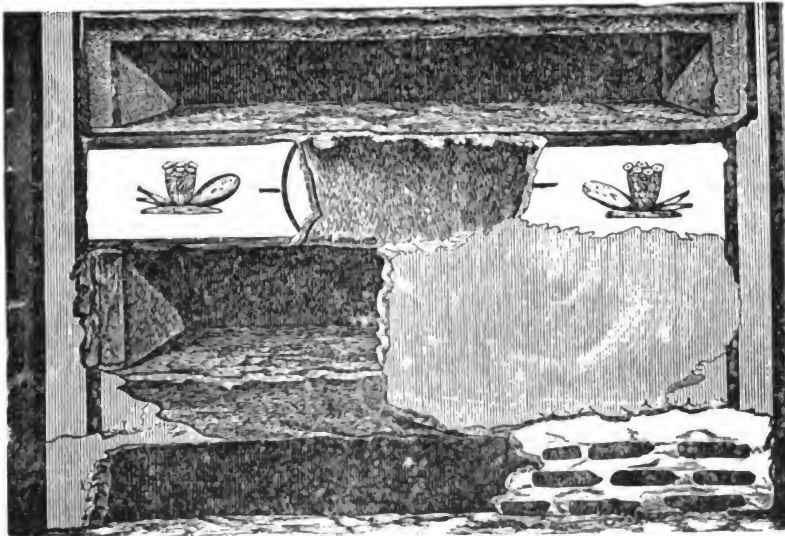
deserving wife." In the middle of the inscription stands the Christogram surrounded by a double circle.

The catacombs contain not only inscriptions and symbols but also pictures. Most of them are crude, but there are some cemeteries which are ornamented with artistic paintings indicating that



ODYSSEUS PASSING THE SIRENS.

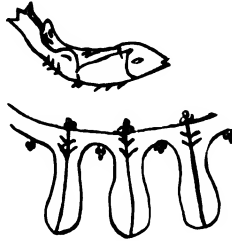
they were used by a wealthier class of people. This is especially true of the frescoes in the cemetery of St. Calixtus which is one of the most interesting portions of the catacombs. It contains frescoes representing Orpheus lyre in hand, Odysseus passing the Sirens, the demons of death, the story of Jonah in all its aspects.



THREE GRAVES IN ST. CALIXTUS.

the raising of Lazarus, symbols of the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist. These last are found in a special crypt whose decoration is devoted to the subject of the sacraments. Besides many representations of eucharist scenes there are also groups of loaves and fishes suggestive of the sacred meal. Between two strata of

graves we find a fresco showing two fish swimming on the surface of the water and carrying baskets with five loaves. Within each basket is a red glass of wine. Again in other parts of the



FRAGMENT OF A TOMBSTONE IN MARBLE.

Now in the Musso Cristiano di S. Giov. in the Lateran at Rome.
A fish swims above flowerlike ornaments.

same cemetery the symbolic character of water is further represented by Moses striking the rock with his staff, and the fisherman pulling out the fish. On a trident a fish is twisted snake-like, and

ΠΙΣΤΟC ΣΚΗΠΙC
ΤΩΝ ΖΩCΙΜΟC
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΣΙΜΕ (sic) .
ΖΗCΑC·ΕΤΕCΙΝ
Β·ΜΗ·Α·ΗΜΕ·ΚΕ



THE EPITAPH OF ZOSIMOS.

The inscription reads: "I, a believer, [child] of believers, Zosimos, rest here, having lived 2 years, 1 month, 25 days."

on the ceiling we see the Good Shepherd surrounded by the incidents of the story of Jonah. We find here other crypts, the tombs of several Roman bishops, Anterus, Fabianus, Lucius, Eutuchianus and others.

THE EROICA SYMPHONY OF BEETHOVEN.¹

BY BARON VON DER PFORDTEN.

BEETHOVEN'S Third Symphony in E-Flat, Op. 55, is called the Eroica, the Hero Symphony. The occasion of the origin and the name is exceptionally familiar to us. General Bernadotte was quite intimate with Beethoven during his stay in Vienna as French ambassador, and proposed that the composer "celebrate the greatest hero of the century in a piece of music." Most probably Bernadotte's admiration and enthusiasm for Napoleon was chiefly founded on his military achievements, but Beethoven, as we shall soon see, had a different conception, broader and deeper.

In May, 1804, the symphony was finished and was to be presented in Paris. The arrangement of the title page was especially characteristic, for at the top stood "Napoleon Bonaparte," and lower down, "Luigi van Beethoven." Aside from this there was nothing. No formula of homage nor flattering phrase, not even an ordinary dedication. Only the two great names with full acknowledgment of the equality of the ruler in the realm of sound with the mighty conqueror of men. Then Napoleon performed his *coup d'état* and was proclaimed emperor. This changed the situation.

A trustworthy witness tells us how the news affected Beethoven. He cried out in a passion of anger, "Is he nothing but an ordinary man like all the rest? Now he too will tread all the rights of man underfoot simply to further his own ambition. Now he will set himself above all the rest and be a tyrant!" Perhaps these are not Beethoven's exact words, but the sense at any rate is correctly given. In a rage he tore up the title page, threw it in shreds upon the ground and tramped it underfoot. Thus he castigated his disappointment. Thus he destroyed his own Napoleonic cult.

We may smile at Beethoven's naïveté. It seems almost past belief that Bonaparte could so be misjudged, so idealized. But

¹ Translated from the German by Lydia G. Robinson.

Beethoven was not the only one who permitted himself to be deceived and who revered the clever and ambitious Corsican as the benefactor of mankind. Many idealists thus believed in him and did not recognize the mask until he let it fall. Even in Germany the greatest benefits, liberty and true humanity, were expected from the French Revolution; and Bonaparte, its greatest son, appeared as its realization and perfection, as the prophet of the golden age. Thus he was not to Beethoven the triumphant warrior nor the superior politician but the embodiment of the ideal of noblest humanity, hence the hero of his soul. Therefore upon him he wrote the *Eroica*, not upon his person but his mission.

Now Beethoven's illusion was gone. Bonaparte and Beethoven no longer had anything in common. The proud, ambitious, self-seeking and violent conqueror is still a hero in history, and will so remain; but Beethoven's hero he could not be. This disillusionment was too complete. We can see perfectly that Beethoven did not understand Napoleon at all. He only thought that he saw in him his own ideal realized. The symphony on Bonaparte would not have shown us Napoleon as he was but as the representative of Beethoven's conception of heroism.

Now we can understand why he stamped upon the title page only and not on the whole work. Napoleon was lost to him; his supposed hero was destroyed but his ideal of heroism had not suffered. It still remained alive in Beethoven's inner consciousness in all its power and beauty, independent of a bodily representative. Therefore where originally "written to Bonaparte" had stood on the score, it was now called *Sinfonia eroica, composta per festeggiare il sovvenire di un grand uomo*, "The *Eroica* Symphony Composed to Celebrate the Memory of a Great Man" (i. e., a hero). The hero was not named,—name and personality had nothing to do with it.

Beethoven had thought that he might venture to discover his hero in Napoleon. He could not now replace him by another on a day's notice. The hero of his ideal never appeared to him, the *Eroica* remained without an owner. Hans von Bülow in one of his famous concert-talks after a presentation which was especially inspiring, once called it the "Bismarck" symphony. There is nothing to be said against this; still there is no convincing reason to favor such a proposal. Each of us may dedicate the symphony to the great man whom he considers his hero, his ideal representative of the highest humanity. The symphony has nothing objective in it, nothing defined in so many words; neither the deeds of Napoleon

nor of Bismarck are described in it. It does not relate the story of any particular hero, but it proclaims the conception of a hero. It testifies to a heroism such as Beethoven himself lived and experienced. Whoever can live and feel such a heroism as Beethoven felt it, may lay claim to the symphony and may refer it to his favorite hero. The main question remains whether or not we shall be able to entirely appropriate all that is expressed in the work.

If I should now confess that it is not at all easy for me to rightly comprehend the Eroica, would I be criticized or pitied? Would I have no companions or only very timid ones? Is the character and intention of the work really so clearly obvious? If so, we would hardly expect to find such diverse interpretations as have been attempted. Misled by the title and by our historical information, the attempt has been made to assign to it a program throughout, which, if not Napoleonic, is still definitely objective. This leads to all sorts of difficulties of which I shall call attention to but one.

The second movement is called *Marcia funebre*, "Funeral March." This, it may be assumed, is intended to celebrate the death of the hero. Yes, but if the hero is dead, the affair must be ended. What then can be the meaning of the following movements? The funeral march ought naturally to conclude the symphony and not stand in the middle. Then refuge is taken in an artificial explanation that only one hero is dead and another arises who will carry on his work to its completion. Then, does the symphony have two heroes? Or it is explained that the hero is not dead, but there are heavy sacrifices to lament and these are celebrated here. Thus the funeral march would become a burial scene for the fallen, and the Scherzo following upon it must indicate a return to camp and bivouac. But all this is so far from convincing, is so farced and stilted, that it can not help confusing the inexperienced. The whole thing is the consequence of a fundamental error, made in trying to interpret from the symphony the life of a hero in its external sense. This is the reason why the reader must be warned against most interpretations on the basis of program music.

If any one positively requires guidance and wishes to lean upon a master who has understood Beethoven as few have, let him read Richard Wagner's explanation of the Eroica in the fifth volume of his collected prose and poetical works. There he will find an answer to prejudice and misunderstanding, and Beethoven's idea and conception of heroism set forth briefly and tersely while the emotional content of the individual phrases is indicated both simply and

impressively. There he will find the program of the symphony developed not in an objective sense but only in its spiritual significance. Now we shall proceed to see what we shall find in the symphony.

The first movement begins with a theme which will seem to us the less heroic according as we bring to it a more one-sided conception of heroism. I would not think ill of any one who declared that the first movement of the Symphony in C Minor is much more heroic in the popular sense. The first tones delight us with their freshness, clearness and energy; they breathe a vigorous joy of life and an uninterrupted impulse to action. There is little value in pointing out that Mozart's musical comedy "*Bastien and Bastienne*" displays the same sequence of tone. The similarity is purely external and therefore musically of no consequence; in that case the theme is pastoral, peacefully contemplative, while in this it contains the deepest spiritual quality.

It is well to observe how the theme changes from E Flat through D down to C Sharp, and in so doing passes from merry action to painful suffering; through the diminished seventh which is held through two measures it goes to the six-four chord of G Minor then back to the tonic. Hence it is from the very beginning a drama of emotion, pleasure and pain in most intimate connection, the whole man, the real Beethoven. Considerable space indeed is given to a lamentation, now elegiac, now pathetic; the second theme in B, in execution the E Minor melody, and the transition group mentioned above and distributed among the wooden wind instruments, contrast sharply with the energy which finally gains the upper hand. It is no doughty hero in coat of mail who pursues his end with inconsiderate selfishness, but an idealist in full power and self-consciousness to whom no human emotion is a stranger, no stirring of the soul unknown; it is the whole man as great in action as in suffering, as fine and noble in deeds as in sorrow—it is Beethoven himself.

Now the purpose of the symphony is clear; Beethoven is celebrating his own hero, he is proclaiming his own ideal of heroism, he is giving us himself. Accordingly its significance does not lie in the fact that it is the first to realize any program, but rather that it reveals freely and openly, outspoken and expressively as never before, the nature of its creator who for the first time speaks forth in it his own peculiar language.

One especially bold feature must not pass unnoticed. This is the famous passage directly before the repetition in the second part

of the movement. The orchestra has sunk to the softest *pianissimo*, finally it no longer breathes the complete dominant seventh, but rather only indicates it in the B and A flat tremolo of the two violins. To these tones which make us shudder there comes gently as from the remote distance, as out of another world, the first theme, E flat, G, E flat, B, sounded mysteriously by the horn. Then the full orchestra takes up for the first time the entire dominant seventh chord, and the transition is complete. Accordingly we have here an anticipation similar to that in the closing phrase of the Fifth Symphony only much more striking and poetical.

For a long time this was considered impossible; even Wagner inclined to the opinion that A flat should be corrected to G. Still this does not improve the passage, but makes it musically even more illogical. It can not be helped. We must accept this dramatic embarrassment as it is, even though it scorns all rules.

The second movement is one of the most affecting ever written. Here too the strings begin the theme which is then repeated by the horns. It is incredible and indescribable to what a degree of tragedy this melody can ascend. Involuntarily it reminds us of the piano Sonata in A Flat, Op. 26, whose second movement is known as *marcia funebre sulla morte d'un eroe* ("Funeral March at the Death of a Hero"), and has become famous. If the gloomy splendor of mourning and the passionate outcry of pain moves us in that case, here we have it to a greater extent. The terrors of eternity overshadow us, pictures of the night arise from the profoundest depths of the tragedy of the soul. It is not only a matter of life and death, but of hope and despair. But Beethoven does not leave us comfortless. In the midst of mourning he admits a gleam of triumph like a message from above, like a word of faith in the ideal which is immortal. Then the march is repeated; the Coda brings a new melody full of unspeakable devotion in a manner so affecting as only Beethoven knew how to sing; and then it is finished. The theme breaks and crumbles away before our eyes and ears and a prolonged hold places its seal upon it.

It will never be possible to comprehend the emotional character of this movement in words, but fancy is free. In fancy we may see tears fall, we may dig the grave, or hear the shovelfuls of earth roll upon it; but it is also possible for thoughts to keep far away from the grave and turn to other mental wounds and losses.

Our experience with the third movement, the Scherzo, is similar. Its cheerfulness is moderated; it flashes forth from an almost spectral energy, to which a definite significance can hardly be as-

signed. The Trio sets a particularly difficult task for the horns; it sounds like a flourish of trumpets, like a summons to ceaseless battle. The *alla breve* measures thrown into the repetition of the *Scherzo* again show Beethoven's extraordinary energetic power of composition.

The Finale starts off with a stormy *allegro molto* which arouses our expectation to the highest pitch. But then we stand surprised, if not astonished. Beethoven makes use of a theme which has already served him in the variations of Op. 35. It is not really a melody, it is only the harmonic undertones of a melody. What they have to do in this Hero Symphony we cannot see at first, but Beethoven makes it clear. The simple theme E flat, B, B, E flat, varied by a counter movement and continued in the reverse direction, prepares the ground for what is to follow. For now a melody is to be built upon it which not only contains the meaning of a second theme, but is devoted to unsuspected uses. First we have a *fugato* on the first theme; it runs on into a G Minor melody which breathes forth great rhythmical energy. Variations are also made on this theme. Finally the second theme becomes dominant; in the *poco andante* development it attains indescribable force of expression. The passage from the seventeenth measure of this broader tempo is splendid and reminds us at once of the "Fidelio." We experience a spiritual exaltation with which music had heretofore never been endowed: a *presto* of a wonderfully alluring swing completes the work. Hence the Finale building up quite from the beginning has in a measure reached the highest point. It leaves us in an exalted mood.

That is the Eroica. Who now thinks of Napoleon? Who asks for a program? I believe that we are entirely cured of every misconception. We no longer care to fathom what it all means. We are happy and thankful to be able to feel what we hear.

From this we may draw a lesson. We do not assign any special place to the Eroica because it bears a particular name and because we chance to know the motive of its external origin. The internal history of its origin and its value and significance do not differ from Beethoven's other works. For instance we could with equal right expect a special name for the Symphony in C Minor and might lay it to the account of chance that it never had one. It is related that Beethoven said with reference to the first theme, "Thus Fate knocks at the door." Why did he not call it the "Fate Symphony"? Because no external occasion suggested it and because intrinsically it was not necessary. If we do not feel what it says to us it is not

because there is no title or program to instruct us as to what we ought to feel.

On the other hand, the appreciation of the Third Symphony is made more difficult rather than assisted by the fact that it was called the Eroica and was originally written to Napoleon. If we bring definite ideas of heroism to it, it is a thousand to one that they will not correspond to what we are to hear. It is only when we give ourselves up to the work without preconceptions and without thinking of its name or history that we can possibly grasp its import, and especially must we be prepared to be in sympathy with it.

It is always the same. As long as we require an explanation and interpretation in words we are still far from understanding Beethoven's music. For this it is not at all important in what direction our power of imagination is directed or how far it is carried. Pictures and scenes may arise before our inner vision. This may occur while hearing the symphony or even in memory. It is possible also for this accompanying vision to be entirely lacking without detracting from the complete artistic performance. In this respect every person is differently constituted. Even the same person is not always disposed the same at different times.

Only we should always be honest, and it ought to be possible to establish proofs. Suppose one were to play the Eroica without giving its name to the audience and then ask all around, what would be gained by it? How many would be likely to say, "It is a Hero Symphony"? And is it likely that any one would declare that it must originally have been written to Napoleon? Certainly all would admit that it is a magnificently conceived work, whose immeasurable, spiritual content we would be able to assimilate only after repeated performances. That would be right. That would be the correct foundation upon which we could proceed to build farther. If a community of connoisseurs were to exchange opinions the result would not be essentially different. Perhaps a number of them would have visions to relate which they had experienced during a performance of the Eroica; perhaps the eyes of many would be shut from pure delight in hearing. But all would loudly testify that a great man and artist had spoken to them, and had exalted them to his own dramatic world of thought and emotion.

This is what the Eroica says to us, and it is equally true for all of Beethoven's works.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE OLD STATESMAN'S THOUGHTS¹.

BY WEI CHENG (A. D. 581-643).

[Wei Cheng was scarcely less eminent as a scholar than a soldier. After passing through the troublous times previous to and at the commencement of the T'ang Dynasty, he obtained high office as preceptor of the heir apparent and censor, and on his death received an honorary title. He is known as one of the Emperor T'ai Tsung's three mirrors, which were: copper as a mirror for the person, the past as a mirror for politics, and man as a mirror to guide the judgment in ordinary affairs. He was also the author of a much admired memorial to the Emperor setting forth "Ten Thoughts" for the correction of the disorders which had spread over the country at the time of the change of dynasty. The following lines are probably reminiscent of that period. Wei is not represented in either of the two favorite Chinese poetical compilations.]

What time the land was busy with the chase
'T was I alone foresaw the conflict near.
Though fallen our arguments on evil case,
The country's good remained my purpose clear.
One hope I saw :—to seek our Emperor Lord,
Urging my horse beyond the frontier pass.
Who else could bind the south as with a cord,
Or quell our eastern enemies in a mass?
And so, by crooked paths, I took the ascent.
Now rose, now sank the fertile plains below.
On withered trees I saw the birds lament,
And nightly heard the gibbons tell their woe.
A thousand *li* of earth I viewed with awe
From perilous passes on the mountain sheer.
To shrink from danger is our nature's law,
But in his heart the patriot knows no fear.
Twice made was ne'er a promise of Chi Pu,
And Hou Ying's word stood firm as first set down.
Touch, then, the heart: the actions answer true.
Tell me not of ambition and renown.

MR. KREBS'S DISCLOSURE OF PALLADINO'S TRICKS.

In reply to a question concerning Eusapia Palladino of recent notoriety, who left for Europe at the end of last summer enriched by a harvest of Amer-

¹ Translated by James Black.

ican dollars and a number of unexpected experiences, we wish to state that we did not enter into the problem of the genuineness of her phenomena, because her seances have been frequently discussed in other periodicals. The first exposure seems to have been made by Mr. Stanley L. Krebs whose statement appeared in the *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* for June and July, 1910. However, since the circulation and use of the *English Journal of the S. P. R.* is strictly limited to members of that society, Mr. Krebs's account has not become so generally known as it deserves.

Her phenomena as observed in America fall into seven classes: (1) levitations of a table, (2) rappings, (3) touches, (4) breezes, (5) lights, (6) materializations, (7) movements in and about the cabinet. The conclusions of Mr. Krebs are as follows:

"1. She uses no confederate.

"2. All the phenomena are produced in a space or area that is within reach of the arm and leg of the medium, still further lengthened by the use of a flower-stand as a 'reacher,' and a shoe edge as a fulcrum for levitations.

"3. Personally I do not believe Eusapia Palladino has any extraordinary psychic or telekinetic power. Her whole performance seems to me, on the basis of what I saw and felt, to be the deception of two senses, sight and touch, assisted by intentional suggestions.

"Instruments of precision from the scientific laboratory are not needed here. The problem, in my judgment, lies in quite a different and far simpler field—that of clever detection.

"From my experience of these two sittings, I would make the following suggestions to future investigators:

"1. The medium was always dressed in a black dress. If she were dressed in white her whereabouts and movements could easily be seen in the dark room. This would be the simplest test of all, and I therefore place it first.

"The cabinet was painted black on the inside. The table which 'John' moved so frequently was made of plain unpainted pine boards; why then had the cabinet to be painted, and painted black? The answer is simple, namely: to render the sleeves of her black dress unseen when she thrust her arm inside. And another thing may be explained by this black sleeve and black background, namely, that it isolates her hand for the sense of sight, so that sitters, seeing a pale white hand in the cabinet, will exclaim: 'I see a hand unattached; just a hand; no arm with it.' If she wore a white dress this illusion of sight could not take place.

"2. Another simple precaution would be to place the medium at the broad side of the table and have only one person in control of both her hands and both her feet at one and the same time.

"3. I would also suggest a square table, each side of which is at least three feet in length. This width would compel the 'controls' to sit so far apart that their feet could not be pressed simultaneously by only one foot of the medium; and she should then keep her hands on the table top in full view.

"4. Since she asks to be tied, her two ankles should be tied together with a slack of only four or five inches—not more—and her two wrists together with a similar slack.

"5. But if she will allow none of these test conditions, then I would advise the sitter who desires to verify my observations for himself to secure the place of left 'control,' since that appears to be the more active side. He will then

have more numerous opportunities of detecting the various movements here described."

We must remember that Mr. Krebs is not an unbeliever. He is well known as a lecturer in psychic research and believes in the possibility of telekinetic, telepathic, and kindred psychic phenomena. He would have hailed the opportunity to meet a genuine medium, but he failed to do so. He is an active member of both the English and American branches of the Society for Psychical Research, but being anxious to have psychic phenomena established as scientific facts, he has been a foe to fraud, and his critical ability is shown by his exposure of the Misses Bangs of Chicago, which appeared with an introductory note by Dr. Hodgson in the *Journal of the S. P. R.* (Jan. 1901, X, pp. 5-16). By profession he is a clergyman of the German Reformed Church, but he is also a graduate of the Chicago College of Psychology and has always taken particular interest in attempts to popularize the science. At present he holds the position of president of the American University of Trade and Commerce, founded in Philadelphia by John Wanamaker.

Soon after Mr. Krebs's exposure other investigation followed. Professor Münsterberg caught Palladino's foot in the attempt of accomplishing her miraculous feats in a purely mechanical way. Thereupon a formidable array of seven university professors, mainly of Columbia, trapped her by watching her operations with the assistance of two spies hidden under the chairs. Eusapia was in the best of spirits and confessed that conditions were favorable. The report of the seance reads as follows (*ibid.* 336):

"The evening proved rich in phenomena. The table rapped, rocked, tilted on two legs and on one, and left the floor completely. Under lowered lights (signaled for by five raps of the table) the curtains blew apart; a swelling appeared under the left curtain; the curtain was blown over the table; a tabouret emerged from the cabinet, was balanced for a moment, repeatedly advanced and retreated, and at last was lifted and deposited on the seance table; later a hand appeared against the cabinet over Eusapia's head; there were more bulgings of the curtain, more levitations; and then the seven raps of the table, indicating the close of the seance, followed by a violent outburst from Eusapia when the sitters continued to retain their positions. Such, with omission of all detail, was the seance. The phenomena were those most commonly associated with this 'medium.'"

The affidavits of all witnesses proved that every one of Eusapia's phenomena were accomplished by trickery and the explanations tally exactly with those given by Mr. Krebs. We may further mention a report by Professor Jastrow in the *American Review of Reviews*, which fully confirms these exposures and possesses the additional advantage of being illustrated. In spite of these reverses Madame Palladino has some loyal adherents, among whom we may mention Mr. Hereward Carrington.

It would be advisable not to take any further trouble to investigate mediums unless they agree to subject themselves to the conditions proposed by Mr. Krebs. They should have their cabinets painted white, not black. They ought to be dressed in white, and perform only in full light with the spectators all around, or if the spirits refuse to operate except in the dark the medium's robe should be saturated with luminous paint. But most of all, they should be expected to present real psychic or spiritual phenomena and reveal something that is worth knowing, not merely to rap tables, to materialize in shadowy forms, to produce unexpected touches and to show lights which can be imitated

by any phosphorescent substance. Moreover whenever they send messages, let them contain something worth knowing and give us some valuable information of a positive nature either concerning this world or the next.

We must confess that it is almost incredible that any one can still believe in the supernatural powers of a pretender whose fraud has become so apparent and unquestionable. It seems that a medium has simply to dupe some uncritical man of great scholarship or learning or fame. Uncritical he must be because otherwise he could not be easily deceived. But we must bear in mind that a man may be very learned and yet be lacking in common sense. Such was the famous Professor Zöllner. A man may be a good psychologist; such was Lombroso, and yet he could be induced to believe in Eusapia's powers. A man may be a great logician as is Professor Hyslop, and yet may believe in the genuineness of Mrs. Piper's trances and the importance of her spirit communications. A man may be a great astronomer like Flammarion, and yet may entertain fantastic views as to the nature of the soul.

THE ÆONIC NUMBER OF BABYLON.

BY ALAN S. HAWKESWORTH.

Dr. Theophilus G. Pinches, LL. D., M. R. A. S., of London, considers "Some Mathematical Tablets of the British Museum" in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, and gives lengthy lists of the different fractional parts of 12,960,000, the "grand number" of the Babylonian æon, and the fourth power of their unit 60. This "grand æonic number," as Greek students will remember, was also that of Plato, who doubtless inherited it from Babylon. Dr. Pinches remarks that the scribe who had learned these tables by heart, possessed in them multiplication tables in the sexigesimal scale, and all things needed to make them accomplished arithmeticians. I fear, if this be true, that I am stupider than I thought I was; for, personally, if I were confined to such tables alone, I would be poorly equipped. But as sexigesimal tables they are quite interesting.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

TILES FROM THE PORCELAIN TOWER.. By *Edward Gilchrist*. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1906. Pu. 90.

The writer has lived for many years in China and this little volume is a collection of translations and original poems on miscellaneous subjects.

The porcelain tower stood at Nanking and was counted as one of the wonders of the world. It was destroyed in 1853 in the T'ai Ping rebellion which was a national movement aiming to replace the present mongrel government by a Chinese dynasty whose name should be "Great Peace" or *T'ai Ping*. Strange to say these Great Peace people had embraced Christianity. It was a native Chinese Christianity, but nevertheless they believed in the Old and New Testament and besides God worshiped Jesus as their saviour and as their elder brother, the mediator between God and mankind. But with the Old Testament they had inherited a hatred of everything that was non-Christian and so they destroyed both Buddhist and Taoist temples, even refusing the customary honors to Confucius. In Nanking the porcelain tower fell as an object of their fanaticism. Mr. Gilchrist dedicates to its ruins the following sonnet:

"The tower is fallen: only brick and shard
 Of rubble-heap show where it used to rise;
 The earth with many a painted tile is starred
 That flashed of yore the hue of sunset skies.
 No more the bells make music from the eaves
 That gently upward from each story curled;
 No more the careless traveler believes
 This was among the wonders of the world.
 The thickets push above it and the weeds
 Hide with rank blossoms the encaustic flowers
 Of porcelain; the woolly tufted reeds
 Nod drowsily through the long summer hours.
 The tower is fallen: shattered is the clay
 That was the pride and symbol of Cathay."

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PSYCHIC PHENOMENA, SCIENCE AND IMMORTALITY. By *Henry Frank*. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1911. Pp. 543. Price, \$2.25 net.

Henry Frank, speaker for the Metropolitan Independent Church of New York City, has added this new work to his many publications in the line of modern religion. It bears the sub-title "a further excursion into unseen realms beyond the point previously explored." In this statement the author refers to his former book *Modern Light on Immortality*. He belongs to that large movement which has been named "New Thought," and his book contains many thoughtful sayings. His belief in immortality is strongly founded on the conviction that absolute death is impossible, and this idea is tersely expressed on page 537 in the following argument: "Science challenges Nature to produce a void. She cannot. The Mind challenges Thought to produce a negative. It cannot. Every void is a plenum. Every denial is an affirmation."

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The University of Chicago Press has published an essay in the shape of a substantial book of 170 pages by F. C. Brown, on *Elkanah Settle*, the poet of the English Reformation, who sided first with the Whigs, and afterwards supported the cause of the Tories. The publication will be welcome to many students of literature because the poet's works have never been printed since his death, and he is now known almost exclusively through the attacks of Dryden and other enemies. Our author might have devoted more study to the psychology of Elkanah Settle so as to give us an insight into the motives which underlie the political convictions of the poet.

The book is well illustrated and is furnished with an excellent bibliography of 24 pages.

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It is with regret that we learn of the death of our contributor, Mr. James B. Smiley, which took place in Chicago about a month ago. The present number contains an article by him on "Idols and Fetiches," and our readers will remember former articles from his pen on similar anthropological subjects.

THE CHRIST MYTH

BY

ARTHUR DREWS, Ph.D.

Professor of Philosophy at Karlsruhe.

300 pages. Cloth, price \$2.25 net, post paid

THIS book is an able attempt to show that the origin of Christianity can be accounted for without the assumption of an historical Jesus. By a comparison of the myths current in the early Christian period with the Pauline Epistles and the Gospels the author reaches the conclusion that Jesus was not an historical figure but the suffering God of a Jewish sect, to whom the metaphysical speculation of St. Paul gave universal significance.

As a scientific and well-documented study in comparative religion the work is likely to be of much interest, even to those who are not able to accept the author's more extensive views.

"'Die Christusmythe,' by Arthur Drews, has stirred the heart of Protestant Germany and roused it into keen opposition. It is an essay in Christian mythology on lines similar to those followed in Mr. J. M. Robertson's 'Pagan Christs' and 'Christianity and Mythology.' Only faint echoes of the controversy which Drews has called forth have reached our shores, but with the appearance of an English version his book is not unlikely to become a storm center of Christian thought here as elsewhere. As an illustration of the importance of the 'Drews' controversy in Germany we may mention that large popular meetings have been held in various places at which the question 'Hat Jesus gelebt?' has been discussed by scholars of the first rank."—The Inquirer.

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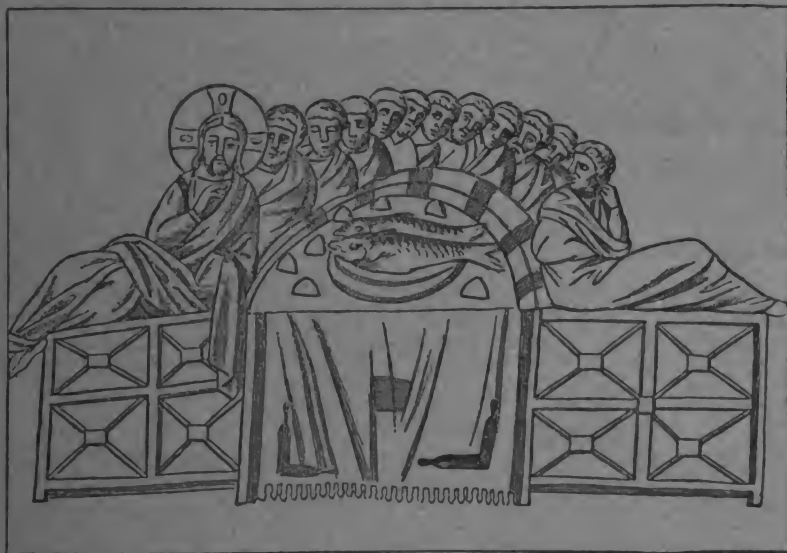
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PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN LOVE-FEASTS.

BY THE EDITOR.

ONE most obvious difference between paganism and Christianity has been pointed out again and again as the prevalence of joy in the former and of a somber gloom in the latter. The reason is easily traced in the nearness of the pre-Christian religions to



A BABYLONIAN COMMUNION.

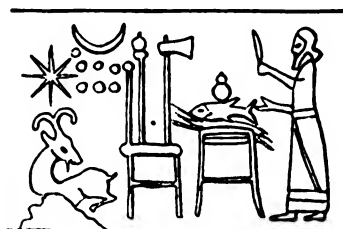
nature, while in the Christian era the seriousness of the Christian

again the pagan spirit which appears in its noblest form in the religious sentiment of ancient Greece.

Love-feasts, however, are older than Greek civilization. They are pictured in the ancient Babylonian monuments and it is remarkable that they contain two features of special significance. In one monument we see worshipers partaking of a drink, raising their cups in solemn consecration. In other monuments a sacramental fish plays a conspicuous part. We here reproduce two such Babylonian ceremonies.

The deities who are present are represented by their symbols. In one case, a fish *eucharist*, we see sun, moon, and the seven planets: in the other, a fish *sacrifice*, the star, the moon, the seven planets, the capricorn and the three symbols, the scepter, the mace and the axe.

The reason for this fish sacrament in Babylonia is easily found in the fact that Nina, the spouse of Tammuz, the vegetation god who



A BABYLONIAN FISH EUCHARIST. A BABYLONIAN FISH SACRIFICE.

annually dies in the fall and rises to life again in spring, is a fish goddess. Perhaps for this reason the fish is sacred also to the fish goddess of Hierapolis. Considering that Tammuz plays the same part in Babylonia and Assyria as Christ in Christian countries, we need not be astonished that the capital of Assyria was called Nineveh, which means the house of the fish.

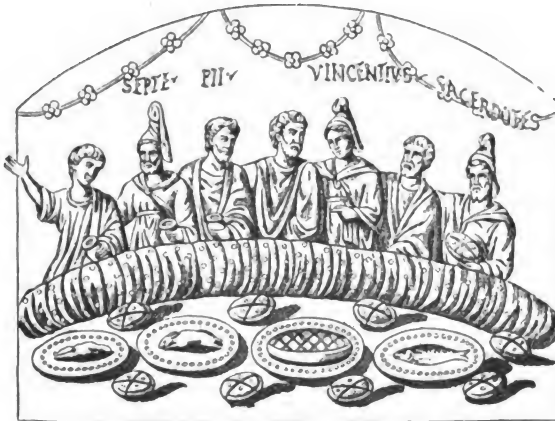
The Open Court for January 1910 contained a translation of the Egyptian Harper's Song which is an ancient version of the German student song *Gaudeamus igitur*. In fact we have reason to believe that the *Gaudeamus* is historically connected with the Harper's Song and may be considered a lineal descendant of it. The same sentiment has come down to us through the ages in the mysteries of Dionysus and other religious institutions. Traces of it have been preserved in ancient Babylon and also in the convivial scenes depicted on pagan tombs of the worshipers of Mithras and Dionysus. The most remarkable forms of these are found in

the tomb erected in honor of Vibia who was the wife of Vincentius, a priest of Sabazius (Dionysus). The death of Vibia is represented as the rape of Persephone by Pluto under the guidance of Mercury.



THE EUCHARIST OF VIBIA.
Painting on the Tomb of Vincentius.

The latter leads her before the throne of the rulers of the nether world. In the relief here reproduced the good angel guides Vibia through the portal of death into the Elysian Fields where men sow and reap without labor fruits that can be eaten without cooking.



THE SEVEN PRIESTS OF SABAZIUS.
Painting on the Tomb of Vincentius.

Vibia is represented twice on the picture, first at the entrance and second seated among the blessed ones who have been deemed worthy of the bliss of Elysium (*bonorum iudicio indicati*). The fish is con-

spicuous among the viands on the table. Vincentius himself takes part in a love-feast as a member of a sacred seven, some of whom wear the Mithraistic miter.

Cumont¹ hints at the possibility that though Vincentius was certainly a pagan he may have belonged to a Jewish pagan sect in which Judaism had influenced the worship of Sabazius, but there is not the slightest foundation in fact for this hypothesis. It is based on the obvious similarity between the conception of life that we find portrayed in pre-Christian catacombs and that of Christianity



A LOVE-FEAST OF THE FABIAN FAMILY.

Painting in the cemetery of Peter and Marcellinus in the Via Labicana (Roller, pl. LIII).

which can be traced in the catacombs of a later date. But on the one hand we can explain all the ideas of the Vincentius frescoes from pagan customs and on the other hand Judaism proper contains nothing of these ideas, nor do we know anything of Jewish pagan sects which "admitted neophytes of every race to its mystic ceremonies." We do not deny that in such a secret society or sort of lodge as the one to which Vincentius belonged Jews might have been admitted as well as Gentiles, but there is no question that the character

¹ See his article "Asia Minor," *Open Court*, May, 1910. To be found also in his *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co., now on the press), p. 65.

of the cult was decidedly un-Jewish, and if there were Jews among its members they had certainly abandoned the faith of their fathers.

This tomb being so undeniably pagan deserves a few more words. Prof. Ernst Maass in his *Orpheus* (p. 209) describes the inscription as follows:² "The head priest of Sabazius (Dionysus) and other gods, a certain Vincentius, had erected in Rome a family sepulcher for himself and his wife Vibia. The inscription reads: 'Vincenti hoc (ostium) quætes [quietis] quot [quod] vides; plures me antecesserunt, omnes exspecto. Manduca bibe lude et veni at me; cum vives [vivēs], benefac; hoc tecum feres.'

"Numinis antistes Sabazis Vincentius hic est,
qui sacra sancta deum mente pia coluit.'

["This which thou seest is the entrance of the rest of Vincentius. Several have preceded me, all I expect. Eat, drink, frolic, and come



A PAGAN FISH EUCHARIST.

Now in the Lateran. From d'Agincourt, *Sculpture*, pl. VIII, 20.

unto me. As long as thou livest thou shalt act righteously (*benefac*): this thou wilt take with thee."]

The idea contained in this last maxim seems to have crept into the Greco-Roman world from India. It incorporates the main Buddhist doctrine of *karma*, that the works of a man are his very self and that in them he survives. The same sentence is found almost literally in the Buddhist Samyutta-Nikaya (iii. 1, 4) where we read concerning the *karma*:

"Tis this that he can call his own,
This with him take as he goes hence."

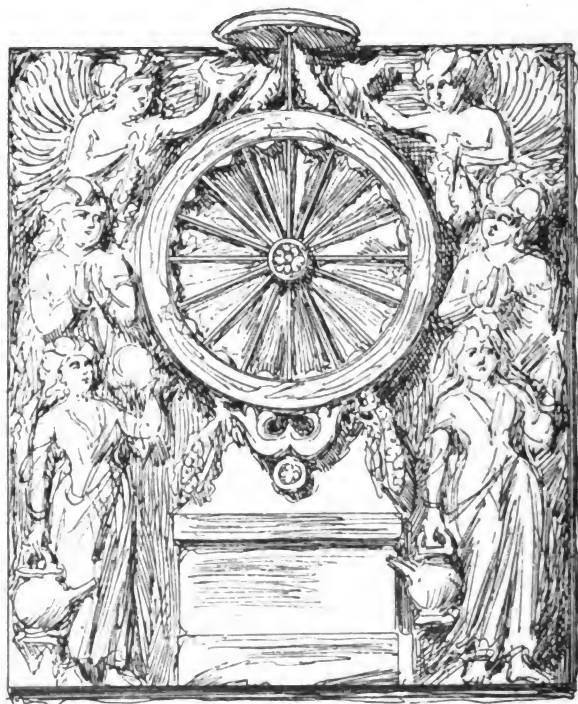
—Tr. by Warren.

It has entered Christianity in the proclamation of the voice from heaven recorded in the Apocalypse (xiv. 13), "They rest from their

² An English translation of this chapter of Maass's work is given in *The Open Court*, XIV, 321-332. For this passage see page 322.

labors and their works do follow them." This tomb of the pagan priest Vincentius is by some accident situated in the vicinity of the catacombs though not connected with them. Its presence there is no argument for the assumption that it is Christian, though this has sometimes been claimed for it.

Other representations of pagan feasts have been preserved on sarcophagi which are probably Mithraistic. One of these (see p. 517) is preserved in the Lateran and has been reproduced by d'Agincourt in his *Sculpture* (pl. VIII, 20) and republished by Becker (p. 121).



THE BUDDHIST TRINITY SUPPORTING THE WHEEL OF THE LAW.

Another one is preserved in the Borgia collection in the National Museum at Naples, and a third one according to Roller (pl. LIV) in the Lateran. Incidentally we may mention that Becker in his *Darstellung Jesu Christi* (page 21) locates this monument in the Villa Borghese before the Porta del Popolo.

It will be noticed that these pagan eucharists preach the joy of life and seem intended to consecrate the convivial pleasures in so-called love-feasts or eucharists, and the same idea pervades the

Christian love-feasts or agapés, both with reference to the number seven of the participants and the conviviality of the scene.

This relief preserved in the *Musco cristiano* of the Lateran has been claimed as Christian on account of the fish and the breaking



A CONVIVIAL SCENE.

A sarcophagus preserved in the National Museum at Naples. The pagan character is assured by the gaiety of the scene.

of the bread, but this interpretation is very doubtful because the fish appears on other pagan monuments, and so does the cross on the loaves and the secular character of the drinking. Further we note



A PAGAN LOVE-FEAST.

Now in the Lateran Museum. From Roller, *Les cata. de Rome*, pl. LIV. The pagan character is assured by the winged Eros at the left.

an apple in the hand of one of the guests and the support on which the dish rests resembles very strongly the Buddhist trisul, the symbol of the Buddhist trinity.

The other two reliefs where the guests feast on a boar's head are typical illustrations of the *Gaudeamus* spirit that prevailed in Dionysian love-feasts, which is preserved in a pagan epitaph quoted by Orelli (II, 7410) as follows: "Omnes qui legitis moneo: Miscete Lyaeum et teneros coitus formosis ferte puellis. Caetera post obitum tellus consumit et ignis." This may be freely translated: "All ye who read be warned to drink and kiss. All else is doomed to death."

Present Christianity knows nothing of a fish eucharist, and if we did not possess definite indications and inscriptions proving that



THE LAST SUPPER.

A Mosaic in the Church of St. Apollinaris at Ravenna. After Garucci.—According to Kraus (*Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, I, 435), this picture is the oldest known presentation of the Last Supper, and it is noteworthy that here the fish diet is made very prominent. It pictures the moment when Judas has left the table to betray his master, and accordingly we count only eleven disciples.

such an institution existed we would scarcely believe it, for it is never mentioned in church history nor in any official doctrines of the church. It came and went, but while it existed—which was about the same time as when Christ was worshiped under the symbol of the fish and a little later—it played a very significant part and was deemed highly important. This is evidenced by the numerous fish eucharists painted in the catacombs. In one case the scene appears more like a family supper. In one of the many frescoes of

St. Calixtus the eucharist character is rendered apparent by the presence of a woman in the attitude of prayer and of a priestly person



A EUCHARIST OF BREAD AND FISH.
Fresco in the cemetery of St. Calixtus.



FRESCO IN THE CEMETERY OF DOMITILLA.

A meal of fish and bread, presumably a eucharist and possibly Christian.

extending the right hand in blessing over the fish, in spite of the fact that the dress of the latter is more pagan than Christian, his right

arm being bare after the fashion of Buddhist priests and Greek ascetics. While the picture is not badly executed we are struck by the awkwardness of the three fingers of the praying woman. At any rate it is noticeable that the fish is plainly pictured as a part of the eucharist, and if we had not additional evidence that such was the case we might assume it merely from these illustrations in the catacombs.

The significance of the fish eucharist is also attested by two inscriptions, one the epitaph of Pectorius dating about the fourth



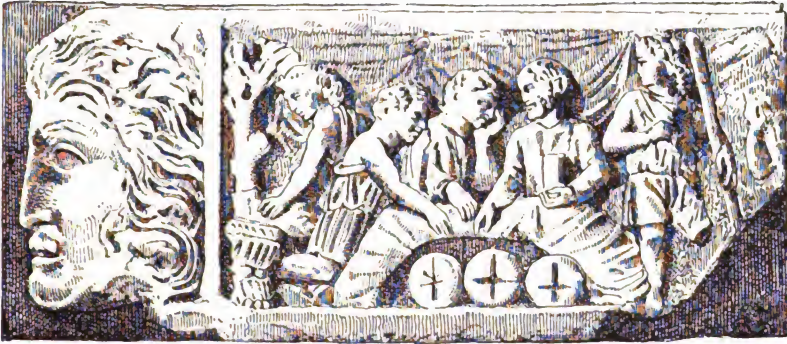
TWO CHRISTIAN EUCHARISTS.

(Matt. xv. 37). Note the seven participants in both.
From the cemetery of St. Calixtus.

century, discovered in 1839 in the St. Pierre l'Estrées cemetery near Autun in Gaul (the ancient Augustodunum), the other the epitaph of Abercius quoted in the *Vita Aberici* by Simon Metaphrastes and also in *Anecdota Graeca* by Boissonade (p. 462). Both are written in Greek hexameters, but the texts are doubtful in many places. Pitra publishes a complete bibliography on the former in his *Spicilegium Solesmense* and Garrucci in his *Mélanges d'épigraphie ancienne* (Paris, 1856) has published both.

The inscription of the tomb of Pectorius reads as follows: "Preserve, oh divine generation of the heavenly fish, a holy heart after

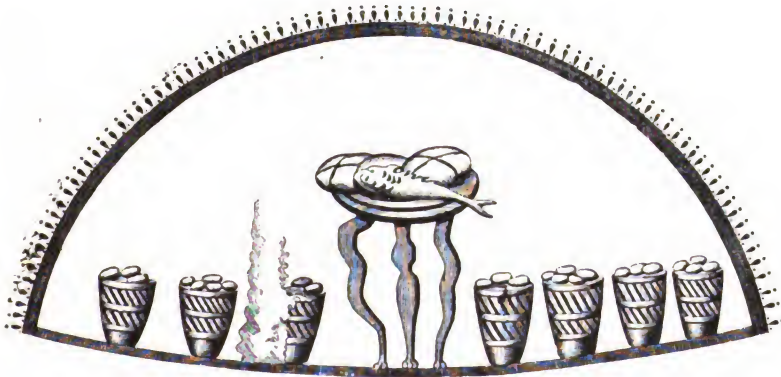
thou hast received among mortals immortal life in the divine water. Refresh thy soul, beloved, with the inexhaustible water of the wealth-yielding wisdom by receiving the honey-sweet food of the Saviour of the saints."



LOVE-FEAST WITH WINE AND BREAD.

Relief in the Kircher Museum at Rome, presumably pagan. After Roller, pl. LIV, 7.

The lines thus far show the acrostic $\text{IX}\Theta\text{Y}\Sigma$. They continue: "Eat hungrily holding in thy hands the fish. With the fish fill me I pray, Lord, Saviour. Well mayst thou rest, mother I pray thee,



THE SEVEN BASKETS OF BREAD.

(Matt. xv. 37.)

From the cemetery of St. Calixtus.

oh Light of the dead. Aschandios, my father, dear to my soul together with my sweet mother and my brothers, in the feast of the fish remember thy Pectorius."

The epitaph of the Phrygian bishop Abercius, who died in the second century, reads as follows:

"A citizen of a distinguished city, I, during my lifetime have ordered this monument to be made, so that when the time comes my body may find here a resting place. Abercius is my name; disciple I of the holy shepherd who tends the sheep upon the mountains as well as in the plain. Great eyes he has, all things beholding. He taught me the life-giving faith. To Rome he sent me to see the royal city and the people there. I saw the people wearing seal rings and Peter and Paul combined therein. The plain of Syria I also beheld and all the tombs, wandering through Nisibis and the valley of Euphrates. Everywhere found I fellow believers from the East. Faith, however, produced and proposed as food the fish from the spring, the very great, the pure one which the holy Virgin had received. And this one (the fish) he gave to the friends to eat throughout, offering good wine mixed, and bread. This I have declared, myself being present, Abercius writing thus, 72 years old; this in truth is my age. Every one thinking like me pray for me. Let no one make upon my tomb another tomb. Whoever does so shall pay to the treasury of the Romans 2000 gold pieces and 1000 to the city of Hierapolis."

THE INTRODUCTION OF VACCINATION INTO THE FAR EAST.

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER.

IN view of the astonishing wealth of medical illustrative material coming down from the times of classical antiquity and the Middle Ages, it is a matter of surprise to find in this line a blank in the history of the Far East. It is true a large number of the medical books published in China are fairly well illustrated with woodcuts exhibiting the surface characteristics of pathological phenomena, particularly of skin-diseases, and we even hear of careful paintings (water colors) representing infantile eruptions apparently observed and noted down.¹ But there is no artistic element in these productions which even fail in their purpose to impart instruction, and Chinese art is entirely devoid of subjects derived from the activity of the medical profession.

No portrait of any famous physician—and there is a large number of those on record—has been handed down by the brush of an artist, nor are there any pictorial representations of physicians in their intercourse with patients. The sick-bed was not a recognized and approved sphere for the exercise of academic painting, and as portraiture has always been the weak point in Chinese art, because of the lack of individual power, we may safely say that Chinese painters would never have had the ability to portray a sick person in unmistakable distinction from a healthy individual. I have met several finely built and venerable looking Chinese physicians, and when observing them at their work I liked to imagine what fine pictures worthy of a great native artist they would make, if depicted in the act of feeling the pulse, the cornerstone of their practice, or while jotting down their prescriptions with mysterious dashes of the brush. In the catalogues of painters and paintings where all

¹ M. Courant, "Catalogue des livres chinois," *Bibl. nat.*, Vol. II. p. 123. Paris, 1903.

the standard subjects are carefully enumerated, the healing art is also conspicuous by its absence. I have inquired and searched in vain for medical pictures in China.

In Japan, conditions are in general about the same, though at least some exceptions seem to exist. W. Anderson² describes a medical roll (*yamai no sōshi*) from Japan as follows: "A series of representations of various morbid conditions, amongst which may be recognized carbuncle, bursal and other tumors, paralysis of the lower extremities, gangrene, acne rosacea, lycanthropy, eye diseases, abdominal dropsy, intestinal fistula, gastric fistula (a man whose mouth is obliterated is introducing food through an aperture in the region of the stomach), and elephantiasis. Descriptive text at end of roll which is 360 inches long." The original is said to be traceable to a painter of the twelfth century; this one was copied in 1780 by Imanura and recopied in 1788 by Kumashin. This picture, No. 276 of the collection in the British Museum, perhaps deserves the attention of students of the history of medicine.

The Japanese colorprint reproduced in our frontispiece is in the possession of the Field Museum, Chicago, and is of great interest in the history of civilization.

The subject of this print (26×37 cm.) is the introduction of vaccination into Japan, as is plainly shown by the explanatory labels added to the two principal figures. The devil on the right is designated as *jitsu-wa akuma bōsōshin*, "really the devil, the spirit of small-pox," and makes his escape from the new young genius riding on a cow's back and chasing him with a long spear. This one is interpreted as *seikoku Oranda gyūtō-ji*, "the youth of vaccination (lit. cow-pox), Holland being the country of his origin." He has three tufts of hair on his head and is clad like a Japanese boy. The small-pox devil is the well-known type of *oni*, only covered with a fur apron and gaiters, of red skin-color, and with animal claws on hands and feet. He wears a straw hat with rim turned up, from the center of which a top-knot and a pair of horns stick out. A paper *gohci* is stuck into the hair (see further below).

The artist who produced this print is Shuntei, his signature (*Shuntei-gawa*, "picture of Shuntei") and seal being placed in the left lower corner, and the print was published in the first month of spring, i. e., February (*mō-shun*) of the year 1850, the third year of the period *Kaie* with the cyclical sign *ka-no-e-inu* (on the margin of the right upper side).

² *Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*, p. 139, London, 1886.

According to E. F. Strange,³ Shuntei, more fully Katsugawa Shuntei, was a pupil of Shunyei; he was an invalid and made but few prints most of which were issued by the publisher Murataya. He lived about 1800-20, and, in addition to book-illustration, produced broadsheets of interest and originality. Among them the most notable are legendary or historical scenes. These are executed with considerable dramatic force and are generally printed in a characteristic color scheme, of which grays, greens, and yellows are the prevailing tints. His color is more harmonious and delicate and his drawing finer when he is at his best, even than in the work of Toyokuni, while his dramatic power and intensity are as great. Early impressions by this artist, with the fine old colors, are by no means common; the later reprints are worthless from the collector's point of view.

Shuntei is said to have died in 1825 at the age of about forty. I have no means to verify this date; should it be correct, we are certainly compelled to admit that the print under consideration presents either a later reprint or a posthumous edition. Because of his poor health Shuntei produced but few works, all of which are now rare.

This cut is interesting from two points of view. It reveals the imaginative power of Eastern artists who even in modern times create new personifications relating to inventions and ideas introduced from abroad. The new method of vaccination leads to the conception of a powerful lucky genius, riding on a cow and driving out with the force of his spear the disease of small-pox. Thus a new deity sprang up shortly before 1850. But the artist did not strain his imagination by attempting to lay down a new type for his novel subject, though its foreign origin might have well tempted his efforts in that direction; he did not represent his new god after a Dutch fashion or in any other foreign style, but made him plainly a Japanese. He is one of that numerous class of joyful muscular lads bestowing bliss on mankind whom we meet so frequently in China in the retinue of Buddhist and Taoist saints and deities, and his costume corresponds to this notion. Even the fact that he is riding on a cow's back, though a most felicitous and cleverly chosen motive in connection with the idea of vaccination, is by no means a novelty; on the contrary, the figure of a boy astride a buffalo or ox occurs so frequently in painting or moulded in bronze or pottery that it is familiar to everybody in Japan and China. The small-pox devil is the typical Japanese *oni* or the Chinese *kuei*, so there is obviously

³ *Japanese Illustration*, p. 38, London, 1899.

no trace of a foreign feature in the picture. The task set before the artist has been accomplished solely by the use of expedients drawn from the domain of native ideas. The old types sanctified and honored by tradition are utilized to express an imported idea; the old form is made to fit a new content. Indeed, if we had only the bare picture before us without the comment of the additional printed matter, we could easily realize that it represents a helpful good genius expelling a bad demon and ridding the country of his presence. It has occurred a hundred and a thousand times in history that new ideas, usually of a religious character, have been introduced from outside into another civilization, and that the native national types and styles already in existence have been chosen to lend them artistic expression. But not all of these cases are of such plain and authentic evidence as the present one, and its very recentness renders it the more valuable for an intelligent appreciation of the psychical basis of similar events.

A rather long inscription composed by Sōsai Setto is spread over the upper part of the print. It opens by relating that in former times only inoculation was known; that it commenced in China under the Emperor Jên-Tsung (1023-1063 A. D.) of the Sung dynasty and consisted chiefly in administering the virus into the nostrils;⁴ that of the various methods of vaccination the latest and best was discovered in Holland by Edward Jenner in the Bunkwa period (1804-17). This error of the Japanese author is not surprising but indeed excusable, since in Japan knowledge of European countries was at that time limited, and acquaintance with Western medicine and science had heretofore been derived from Dutch teachers like Engelbert Kämpfer (1651-1716) who, though a German, was considered a Hollander by the Japanese, because he was in the service of the Dutch East India Company. The Japanese report on our picture goes on to describe briefly Jenner's discovery by transferring cow-pox to a baby's arm, whereupon all the people of Holland were

⁴ There were two chief methods of inoculation in vogue in China, the wet and the dry methods; in the former a piece of cotton impregnated with the virus was inserted in the nose; the latter mode was to dry the crusts, reduce them to powder, and to blow this powder up the nose. Yet another way was to dress the child with clothes that had been worn by some one afflicted with small-pox. The date of the beginnings of inoculation is not yet satisfactorily

operated on, and the new method was then introduced into China, where it was compared with the old methods. "When the physicians and people of China found that there was no better way than the new method of vaccination, they had all reasons for it expounded in a book which was distributed throughout China and then sent to Japan. Afterwards, all nations adopted this method, and the old fashions were abolished."

There is an Uta appended by Fukakawa Mannin, reading:

"*Hōsō no kami to wa tare-ka nazuke-ken,
Akuma gedō no tatari nasu mono.*"

"Whatever the Spirit of Small-pox may be called,
He is a devil, the curse of heretic teaching."

According to Aston (*Shinto*, p. 194, London, 1905), small-pox is a *kijin biō*, or demon-sent disease. The color red is freely employed in combating it. The candles at the bedside are red, and the clothing of the patient and nurse. The god of small-pox is worshiped with offerings of red *gohci* (there is here some confusion of ideas) and of red *adzuki* beans. Red paper is hung around the necks of the bottles of *sake* offered to him. Red *papier maché* figures of Daruma are placed near the sick-bed.

We have observed that the demon of small-pox on our print is colored red and wears a *gohci* on his head. In Chinese medicine, all diseases are connected with the principles of heat and cold, and small-pox is caused by the heat principle, which may account for the employment of the red color.

According to B. H. Chamberlain,⁵ vaccination was officially adopted in Japan in 1873 as the outcome of the efforts of Sir Harry Parkes, with the result that whereas the percentage of pox-pitted persons was enormous only a quarter of a century ago, such disfigurement is now scarcely more common than at home. Nevertheless, a Pock-mark Society is believed to be still in existence, though its ranks have been sadly thinned by vaccination.⁶

Vaccination was first introduced to the notice of the Chinese by Dr. Pearson⁷ at Canton, who wrote a tract on the subject; this was afterwards translated into Chinese by Sir G. Staunton and published

⁵ *Things Japanese*, pp. 212, 319, 3d ed., London, 1898.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 373. F. v. Wenckstern (*A Bibliography of the Japanese Empire*, p. 142, London, 1895) quotes a notice under the title "Vaccination and Small-pox in Japan" (*Indian Medical Record*, Vol. III, p. 128, Calcutta, 1892) which is not accessible to me.

⁷ Formerly at the head of a vaccination institute in London founded in 1799 by the advocates of Jenner's theory; then in the service of the East India Company in China.

in 1805 with the title *T'ai-si chung tou k'i fa*, "The European Method of Vaccination (lit. Inoculation)."⁸ With some modifications, the same pamphlet was published shortly afterwards by the missionary Wilhelm Lobscheid in Hongkong (*Ying-ki-li kuo sin ch'u chung tou k'i shu*, "Treatise on the Method of Vaccination, as newly invented in England").⁹

I have never had occasion to look into this treatise myself, but know its contents merely from the brief analysis given by J. v. Klaproth.¹⁰ According to his statement it consists of seven leaves of large octavo size, and the back of the title-page is adorned with the colored illustration of a cow-pock, an arm on which is indicated the spot to be inoculated, the lancet and the small ivory spatula for holding the lymph. The interesting historical fact may be gleaned from this tract that Staunton after describing Jenner's discovery and its marvelous effects goes on to narrate that the new treatment rapidly spreading throughout Europe, Asia and America, had also reached Manila, where it gained such a high reputation that the Spanish governor spared no money but fitted up a ship in which to send small children to China for the propagation of this pock-matter. In this way it came to Macao in 1805, where the best results were shown.

Dr. Pearson carried on the work of vaccination among the Chinese with great vigor and perseverance, and the new practice soon sprang into favor among them, for, though very conservative in their habits and judgments, they take to a new method quite readily when once thoroughly convinced of its benefit. In the course of the winter and spring months of 1805-6, there was an epidemic of small-pox, and thousands were vaccinated. Even many Chinese who had been instructed by Dr. Pearson practised it extensively, not only under his immediate inspection but in distant places as well. Later on, there was certainly occasional opposition on the part of native physicians and the Buddhist priesthood who had derived a certain income from practising inoculation and from the people's offerings to the small-pox deities in times of visitation of this plague. But despite such local prejudices as occurred also in our countries, the Chinese soon recognized the benefit of vaccination which is now almost universally practised by them. In the country they vaccinate from child to child, or from arm to arm, without procuring fresh

⁸ A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, 2d ed., p. 103, Shanghai, 1901.

⁹ *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese*, p. 186, Shanghai, 1867.

¹⁰ *Archiv für asiatische Litteratur, Geschichte und Sprache*, Vol. I, pp. 111-113, St. Petersburg, 1810.

cow-lymph.¹¹ Their long continued practice of inoculation had doubtless prepared them for the reception of the new remedy which indeed has nowhere met with an open hostility or demonstration, another instance of their tolerance and liberal spirit. When inoculation was introduced into England from Turkey in 1718 by Lady Montague and was first tried on condemned criminals in 1721, the divines were indignant at such interference with Providence. Taking Job's boils for his text, Edward Massey, lecturer of St. Albans, is said to have preached the following words at St. Andrews, Holborn, in 1722:

"I shall not scruple to call that a diabolical operation which usurps an authority founded neither in the laws of nature or religion, which tends in this case to anticipate and banish Providence out of the world, and promote the increase of vice and immorality." How much more enlightened and grateful was the attitude of the Chinese and Japanese towards the adoption of vaccination!

¹¹ For a full history of the subject in China see J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, pp. 750-761, 4th ed., Honkong, 1903.

IMPERIAL SONGS OF JAPAN.

TRANSLATED BY ARTHUR LLOYD.

SONGS BY HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN.

Isuzu.

[The stream of Isuzu, which flows by Ise, is often taken as the symbol of the imperial house. At Ise are the famous shrines at which is worshiped the goddess Amaterasu (the sun), who is the fabled ancestor of the imperial house. The stream, issuing from that shrine is perennial; like the imperial house, in winter and summer, in prosperity and adversity alike, it flows on unceasingly, whilst many other streams run dry in the drougths of summer.]

There is a stream, men call it Isuzu,
Whose gentle tide hath never ceased to flow,
Whose placid bosom ne'er hath been disturbed,
Whose course adown the ages knows no end.

Go to the wild sea beach, and, gathering there
A handful of smooth pebbles, build therewith
A mimic rockery. Though those few stones
Should grow into a mountain, scarred and steep.
And overgrown with moss, that sacred stream
Shall never cease its soft, perennial flow.

Prosperity.

[This poem is evidently a reply to one made by the empress, which will be found in its proper place. It contains an allusion to a well-known story about the emperor Nintoku (A. D. 313-399) who, standing one day on his balcony and observing that no smoke rose from the houses of the town below his palace, was told that the people were too poor and too heavily taxed to afford the luxury of fire. Thereupon the emperor instituted reforms and himself practised a strict economy which he did not relax until the smoke once more rising at evening over the houses of the people showed that prosperity had been restored.]

Yes, 'tis a happy age; the curling smoke
That rises from the farms and cottages
Seems to increase its volume year by year.

At Sea.

[This is seemingly a very insignificant poem, but, like many Japanese songlets, it has a deeper meaning which does not readily appear on the surface. The poem was written during one of the few sea-voyages that His Majesty has taken, and a fog, which prevented them from seeing the dangerous little islet of Azuki compelled the officers to anchor. But, politically, the rulers of Japan were often in a fog during the early days of the restored empire, when the obstructions of insignificant agitators more than once compelled the ship of state to go slow.]

Slight mists at morn presaged a fair bright day:
 Who would have thought Azuki's tiny isle
 Would thus with fogs delay our mighty ship?

Calling out the Reserves.¹

They're at the front,
 Our brave young men, and now the middle-aged
 Are shouldering their arms, and in the fields
 Old men are gathering the abundant rice,
 Low bending o'er the sheaves. All ages vie
 In cheerful self-devotion.

The Muttering of the Storm.²

My heart's at peace with all, and fain would I
 Live, as I love, in peace and brotherhood;
 And yet the storm-clouds lower, the rising wind
 Stirs up the waves, the elemental strife
 Rages around. I do not understand
 Why this should be. 'Tis plainly not my fault.

The Failure of the Negotiations.³

[Whilst the Japanese are in practice polytheists, it is the belief of many scholars that their native Shinto was originally a primitive monotheism. When we trace back the genealogy of the Japanese gods, we find quite at the beginning of all things a deity who is styled the "Lord, the Possessor of the Center of Heaven" (*ama-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-mikoto*). This god is uncreated and "hides his body," i. e., is invisible. No shrines are erected to his honor, but all the other deities are supposed to have emanated from him. His Majesty is officially a Shintoist, but was educated by Confucianist teach-

¹ In the war with China.

² In the war with Russia.

³ Spring of 1904.

ers, so that he would also be familiar with the idea of *Ten*, "Heaven," as the witness and judge of all men.]

We've tried to be sincere in word and deed,
And have exhausted every means to state
A clear and truthful case, but all in vain.
Now may the God that sees the hearts of men
Approve of what we do.

*Thinking of the Soldiers at the Front.*⁴

Importunate mosquitoes, light of wing,
With trivial song and sting disturb my rest,
This sleepless night,—
—On what dark, lonesome field,
'Midst what great hardships lie my soldiers brave?

Thinking of the Field-Laborers.

Complain not thou art hot; but rather turn
To yonder slushy fields, where laborers
Wade 'neath the sun, and e'en the water boils.

Patriotism.

There is no second way whereby to show
The love of Fatherland.
Whether one stand,
A soldier under arms, before the foe,
Or stay at home, a peaceful citizen,
The way of loyalty is still the same.

Compassion for Enemies.

The foe that strikes thee, for thy country's sake,
Strike him with all thy might.
But while thou strik'st,
Forget not still to love him.

*My Garden.*⁵

Lo! In my garden all things strive and grow.
E'en foreign trees and plants, with care bestowed
Upon their tender shoots, grow strong and green
Like those indigenous to soil and clime.

⁴ Summer of 1904.

⁵ I. e., the Japanese Empire.

Confidence in the Destiny of the Country.

The ancient pine-trees on the mossy rocks
 Stand firm against all storms: their roots are strong,
 And deeply bedded in the heart of earth.
 So doth Heaven bless our land with rooted strength
 To stand unshaken 'midst the shocks of time,
 'Midst jarring elements and outward foes.

Fortiter in re, suaviter in modo.⁹

Water so soft that it will take the shape
 Of goblet, bowl, or cup, to suit the taste
 Of every hand that pours it: yet, withal,
 Mighty to percolate the close-grained rock,
 That makes the frame-work of the eternal hills.

The Son Grows Up.

[It is hard for Europe and America to understand that "little" Japan has grown up. It is also, perhaps, hard for the emperor to understand that his people, over whom he has ruled for forty years, have grown up under his hand.]

Such is the father's heart, that, though his son
 Grow to man's years, and learn to stand alone:
 Yet in his eyes he still remains a boy.

Industry.

No time have I to turn me to my desk,
 And, hand in lap, to take my ease and read.
 Yet is my table-top kept free from dust.

The Straight, Steep Path.

How smooth it seems,
 The way that man, as man, should daily tread:
 But th'actual walking on't,—aye! there's the rub.

Perseverance.

See how the tiny raindrops from the eaves
 Hollow the stones beneath with constant drip.
 Then why should we abandon well-formed plans,
 Simply, forsooth, because we find them hard?

⁹This and the following were published January 1, 1908, and it seems difficult not to see in them some kindly allusions to recent difficulties experienced by Japan.

Caution in the Hour of Success.

When all things go as thou wouldst have them go,
And Fortune smiles upon thee, then, beware,
Lest happy days make thee forget thyself.

Prosperity the Object of Envy.

The farmer's house, new-thatched, with clean, white straw
Heaped thick, defies the cold; but envious frosts
Have covered all the eaves with glistening rime.⁷

POEMS BY HER MAJESTY THE EMPRESS OF JAPAN.

On Visiting the Tomb of the Emperor Jimmu in the Summer of 1891.

[The emperor Jimmu, the first of the so-called human emperors (to distinguish them from the divine emperors who are said to have preceded them), is said to have reached Japanese soil (whether from Heaven, as some say, or from the continent of Asia) at Mount Takachiho in the island of Kyūshū, somewhere about B. C. 620. He and his followers extended their conquests as far as Yamato in the center of the main island, where he died. The dynasty is said to have continued ever since in unbroken succession. The *tamagushi* is a stick of *sakaki*, with strips of paper attached to it, which is used in Shinto worship. It is said to have the merit of putting the worshiper, by means of visions, into direct communication with the deity worshipped.]

The sacred *Tamagushi* in my hand,
I bow before the dread sepulchral mound
Of Jimmu, by the hill of Unebi
In Yamato; and as I bow my head,
Lo! the long glory of our line revealed.

Before an old Wooden Effigy of the Emperor Godaigo at Yoshimizu on the River of Yoshino.

[The emperor Godaigo (A. D. 1318-1339) is a favorite subject of Her Majesty's verse, and I have seen more than one poem of hers about him. When he came to the throne he found the imperial power in abeyance, and the country in the hands of regents, who, nominally subjects, were actually rulers. The country was also in danger of a civil war between two rival factions, each claiming the right to the direction of affairs. Godaigo made a noble attempt to save the country from the horrors of a civil war, by trying to re-assert the dignity of the crown. But in this he failed, and in the end was deposed and died ignominiously after many misfortunes. It was not

⁷It was not until Japan was successful, and as it were had rethatched her house, that she excited the envy of other nations.

until the present reign that the actuality of imperial rule was restored, and Godaigo's unsuccessful attempt has always appealed to the sympathies of the present emperor and empress. The secondary meaning of the poem will be found in the use of the sleeve in wiping tears from the eyes. "The troubles of Godaigo's reign are long over, yet I had to shed a tear of pity," etc.]

I.

The showers have ceased long since, and yet my sleeves
Are wet with tender dew-drops, as I pass
Through the thick shrubberies, and gaze upon
The face of our much-suffering ancestor.

II.

Our feet approach the Sacred Sepulcher
Of great Godaigo. See! the drooping flowers
Are moistened with the dew of Nature's tears.

Storm-bound.

[These two poems both refer to the same occasion as the third of the emperor's songs.]

I.

Storm-bound, I rest beside the broken bridge,
And listen to the sound of roaring waves,
And think, how fares my Lord upon his ship,
Storm-bound in some poor haven, where the waves
Toss him, like rebels, roughly to and fro.

II.

Upon the beach I hear the mad waves break,
Start from my idle dreams, and sadly think
Of my dear Lord upon the Imperial ship.

During the Absence of His Majesty on a Visit of Inspection to the North.

E'en in the cool, broad shade the palace throws,
With splashing sound of water, and the breeze
That sweeps the open halls from end to end,
We hardly bear the heat.

How shall my Lord,
In mountain huts, that scarce ward off the sun
With their poor shingle roofs, endure the grief
Of the long days and sleepless summer nights?

To the Memory of the Late Prince Iwakura, Written shortly After
His Death.*

Thou white Chrysanthemum, that late didst serve,
Brightest of flowers, for His Majesty,
Now that the chilling hoar frost's master hand
Hath nipped thee, utterest fragrance more and more
From thy crushed petals.

Winter.

The Winter with its rigors, touches not
Our bodies, clad in raiment warm and rich ;
But when we think upon the shivering poor
That freeze in their thin rags, the cruel tooth
Of pitiless winter bites our inmost heart.

Reading.

The jewel in a lady's coronet
Gleams in her hair, and flashes as she moves,
And yet 'tis nought,—a sparkle, not a light.
The book, whose page enlightens the dark mind,
Is the true treasure.

Circumspection.

Take heed unto thyself! the mighty God,
That is the Soul of Nature, sees the good
And bad that man in his most secret heart
Thinks by himself, and brings it to the light.

Peace of Mind.

Why should I fear the harsh reproof of men,
When my own conscience speaks no word of blame?

To the Students at the Peeresses School.

The water placed in goblet, bowl, or cup,
Changes its shape to its receptacle,
And so our plastic souls take various shapes
And characters of good or ill, to fit
The good or evil in the friends we choose.

* The late Prince Iwakura was one of the most distinguished servants of the crown at the time of the restoration.

Therefore be careful in your choice of friends,
 And let your special love be given to those
 Whose strength of character may prove the lash
 That drives you onward to fair wisdom's goal.

Sugawara Michizane.⁹

He heard the taunt, that such a studious lad,
 Who never from his book his eye could lift,
 But sat and studied through the livelong day;
 Must be perforce unskilful in the arts
 Of war; and straightway from his desk uprose,
 Seized his long bow, fitted his shaft, and drew.
 The arrow in the middle gold proclaimed
 That brain, hand, eye, alike were trained to serve.

The Battle of Pheng-yang.

(Sept. 1894.)

High o'er the Taidong-gang stood the moated castle of Pheng-yang,
 Guarded with frowning forts, and the flow'r of China's batallions,
 Marshall'd for battle behind strong parapets, walls, and entrench-
 ments.

Space unprotected was none; but our men, with spirit undaunted,
 Forded the stream in the face of a rain of bullets, and straightway
 Charged at the foe, and scaling the walls, rushed into the fortress.
 Irresistible was their charge; the dispirited foemen
 Fell like the falling leaves, or vanished like smoke. On the ramparts
 Up went the Rising Sun, and the jubilant clamor of "*Banzai*."

⁹ A famous student-warrior (A. D. 845-903).

IDOLS AND FETICHES.

BY JAMES B. SMILEY.

[CONCLUSION.]

The worship of stones has existed in various parts of the world. It was common in ancient America. Thus it is stated that among the Indians "stones are sometimes revered on account of their similarity to the human figure, or the figure of some animal. Such stones are called *shingabawassius* by the Ojibways. They have all the essential character of idols, and are supposed to be the locality [habitation] of some god....At the mouth of the Walla Walla two stones, human shaped, were thought to be two Kiuse girls metamorphosed by a jealous husband, and were worshiped....Many stones of the shape of men and women, found in Peru, are according to tradition [human] beings metamorphosed. Arriago mentions the metamorphosis of men to stones, and the worship of those stones....The Laches worshiped every stone as a god, and said they had all been men, and all men were converted into stones after death, and the day was coming when all stones would be raised as men [resurrection]. The shadows of stones were the manifestations of the gods in them.⁶⁰....The Dacotahs claimed descent from a stone, and offered sacrifices to it, calling it grandfather. They thought the spirit of their ancestor was present in this stone, which is their altar for national sacrifice. The Ojibways had such stones, which they called grandfather....Spirits [they believed] transmigrated into stones, and this made them objects of worship....In Central America when a lord died a stone was put into his mouth to receive his soul....Among the Brazilians, the most popular charms worn by the Indians are stones called Muira-kitana, which appear to be stones cut from rocks at the bottom of lakes. There are traditions that they were alive in the

⁶⁰ This refers to the wide-spread belief among savages that shadows were the spirits of the objects casting them.

lake, and the women by giving them a drop of their blood could catch them.... Among the natives of the West Indies food was regularly offered to certain stones that were objects of worship, and they supposed the food was eaten when it disappeared,"⁶¹ i. e., eaten by the spirit dwelling in the stone.

In some regions the belief developed that spirits inhabited everything, and in New Zealand men said that "anything cooked sends the spirit into the stones on which they are cooked."⁶² Sacred stones were worshiped by the Fijians, the Australians, the Karens, and the Bowditch Islanders.⁶³

They were also worshiped in ancient times in Phenicia, Syria, Babylonia, Arabia, and "the worship was common to all the branches of the Semitic family. The famous black stone of the Kaaba at Mecca is a standing witness to the fact. So firmly rooted was the belief in its divine character among the Arabs of Mohammed's day that he was unable to eradicate it, but was forced to make a compromise with the old faith by attaching to the stone the traditions of the Old Testament.... All around Mecca there were similar stones, termed Anzab."⁶⁴ Among the Arabs a sacred stone was sometimes called *ghariy*, "blood-bedaubed," the name evidently growing out of the world-wide custom of daubing blood on such stones. "When the Arab daubed blood on the *nosb* [sacred stone] his object was to bring the blood offering into direct contact with the deity"⁶⁵ inhabiting it.

In their early days the Greeks believed that "ghosts dwelt in stones; and stones were the shrines of their gods. Pausanias gives several instances; and shows that these inhabited stones, anointed with oil in propitiation, continued even in late days to be regarded as sacred and to be occasionally honored."⁶⁶ The Turanian tribes of North Asia worshiped stones, "especially curious ones and such as were like men and animals.... but we learn that they were venerated because mighty spirits dwelt in them." The Samoyeds worshiped a black stone which they "smeared with sacrificial blood."⁶⁷

The worship of sacred stones was common in India. In Behar

⁶¹ Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, pp. 130-134. Many other examples are there given.

⁶² Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 159.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 789-791.

a stone under a tree "will represent the deified soul of some dead personage" and receive worship. The Bakada and Betadāra keep a sacred stone in every house "which represents their god Buta," and they sacrifice to it.⁶⁸ The Hindu term *deva*, or deity, is often applied to the spirits worshiped in stones.⁶⁹ In Southern India "four or five stones may often be seen in the ryot's field, placed in a row and daubed with red paint, which they consider as guardians of the field, and call the five Pandus."⁷⁰ The red paint is a substitute for blood in the offering.

Stone worship was also common in ancient Europe, and "it is remarkable to what late times full and genuine stone-worship has survived" there.⁷¹ It is stated that "the Chinese still retain many of the customs associated with the remotest antiquity, among which may be cited the adoration of stones as objects of worship."⁷²

At times we find the belief that the spirits that entered stones could speak through them, so that they became oracles. Thus it is stated that in Central America "the blood of birds and deer was poured by the hunters on the stone of Tohil and Avilix [gods], and when the gods had drunk the blood the stone spoke." So, too, the offering of blood gave the stones worshiped by the Scandinavians the power of prophecy.⁷³ The exact manner in which the god was believed to speak through the stone is not stated.

It has often been the custom to go to sacred stones and offer sacrifices and prayers for help, as was done to idols. Thus we are told that among the Bulloms in Africa certain women "make occasional sacrifices and offerings of rice to the stones which are preserved in memory of the dead. They prostrate themselves before them."⁷⁴ Numerous examples could be given if needed.

It will be seen that the wide-spread worship of sacred stones was closely allied to idolatry, and that, like idolatry, it was based on the belief that spirits entered and dwelt in the objects worshiped.

Animal worship has been common in various parts of the world. In ancient Egypt it long flourished. "Egyptian animal worship seems to show, in a double line, traces of a savage ancestry extending into ages lying far behind even the remote antiquity of

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167. See other examples there given.

⁷² Ball, *Things Chinese*, p. 586.

⁷³ Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, p. 134.

⁷⁴ Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 159.

the Pyramids. Deities patronizing special sacred animals, incarnate in their bodies or represented in their figures, have nowhere better examples than the bull-dynasty of Apis, Horus wearing the head of his sacred hawk, Bubastis and her cat, Thoth and his cynocephalus and ibis, the cow-headed Hather, or the hippopotamus Typhon." In India "the sacred cow is not merely to be spared, she is as a deity worshiped in annual ceremony, duly perambulated and bowed to by the pious Hindu, who offers her fresh grass and flowers; Hanuman the monkey-god has his temples and idols, and in him Siva is incarnate, as Durga is in the jackal; the wise Ganesa wears the elephant's head; the divine king of birds, Garuda, is Vishnu's vehicle."⁷⁵ We are told that the animals worshiped by



THE BABYLONIAN GODDESS ISTAR.

(Bas-relief in the British Museum, Lenormant, V, p. 259).
Her idol in the form of a dove being carried in procession.

the Egyptians "were not, however, venerated in dynastic times as animals, but as *the abodes of gods*,"⁷⁶ and this is equally true of India and other places where animals were worshiped. It was the indwelling spirit, not the animal, that men worshiped.

We have seen how the bodies of men were mummified in order to preserve them as homes for the spirit to reside in, and in Egypt the bodies of sacred animals appear to have been preserved and mummified for the same purpose. So also idols of animals were made, in which spirits were believed to dwell, and which were worshiped. The chief difference between the idols of animals and of men was in their form. Both were worshiped because they were believed to be inhabited by gods.

⁷⁵ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 238, 239.

⁷⁶ Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, p. 2.

The development in the primitive mind of the idea that spirits teemed everywhere and could enter various objects seems to have led to fetichism. The word "fetich" is "of Portuguese origin, and is a corruption of *feitico*, an amulet or charm. At the time of the Portuguese discoveries in West Africa, that is to say, from about 1441 to 1500, Catholic Europe abounded in relics of saints, charmed rosaries, images, and crosses, which were, in the majority of cases, regarded by their wearers as amulets or charms. Such articles were termed by the Portuguese *feiticos*. . . . When, therefore, during their voyages along the West African coast, the Portuguese found the natives reverencing or worshiping certain objects, such as those tenanted by tutelary deities. . . . they naturally spoke of them as the *feiticos* of the natives, having, in fact, no other word commonly in use with which to describe" them. . . . "From the origin of the word, and its application in Europe in that age, it appears clear that the Portuguese could only have applied the term *feitico* to tangible and inanimate objects, to the wooden figures, stones or cones of earth believed by the natives to be the abiding places of indwelling gods, or to the charms obtained from a *suhman*. . . . Hence, since a *feitico* is, properly speaking, a tangible and inanimate object alone, fetichism can properly only mean the worship of such objects. The practice of propitiating by offerings beings who are believed to dwell in the woods or mountains, the rivers or the sea, is not fetichism; nor is the worship paid to certain animals by particular tribes fetichism. Neither can the worship of idols be so termed."⁷⁷

De Brosses, a French writer who published a book entitled *Du culte des dieux fétiches*, in 1760, termed "all terrestrial and natural objects apparently worshiped by the negroes 'fetiches,' and this cult he denominated 'fetichism.' His theory was, that as it was impossible to conceive a lower form of religion than fetichism, it might therefore be assumed to be the beginning of all religion."⁷⁸ This misconception was adopted by other writers, and it became current in much of the discussion regarding the origin of religion.

The Rev. R. H. Nassau, who lived in Africa for forty years and who made a careful study of the customs and beliefs of the natives, says regarding their fetichism: "A spirit could live anywhere and in any thing. . . . The thing itself, the material itself, is not worshiped. The fetich worshiper makes a clear distinction between the reverence with which he regards a certain material

⁷⁷ Ellis, *Tshi-Speaking People*, pp. 177, 178.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

object, and the worship he renders to the spirit for the time being inhabiting it. For this reason nothing is too mean or too small or too ridiculous to be considered fit for a spirit's *locum tenens*; for when, for any reason, the spirit is supposed to have gone out of that thing and definitely abandoned it, the thing itself is no longer revered, and is thrown away as useless. . . . It is not true, as is asserted by some in regard to these African tribes and their degraded form of religion, that they worship the actual material objects in which the spirits are supposed to be confined."⁷⁹

The *oganga*, or magic doctor, often prepares fetiches for the use of the natives, "with a variety of ceremonies and processes, by virtue of which some spirit becomes localized in that object, and subject to the will of the person. . . . In preparing a fetich the *oganga* selects substances such as he deems appropriate to the end in view, —the ashes of certain medicinal plants, pieces of calcined bones, gums, spices, resins, and even filth, portions of the organs of the bodies of animals, and especially of human beings. . . . Human eyeballs (particularly of a white person) are a great prize. New-made graves have been rifled for them."⁸⁰

Sometimes the word "dead" is used of a fetich amulet that has been abandoned by the spirit conjured into it by a native doctor. "The phrase does not mean that the spirit is actually dead, but that it has fled from inside the fetich, and still lives elsewhere. Then the native doctor, to explain to his patient or client the efficiency of the charm, says that the cause of the spirit's escape and flight is that the wearer has failed to observe all of the directions which had been given, and the spirit was displeased."⁸¹

It is not certain that a fetich will possess extraordinary powers. They must be tested and tried before they can be relied on, and one man may have a fetich inhabited by a stronger spirit than that dwelling in another. In case of failure a man may go to the *oganga* and complain, and in reply he will be told, "Yes, I know. You have an enemy who possesses a fetich containing a spirit more powerful than yours, which made your bullet miss its mark, which caused your opponent's spear to wound you. Yours is no longer of use; it's dead. Come, pay me, and I will make you a charm

among more civilized nations. Thus of the Japanese peasant it is said that "before he will strike mattock or spade in the soil, lay ax to a tree, collect or burn underbrush, he will select a stone, a slab of rock, or a stick of wood, set it upon hill-side or mud field boundary, and to this he will bow, prostrate himself and pray. To him this stone or stick is consecrated. It has power to placate the spirits and ward off their evil. . . . His fetich is erected to 'the honorable spirits.' . . . Were this not attended to, some known or unknown bad luck, sinister fortune, or calamity would befall him. . . . (Of the 7,817,570 houses in the empire enumerated in the census of 1892, it is probable that seven million of them are subject to insurance by fetich. They are thus guaranteed against fire, thieves, lightning, plague and pestilence. It is because of the money paid to the priests that the wooden policies are duly nailed to the walls.)"⁸³

We are told that in China people believe that "every plant, even every object which we are wont to call a dead object, has received from the universe the souls which constitute its life, and which may confer blessing on man or may harm him." And the same author says that China is "the principal country in the world for fetichism."⁸⁴ In India it is stated that "in Bengal the carpenters worship their adze, chisel and saw; the barbers their razors, scissors and mirror. . . . the writer class worship their books, pens and inkstand. . . . In Bombay, jewelers worship their pincers and blowpipe; carriers worship an axe, and market gardeners a pair of scales."⁸⁵ In fact, fetichism seems to be common in India, surviving from early times.

Even in modern Europe the ancient belief survives among many of the peasantry, for it is said that "modern peasant folklore knows that spirits must have some animal body or other object to dwell in, a feather, a bag, a bush for instance. The Tyrolese object to using grass for toothpicks, because of the demons that may have taken up their abode in the straws."⁸⁶

From our study of the subject we reach the conclusion that instead of fetichism being the earliest and lowest form of religion out of which later and higher forms developed, it is more probable that the belief in spirits was first evolved, and then came the belief that they could enter various objects, even such things as sticks, twigs, etc., and this gave rise to fetichism. And so it would be a later, instead of the primary or original, form of religion.

⁸³ Griffin, *Religion of Japan*, pp. 23-25.

⁸⁴ De Groot, *The Religion of the Chinese*, pp. 4, 162.

⁸⁵ Crooke, *Folk-Lore of North India*, p. 305.

⁸⁶ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 150.

While men have feared and worshiped the spirits believed to reside in idols and fetiches, they have at times sought to coerce or control them. Thus we are told about the negro "who feeds ancestral images and brings them a share of his trade profits, but will beat an idol or fling it into the fire if it cannot give him good luck or preserve him from sickness;" of the Ostyak, "who clothes his puppet, and feeds it with broth, but if it brings him no sport will try the effect of a good thrashing on it, after which he will clothe and feed it again." We read stories of worshipers in China abusing some idol that has failed in its duty. "'How now,' they say, 'you dog of a spirit; we have given you an abode in a splendid temple, we gild you, and feed you and fumigate you with incense, and yet you are so ungrateful that you won't listen to our prayers!' So they drag him in the dirt, and then, if they get what they want, it is but to clean him and set him up again, with apologies and promises of a new coat of gilding."⁸⁷

The Indians on the banks of the Orinoco deify the toad "and attribute to him the power of sending rain; and they beat him when he does not grant their request."⁸⁸ In Mexico two battle-gods "gave oracles and were supposed to join the people in their dances It is related that when a prediction of the oracle was not fulfilled the priest without hesitation castigated the idol."⁸⁹ We are told about the Italian peasant, "who beats or scolds his bambino when his prayers are not answered or his wishes gratified," and so in Japan "the fetich is punished or not allowed to know what is going on by being covered up or hidden away."⁹⁰

Among the Yucatanese, "Villagutierre describes the beating of an idol said to have predicted the arrival of the Spaniards, but who had deceived them respecting the result."⁹¹ In several villages of Navarre in France, "prayers for rain used to be offered to St. Peter, and by way of enforcing them the villagers carried the image of the saint in procession to the river, where they thrice invited him to reconsider his resolution and to grant their prayers; then, if he was still obdurate, they plunged him in the river, despite the remonstrances of the clergy."⁹²

This custom seems to have been common in ancient as well as

⁸⁷ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 170, 171.

⁸⁸ Letourneau, *Sociology*, p. 288.

⁸⁹ Bancroft, *Native Races*, Vol. III, p. 483.

⁹⁰ Griffin, *Religion of Japan*, p. 27.

⁹¹ Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 158.

⁹² Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Vol. I, p. 111.

in modern times. In Rome, "Augustus punished the Neptune in effigy because he had behaved badly. The ancient Arcadians used to beat their god Pan if they came back from the chase empty handed. On the day of the death of Germanicus all the idols in Rome were broken."⁹³

For thousands of years, in various parts of the world, human beings were killed in order to send their souls to the other world to serve as wives, servants and slaves for spirits and gods. In an article on "Religious Sacrifices"⁹⁴ I have discussed this subject. We also find in various places attempts to supply spirits with idols. Thus among the Miztecs in Oajaca, Mexico, when a chief died, male and female slaves were killed and buried in the grave with his body to accompany his spirit to the other world "together with idols to serve as guides;"⁹⁵ i. e., that the god dwelling in the idol might act as guide for the soul of the chief in the spirit world, or as Bancroft explains a similar custom elsewhere, "to serve as a guide and fellow traveler to the departed on the long journey"⁹⁶ to the spirit realm.

Occasional allusions are made to jealous gods. Thus in America Uxmal was "said to have been destroyed through the anger of their idols, who were outraged because a new clay god was made by a usurper and worshiped by the people."⁹⁷ In other parts of the world the belief has prevailed that gods were jealous.

In some cases priests have found it convenient to use idols for purposes of deception. Thus it is said that "the Haytian idols were hollow, and so large that the priests could speak through them and delude the people, who thought the idol spoke. The priests would often get inside of these idols in order to practice this imposition." Many such idols were found in Mexico, Yucatan and the West Indies. "In Hispaniola the Spaniards found a conspiracy between the cacique and priesthood to deceive the people. Hearing that a certain idol spoke to the people, the Spaniards were present at one of these performances, and they found that the statue was hollow, with a hollow tube connecting with it through which the priest spoke. The cacique begged the Spaniards not to disclose this to the Indians, because by that artifice he kept them in

people—"at least they did this until they were ignominiously found out a few years ago."⁹⁹

In order to cure a Semitic princess the idol of Khonsu was sent to Asia by a Pharaoh of the twenty-first dynasty,¹⁰⁰ thus showing his belief that the resident spirit could cure her disease, and he seems to have loaned her the idol for that purpose.

In ancient times individuals, families, cities and nations were believed to have guardian spirits, or gods, who had a local habitation and only local power. The growth of this belief among the Greeks and Romans has been admirably described by Coulanges, and I cannot do better than to follow and quote from his excellent work. Although tracing the development of the belief in those countries, it would apply equally to other parts of the world.

In ancient Greece and Rome "every city had gods who belonged to it alone.... They were called Lares, Penates, Genii, Demons, Heroes; under all these names were human souls deified." After death "the bodies were buried either in the city itself or upon its territory; and as, according to [ancient] belief.... the soul did not quit the body, it followed that these divine dead were attached to the soil where their bodies were buried. From their graves they watched over the city; they protected the country, and were, in some sort, its chiefs and masters.... These notions came from the very great power which the ancient generations attributed to the human soul after death. Every man who had rendered a great service to the city.... became a god to that city."¹⁰¹ After death the *power* of a spirit was believed to be greatly increased, but otherwise it remained unchanged.

Thus an oracle addressed by the Pythia to Solon expressed the belief of the time, saying, "Honor with a worship the chiefs of the country, the dead who live under the earth.... Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, was a god at Delphi only because he died and was buried there.... And so Euripides makes Eurystheus say to the Athenians when about to die, 'Bury me in Attica. I will be propitious to you, and in the bosom of the ground I will be for your country a protecting guest.' The entire tragedy of *Œdipus Coloneus* rests upon this belief. Athens and Thebes contend over the body of a man who is about to die, and who will become a god."¹⁰²

country; his spirit was said to appear to Pelias and order him to bring back the body, for the soul, being bound to the body, could not return to dwell in the land of its forefathers without it. As the spirit was believed to be connected with the body it would reside underground, where that body was buried; but it was thought to have the power to leave the corpse, flit about, and act as a protecting god, for the individual, tribe or city, as the case might be.

It was a great piece of good fortune for a city to possess the dead bodies of noted men. "Mantineia spoke with pride of the bones of Arcas, Thebes of those of Geryon, Mesene of those of Aristomenes. To procure these precious relics, ruse was sometimes resorted to. Herodotus relates by what unfair means the Spartans carried off the bones of Orestes. These bones...to which the soul of a hero attached, gave the Spartans a victory immediately. As soon as Athens had acquired power, the first use she made of it was to seize upon the bones of Theseus, who had been buried in the isle of Scyrus, and to build a temple for them in the city, in order to increase the number of her protecting deities."¹⁰³ The spirit, being attached to the body or bones would be transferred with them. When idols were developed their possession was sought for the same reason that these bones were desired.

But while the gods were believed to watch over and protect the individual, or the family, or the city, or the state, as the case might be, the benefit was believed to be mutual, for in return they received the offerings and sacrifices on which, as we have elsewhere explained, their welfare and even their existence was believed to depend. The "gods were eager for offerings, and they received victims only from their own city. If they wished the continuation of the sacrifices and hecatombs, it was necessary that they should watch over the city's safety."¹⁰⁴ Every family, or city, or state, offered sacrifices to its protecting deities. The same may be said of China and Japan, for we find evidences of their family, clan or tribal, and national gods, and to them they offer sacrifices in the same way. This has been the custom in various parts of the world.

On the assistance of these spirits and gods men relied for success. When they went to war, or engaged in battle, they often carried with them the idols in which they believed the gods resided. Thus it is said that "the gods had the same interests as the citizens themselves, and in times of war marched to battle with them. In Euripides we see a personage who says on the eve of battle, 'The

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

gods who fight with us are more powerful than those who are on the side of the enemy.' The Æginetans never commenced a campaign without carrying with them the statues [idols] of their national heroes, the Æacidæ. The Spartans in all their expeditions carried with them the Tyndaridæ. In the combat the gods and the citizens mutually sustained each other."¹⁰⁵

In some parts of ancient America men "were so devoted to idolatry that wherever they went they carried an idol. In battle they would hold an idol with one arm and fight with the other,"¹⁰⁶ thus, they believed, securing the assistance of the god. In the Sandwich Islands the hideous image [idol] of the war-god of king Kamehameha "was carried into battle by his special priest,"¹⁰⁷ and in Arabia the idol of the god Yaghuth was "carried into the fray," to secure his help.¹⁰⁸ The Phenicians carried "images of gods in the prows of their ships, to which sacrifices were made, and figure-heads similar to idols were carried in Polynesian war canoes,"¹⁰⁹ evidently to secure their protecting care. Other instances are found of a similar custom, for it has been world-wide.

In some instances men believed that a city could never be taken so long as its gods remained in it, or were true to it. "When Æneas sees the Greeks the masters of Troy, he cries that the gods [of Troy] have departed, deserting their temples and their altars. In Æschylus, the chorus of Thebans expresses the same belief when at the approach of the enemy it implores the gods not to desert the city. . . . Even in the time of Thucydides, when the Greeks besieged a city, they never failed to address an invocation to its gods, that they might permit it to be taken."¹¹⁰ When Solon wished to capture the Isle of Salamis he consulted an oracle, which said, "If you wish to conquer the isle you must first gain the favor of the heroes [gods] who protect it and who inhabit it.' Solon obeyed; in the name of Athens he offered sacrifices to the two principal heroes of Salamis. These heroes did not resist the gifts that were offered them, but went over to the Athenian side, and the isle, deprived of protectors, was conquered."¹¹¹

The Romans had a regular form of prayer, preserved by Macrobius, which, before attacking a city, they addressed to its protecting

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 202.

¹⁰⁶ Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, pp. 129, 130.

¹⁰⁷ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 307.

¹⁰⁸ Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁹ Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God*, pp. 263, 264.

¹¹⁰ Coulanges, *Ancient City*, pp. 202, 203.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 204.

god, beseeching him to desert, go to Rome, and become their protecting deity, . . . offering to build him a temple there.

If a city was conquered the gods were supposed to have been conquered also. If a city was taken the gods that dwelt in and protected it were captured. Capturing an idol, with its indwelling deity, served two purposes. It showed the inferiority of the conquered to the victorious god, and often men also believed that they could secure the protecting care of the captive deity. Thus when the Roman general Camillo conquered the Veii, he carried away their idol of Juno "well persuaded that he gained possession of the goddess at the same time, and devoutly transported her to Rome. From that time Rome had two protecting Junos."¹¹² So also Ulysses carried off the Pallas [idol] of the Trojans. "At another time the Æginetans, wishing to make war upon Epidaurus, commenced by carrying off two protecting statues [idols] of that city, and transported them to their own city,"¹¹³ thus weakening the enemy by holding his gods in captivity. As this custom has been common a few other examples may be given.

Of ancient Peru we are told that "as for the conquered neighboring tribes brought under the dominion of the Incas, their idols were carried, half trophies and half hostages, to Cuzco, to rank among the inferior deities of the Peruvian Pantheon."¹¹⁴ Thus they secured the control of the conquered gods, and "the burdensome charges of their worship were defrayed by their respective provinces,"¹¹⁵ i. e., they were required to furnish sacrifices etc. for them. In ancient Assyria the idol of the goddess Nanea was stolen from the temple at Erech, about 2280 B. C., and held captive for 1635 years, when it was recovered by Assurbanipal; and the idols of the gods Ramman and Sala, of the city of Ekallati, were held captive for 418 years, and then recovered.¹¹⁶ This was holding gods captive for many years. The victorious Romans carried to Rome the idols of what were believed to be the principal gods of the nations they conquered, thus holding them as hostages, and also securing their protecting care. Hence the value of their Pantheon. Capturing and holding idols in order to secure the resident deities has been prevalent throughout the world.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 199.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

¹¹⁴ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p. 173.

In some instances to prevent a god from deserting they bound his idol with chains. In other cases they hid it. Again, "they opposed to the formula by which the enemy attempted to bribe the god, another formula which had the power to retain him." The Romans often "kept secret the name of the principal and most powerful of their protecting gods. They thought that, as the enemy could never call their god by name, he would never abandon thier side, and that their city would never be taken."¹¹⁷ Keeping secret the name of the god has been common in other parts of the world.

In some parts of Africa men never engage in a war without first consulting the gods, and after a victory a "dreadful slaughter of prisoners takes place....as a thank offering to the deity or deities to whose assistance the natives believe they owe their success."¹¹⁸ The prisoners were killed in order to send their spirits to the other world, to become the slaves of the deity that gave victory to his worshipers, or from the cannibalistic desire to give him their flesh and blood to eat. An this is true of all similar sacrifices. In praying the gods for help men would promise them liberal sacrifices if victorious. The custom has been wide-spread of thanking, and offering sacrifices to, the god or gods to whose assistance men believed their success was due.

In the "older art of Babylonia, of which that of Assyria was but a modification, the deities of the popular faith were all represented in human shape."¹¹⁹ So also of the Greeks it is said that "at the earliest stage of iconism of which literature or monuments have left a record, we find the form of the god darkly emerging from the inorganic block....but the features of this embryo form are human....The earliest image under which the Greek divinity proper was figured was the image of man."¹²⁰ Here the idols were clearly developed from ancestor worship, and so the early idols were in human form, and were believed to embody human spirits. In ancient Mexico, however, we are told that they "had idols of stone, and of wood, and of baked clay; they also made them of dough; some of them were shaped like men....some were like women, some like wild beasts....some like snakes of many fashions, large and coiling....of the owl and other night birds, and of others as



MIXE IDOL OF MIXISTLAN.

From a photograph. Venerated by Mexicans until very recently when the original was removed from the altar of a Christian church by the Archbishop of Antequera who now retains it in his possession.

and idols, carved or painted, even of butterflies, fleas and locusts."¹²¹ This appears to be a more advanced stage, so that in addition to human figures they had idols of animals of all kinds, of birds, snakes and even of insects, and such idols have been found elsewhere. We have already seen that in China idols were erected which were believed to be inhabited by the spirits of mountains, brooks, streams, and other gods of nature.

It has not always been the custom to wait until a man was dead before the worship of his spirit began, and in various parts of the world idols have been erected for living men, and then worshipped. This custom appears to have been very ancient in China and is mentioned in a book written as early as the fourth century before our era. "Instances abound in Chinese literature" of this custom. De Groot, who visited China, says that he saw a number of images [idols] and tablets erected to a viceroy who had been "removed to another high post." Altars, temples and idols are often erected "in honor of mandarins after they have departed from the region where they gained the sympathy of a grateful people. . . . Solemnly, every year, on the birthday of such a one, the administrators of the building do reverence there, sacrificing incense, food, spirits, and tea, with bows and prostrations to his soul *residing in the image or tablet*; and they entertain it on the spot with a theatrical performance or a puppet show."¹²²

Similarly in ancient Peru they "made statues [idols] of their chiefs during their lives, and these statues, made in the likeness of the chief, were served as if they had been alive, and villages were set apart to provide them with the necessaries,"¹²³ i. e., as sacrifices to the idol. So, also, in ancient India the Veda represents a man as saying, "'My father and mother are my highest idols; I do for them what I do for idols' . . . and he is represented as saying that he offers fruits and flowers to his parents as if they were idols."¹²⁴ In some parts of Africa at present the savages believe that insanity is caused by a spirit which has taken possession of the victim. "Therefore it is considered proper to make offerings and some degree of worship to the incarnated spirit. But it is not true that the lunatic himself is the object of worship. The gifts and sacrifices are made solely to and for the spirit"¹²⁵ believed to dwell in him.

¹²¹ Bancroft, *Native Races*, III, p. 196.

¹²² De Groot, *The Religion of the Chinese*, pp. 65, 66.

¹²³ Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, p. 119.

¹²⁴ Hopkins, *The Religion of India*, p. 370.

¹²⁵ Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 272.

In ancient Babylonia, after the death of kings temples were erected to them, "their images [idols] were placed in the temples and sacrifices were offered to them. One king, Gimel-Sin (about 2500 B. C.) appears to have been deified during his lifetime, and there was a temple in Lagash which was named after him,"¹²⁶ where he appears to have been worshiped. So also in Rome the senate decreed the divinity of Cæsar, and temples were erected to Augustus, and people began to worship him before he died. It is said that in ancient Egypt it was the "belief that the ruling king or sovereign of Egypt was the living image and viceregent of the sun-god (Ra). He was invested with the attributes of divinity, and that in the earliest times of which we possess monumental evidence,"¹²⁷ and in some cases the king appears to have been worshiped while alive.

In New Zealand a Tampo chief said to a missionary, "Think not that I am a man, that my origin is of the earth. I come from the heavens; my ancestors are all there; they are gods, and I shall return to them."¹²⁸ This appears to be the origin of the belief in "the divine right" of kings. The ancestors of the kings had been deified and were worshiped, and so the kings claimed to be descended from the gods, and to rule by divine approval, i. e., by the approval of the spirits of their deified ancestors. After death the kings also would often be deified and worshiped as gods. So in China and Japan worship of the spirits of their emperors has flourished for centuries. The same practice has been found among other people.

When idols were in general use, and the demand for them large, their manufacture would naturally develop into an industry. Thus when America was discovered idols were found by thousands in the West Indies, and it is stated that "an island near Hayti had a population of idol-makers....The spirit could be conveyed with the image, both were called *cemi*, and in the local account of sacrifices, oracles, and miracles, the deity and the idol are mixed together in a way which at least shows the extreme closeness of their connection in the native mind." "The natives carved their little images in the shapes in which they believed the spirits themselves to have appeared to them."¹²⁹ At Ephesus the making of idols appears to have been a business, and the craftsmen who made their living by it started

¹²⁶ Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 561. "The early monarchs of Babylon were worshiped as gods in their lifetime....The kings of Tyre traced their descent from Baal, and apparently professed to be gods in their own person."—Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 10, 11.

¹²⁷ Renouf, *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, p. 161.

¹²⁸ Thompson, *The Story of New Zealand*, I. p. 95.

¹²⁹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p. 172.

a riot against St. Paul, who was denouncing idolatry, because "this our craft is in danger to be set at naught" (Acts xix. 23-41). Fearing the injury to their trade they desired to kill the man who interfered with it.

Among the innumerable spirits worshiped by primitive men certain gods would in time loom up above others, much as certain men became chiefs and then kings, dominating many nobles and all their subjects. So great gods appeared such as possibly the imaginary first ancestor, faintly remembered but deified and greatly magnified, or the deified spirit of some powerful ancient king; or when nature gods appeared the greatest one might be the spirit dwelling in the sun, or sky or heaven. Various causes might work to elevate one god above another in the popular belief. And a time would come when some of the more thoughtful and intelligent men would doubt whether the exalted spirits which their conceptions imagined could dwell in idols and fetiches.

With the development of ancient philosophy we find such ideas taking shape in the minds of various writers. Thus Zeno said that neither temples nor idols were suited for gods; Empedocles and Heraclitus satirized prayers to idols; Zenophanes made an attack on all idolatry, and Varro and Maximus Tyrius wrote a treatise on the question of whether images should be erected to gods. Probably many shared their views. Similarly in ancient Peru. Nezahualcoyotl, king of Tezcuco, expressed contempt for idolatry, and recognized "a high, holy, and to a great extent, unknowable supreme power. This thoughtful monarch 'found false all the gods adored by the people of this land, saying that they were statues and demons.'"¹³⁰ In Peru with the development of intelligence there also appeared a tendency to trace many spirits to a larger spirit from whom they sprung.¹³¹ But relatively exalted conceptions such as these, held by the few, did not stop the idolatry practiced by the masses of the people. It took centuries of development to prepare some of the nations for the abolition of idols, and even now a large proportion of the people of the world make and worship them.

Moral codes and ideals are the result of social development. They are the necessary outgrowth of social advance. But savages, unrestrained by such requirements, violate them because they lack the moral laws which civilization imposes. Hence the spirits and gods

"in Greece, as early as the sixth century B. C., we are all familiar with Zenophanes's poem complaining that the gods were credited with the worst crimes of mortals—in fact, with abominations only known in the orgies of Nero and Elagabalus. We hear Pindar refusing to repeat the tale which told him the blessed were cannibals. In India we read the pious Brahmanic attempts to expound decently the myths which made Indra the slayer of a Brahman; the sinner, that is, of the unpardonable sin. In Egypt, too, we study the priestly or philosophic systems by which the clergy strove to strip the burden of absurdity and sacrilege from their own deities."¹³² When intelligent men, owing merely to the advance in moral standards resulting from a developing civilization, thus revolt at the numerous tales of the immoralities of the ancestral gods, they either take refuge in skepticism and reject the popular religion, or else conceptions of the gods must be framed to meet the new and higher ideals.

The idolatry of the ancient Hebrews does not appear to have differed essentially in origin or character from that of other nations. Their early traditions represent their ancestors as dwelling "on the other side of the flood" (the Revised Version says "river," i. e., the Euphrates), and there "they served other gods." (Josh. xxiv. 2). When they migrated to Palestine from beyond "the river," they appear to have carried with them the worship of the idols and gods of their ancestors, which were similar to those of other branches of the Semitic race. When Rachel fled with Jacob she stole "the images"¹³³ that were her father's" (Gen. xxxi. 19). Then Laban started in pursuit of Jacob, and when he overtook him he said, "Wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?" (Gen. xxxi. 30).

We have already seen the ancient belief that when an idol was carried away the indwelling spirit or god was believed to be carried with it. Hence Laban accuses Jacob of having "stolen his gods." So also Micah "had a house of gods. . . and *teraphim*" (Judg. xvii.

¹³² Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, Vol. I, p. 6.

¹³³ The Revised Version says *teraphim*. The Assyrian *tarpu* "is the Hebrew *teraphim*, which, as Dr. Neubauer has pointed out, must be connected with the *Rephaim* or 'shades of the dead,' and hence. . . signify the images [idols] of dead ancestors" (A. H. Sayce in *The Hibbert Lectures* for 1887.

5) which some of "the children of Dan" stole. And Micah started in pursuit, and when he overtook them he said, "Ye have taken away my gods [idols] which I made, and the priest, and ye are gone away; and what have I more?" (Judg. xviii. 24). Evidently he believed that he lost his gods when their images were stolen. On conquering the city of Laish "the children of Dan" changed its name to Dan, and there they "set them up Micah's image which he made" (verse 31), and it seems to have been long worshiped.

David appears to have kept a household idol and to have been an idolater. Saul in his anger "sent messengers unto David's house, to watch and to slay him in the morning; and Michal, David's wife," who was the daughter of Saul, told him, and she "let David down through the window; and he went and fled and escaped" (1 Sam.



HEBREW TERAPHIM.



HEAD OF BAAL.
From a Tyrian coin.

xix. 11, 12). Then, to mislead the messengers, Michal "took an image (Revised Version says *teraphim*, i. e., household idol), and laid it in the bed" (verses 13-16), and said that David was sick. Thus David's household idol (*teraphim*) appears to have been about the size and form of a man, else it would not so readily have deceived the messengers of Saul. Idols in human form are also mentioned in Ezek. xvi. 17; Is. xlv. 13. The idols which Rachel stole from her father appear, however, to have been much smaller, otherwise she could not so easily have hidden them by sitting on them (Gen. xxxi. 34). In nations where idols were common they were often made of various sizes.

Apparently among the Semites in quite early times the belief arose that the spirits, thought to reside in graves, could enter and reside in stones resting upon them. Then would come the belief

that they could also reside in other stones, giving rise to a belief similar to that which we have found in other parts of the world. Worship of such stones was common in Babylonia, and in fact "the worship of these sacred stones was common to all the branches of the Semitic family."¹³⁴ The sacred stones were regarded as "the dwelling place of deity itself."¹³⁵ Such stones seem to have been of various shapes and sometimes pillars. Among the Semites we find mention of the "pillar as a visible symbol or embodiment of the presence of the deity, which in process of time comes to be fashioned or carved in various ways, till ultimately it becomes a statue or anthropomorphic idol of stone, just as the sacred tree or post [grave post?] was ultimately developed into an image of wood," or wooden idol.¹³⁶ Among the early Semites "heaps of stones, or pillars set upon graves, were believed to be occupied by them [i. e., by spirits]. In Nabataean, Palmyrene, and Aramaic *nefesh*, 'soul,' means also 'tombstone.'"¹³⁷ evidently growing out of the belief that the soul entered and dwelt in the tombstone.

In the Old Testament we find numerous allusions to the stone worship of the Israelites. Thus Jacob, as the result of a peculiar dream, set up the stone on which his head had rested, and he called it *Bêth-êl*, meaning the house of *êl*, or of the god *êl*. He seems to have believed that the god had entered and dwelt in the stone and he said, "this stone which I have set for a pillar, shall be God's house" (Gen. xxviii. 22). And he anointed the stone with oil, "just as idols were in antiquity."¹³⁸ Anointing sacred stones in this way was common in Babylonia and Assyria.¹³⁹ The Hurd Islanders had in their homes, "several stocks or small pillars, 4 or 5 feet high, as the representatives of household gods, and on these they poured oil."¹⁴⁰ In the Society Islands, logs or fragments of basalt columns, "by virtue of the *atua* or deity which had filled them,"¹⁴¹ were anointed with oil, and this custom has been found in various parts of the world. The oil was intended as a sacrifice to the deity dwell-

¹³⁴ Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 408.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 187.

¹³⁷ Paton, *The Early Religion of Israel*, p. 9.

¹³⁸ Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 187.

¹³⁹ Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 410. See also Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 664-665 for comments on this custom.

¹⁴⁰ Turner, *Samoa*, p. 294.

¹⁴¹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p. 162.

ing inside, just as fat and blood were often daubed on idols, as we have seen.

Some of the proper names indicate the early stone worship, as Tsuriel, meaning "my rock is God"; Pedatsur, "the rock deliver"; Tsurishaddai, "Shaddai, or the mighty one is my rock"; Elitsur, "the rock is my god," etc. For allusions to stone worship see Deut. xxxii. 37; Hab. ii. 19. In some cases descent from a stone was claimed (Jer. ii. 27), which was a belief elsewhere as previously shown.

* * *

It is uncertain just what was contained in the Ark. The word simply means a chest. The compiler of the Old Testament narratives represented it as containing the tables of stone on which the ten commandments were written. This was probably an attempt of the compiler, in the time of the prophets, to gloss over the facts. It may have contained an ancient sacred stone.¹⁴² In this sacred object, whatever it was, Yahveh was believed to dwell¹⁴³ (Num. x. 35, 36; 2 Sam. xv. 25). It was at times carried into battle in order to have the help of the indwelling spirit (1 Sam. iv. 3, 7), much as we have already seen that idols were carried into battle among other people for this purpose. When it was captured Yahveh was thought to be carried into captivity, but the troubles of his captors were attributed to his presence (1 Sam. v. 2-8). On regaining the Ark sacrifices of food were offered to the indwelling god (1 Sam. vi. 14, 15), and there was great rejoicing because their deity had been recovered (2 Sam. vi. 12-16). Defeat in battle was sometimes attributed to the absence of the Ark (Num. xiv. 44, 45), just as among other nations defeat was often attributed to the absence of an idol or a god. The Philistines also carried their idols into battle, and when defeated by David they fled leaving them on the field, and "David and his men took them away" (2 Sam. v. 21 R. V.), thus capturing the gods of their enemy. Similarly Jeremiah writing in Egypt, where he went to live after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., predicted that the king of Babylon would conquer that country and "kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt," and "carry them away captive," i. e., he would burn their houses (temples), and carry the idols and gods into captivity (Jer. xliii. 10-13).

It was a Semitic custom in appealing to a god believed to re-

¹⁴² For a discussion of the contents of the Ark see the articles on "Ark" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by Hastings.

¹⁴³ "By the popular mind, at least, Jehovah was conceived as actually residing in the Ark." Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Ark."

side in a sacred object to stroke, embrace or kiss it. "The practice of stroking the sacred stone with the hand is identical with the practice of touching or stroking the hand of a man in acts of supplication before him."¹⁴⁴ So also we find allusions to the Hebrew custom of kissing their idols (1 Kings xix. 18; Hos. xiii. 2). We have already noticed the custom in Egypt and elsewhere of embracing and kissing mummies and idols embodying the spirits of friends.

The Hebrews also made idols of animals, in which a god was believed to reside, to whom they offered sacrifices (Exod. xxxii. 4, 6; 1 Kings xii. 28, 32, 33). The idol of a calf was really an idol of a bull, but was called a calf because of its small size. The Israelites carried idols in procession (Is. xlvi. 7; Jer. x. 5), as was the custom in Egypt and elsewhere; they were bound with chains (Is. xl. 19; Jer. x. 4) and Ezekiel speaks of a jealous idol at Jerusalem (Ezek. viii. 3, 5). We have previously mentioned jealous idols. They also put clothes on their idols (Ezek. xvi. 18), a custom found elsewhere.¹⁴⁵

The Semitic word *ba'al* "is primarily the title of a god as inhabitant or owner of a place."¹⁴⁶ Hence we find such names as Bêl-shashi, "owner of the wild boar"; Ba'âlath-bê'êr, "proprietary of the well"; Ba'al-Carmel or B'al Lëbânôn, "owner of those mountains"; Ba'al Hammân, "owner of the pillar"; Ba'al-tâmâr, "owner of the palm," Ba'al-perazim, "owner of the cleft"; Ba'al-hamon, "owner of the torrent." In these cases the spirit believed to dwell in the wild boar, well, palm-tree, mountain, pillar, cleft or torrent, was regarded as owning or possessing them. Other similar names are found, indicating the early belief in spirit habitation of different objects.

We find allusions to the wide-spread belief that the power of the gods was local and confined to their own territory. Thus the Syrians said of the Israelites, "Their gods are gods of the hills; . . . but let us fight against them in the plains, and we shall be stronger than they" (1 Kings xx. 23). So also Naaman, the Syrian, asked that he might be given two mule-loads of the soil of Canaan in order that he might carry it home with him, and then he could worship Yahveh on the earth he dominated (2 Kings v. 17). So David lamented that if Saul drove him out of the land of Israel he would

¹⁴⁴ Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 188.

¹⁴⁵ In Babylonia "garments for the statues of the gods appear to have been favorite votive offerings at all times. . . . It would appear. . . . that for the various festive occasions of the year, the garments of the gods [idols] were changed."—Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 670.

¹⁴⁶ Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 94.

be compelled to "serve other gods," i. e., serve the gods of the land he was forced to enter (1 Sam. xxvi. 19), and he would be prevented from "abiding in the inheritance of Yahveh," for Yahveh's rule was thought not to extend outside the land of Israel. So also the foreigners sent by the king of Assyria to settle in Samaria knew not "the manner of the God of the land," and a priest was sent to teach them (2 Kings xvii. 24-28), for the "God of the land" was regarded as a local deity whose "manners" must be observed, just as David would observe those of the Philistine god if forced to enter his territory.

When the Hebrews conquered the land of Canaan, instead of exterminating the Canaanites they appear to have ultimately amalgamated with them (Ps. cvi. 34-38). Since both tribes were branches of the Semitic race this was comparatively easy. Many of the sanctuaries of Yahveh were "the holy places of the land of Canaan that had been appropriated by the Hebrews as a result of the conquest. Wherever Yahveh had supplanted a *ba'al*, and inhabited a sacred tree, spring, stone, or grave, there a 'high place' was established where an altar was set up and sacrifices were offered. More than a hundred of these sanctuaries are mentioned in the older writings of the Old Testament. In the case of most of them it can be shown that they were primitive shrines of the land of Canaan."¹⁴⁷ The idols and idolatry of the early Hebrews had been inherited from their ancestors, and it appears to have been similar to that of the other branches of the Semites. Hence their ready assimilation. "We have convincing proof that the use of teraphim [i. e., household idols] was common, if not universal, among the early Hebrews. . . . So thoroughly were they a part of the national tradition that they continued in use even after the captivity."¹⁴⁸ At the time of the prophets a bitter fight was made to exterminate idolatry, and to concentrate the national worship on Yahveh, who was developed from a local into a universal God. The Hebrews do not appear to have become monotheists until after the captivity. "The later prophetic polemic against images of Yahveh shows how common they were in the pre-prophetic religion of Israel."¹⁴⁹

An attempt appears to have been made in the age of the

veh alone, and their idolatry as a falling away from the early belief. But to scholars the records clearly show the early customs and the process of development. "Just as the theologians of Islam sought to destroy evidences of pre-Mohammedan heathenism in Arabia, so the prophetic historians of Israel retold the tales of the patriarchs in accordance with the religious beliefs of their own age. Yet even this process did not succeed in obliterating the traces of pre-Mosaic polytheism."¹⁵⁰

SUMMARY.

When, in primitive times, the belief was developed that spirits dwelt in the human body, continuing to reside there during temporary suspensions of activity, such as sleep, fainting spells, etc., the belief would naturally spring up that when bodily activity was suspended by death, the spirit would continue to reside in the corpse. After death the ghosts were imagined to still retain their interest in the affairs of men, but with greatly increased power to help or injure them.

Primitive men, like modern savages, believed that during life the spirit could leave the body, as it appeared to do in dreams, when it engaged in the chase and other occupations, and then returned to the body before it awoke. This belief arose because of their ignorance of the true explanation for natural phenomena. And so, in early ages, men would naturally believe that after death the spirit could similarly leave the corpse and return to it. Hence, in some religions, holes were left in coffins and graves to enable spirits to pass in and out.

Spirits leaving the body and flitting about, were believed to have the power to enter various objects, such as houses and the bodies of other men. And so would naturally arise the belief that all of the diseases of men were occasioned by evil spirits which entered human bodies and caused the sickness. Among many primitive people the world over this has been the prevailing belief regarding the cause of all ill health. To cure any disease it was imagined that it was merely necessary to drive out the evil spirit. That has been the whole science of medicine for many tribes and nations.

If the spirit continued to dwell in the body after death, to destroy it would deprive the ghost of its home. It was an early belief that the corpse would ultimately awaken out of its sleep (resurrection) and then the body would be absolutely essential to

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28.

the spirit. This led to efforts to preserve the corpse, and various devices were tried, such as dessicating or drying, and, as intelligence increased, by mummifying, as was done in ancient Egypt and Peru. In ancient Babylonia and other places additional protection was sought by building great mounds over the grave, which in Egypt grew into the pyramids.

But in spite of every precaution a mummy might be destroyed, and a ghost left homeless. To provide against such an emergency the Egyptians seem in some instances to have provided several images in human form, or artificial bodies, into which, in case the original was destroyed, the spirit might enter and dwell. This reasoning seems logical, and it appears to be a natural effort to provide against disaster.

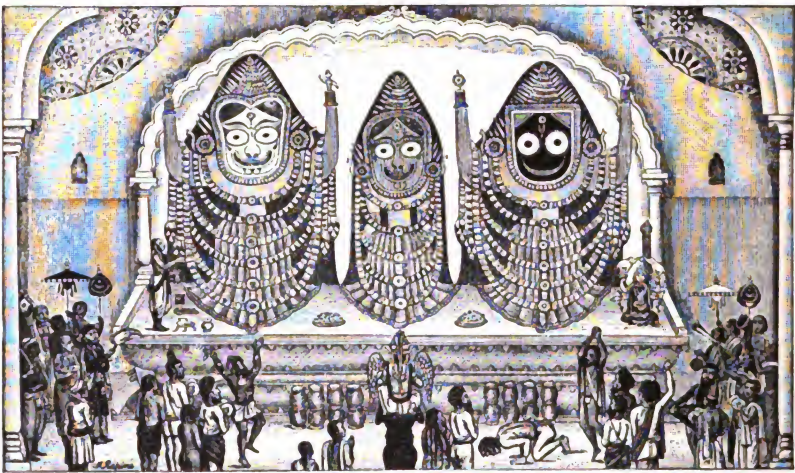
As the ghosts were believed still to retain their interest in the affairs of men after death, mummies were in some cases carried to feasts and holiday observances, in order that the resident spirit might look on and enjoy the festivities. Favorite dishes of food were presented to them, incense burnt before them, and at times they were washed, kissed and caressed by friends, and their feet bathed with tears by loved ones.

In early ages, and to modern savages, shadows have seemed strange and mysterious appearances, and the shadows which men cast were regarded as their souls, following them, and appearing and disappearing in a mysterious manner.¹⁵¹ Men would also inevitably notice that stones and posts on graves cast shadows, and it would be a natural inference that the shadows cast by these objects were spirits also. Then it would be a short step to say that the spirit living in the grave had entered them and appeared in such shadows. But a human spirit residing in such objects should have a more natural body, and hence an effort would be made to carve the stones and posts into a resemblance to the human figure, and so they would be shaped into idols in human form. This thought is suggested tentatively as one possible reason—not the only one—for the early belief that spirits, living in graves, entered the stones and posts resting on them. But whatever the chain of reasoning in the savage mind may have been, the fact remains, and has much evidence, that the belief sprang up all over the world, that grave stones and posts became inhabited by the spirits living under them. Objects into

¹⁵¹ "The Benin negroes regard men's shadows as their souls. . . . The Greenlanders say a man's shadow is one of his two souls—the one which goes away from his body at night. Among the Fijians, too, the shadow is called 'the dark spirit,' as distinguished from another which each man possesses."—Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 56.

which spirits had entered were regarded as sacred, but their sanctity was based solely on the presence of the indwelling spirit.

Grave stones and posts have been found in various parts of the world, with a rudely carved human head at the top, or having a rude resemblance to the human body—rough stones and posts being slowly developed into human form. Savages, having little artistic or mechanical skill, could only produce crude figures. Some statues were made in grotesque form, and some were fierce and were occupied by gods of war. As civilization developed and skill increased, statues of surprising beauty were at times produced by advanced nations, as seen in some of those of ancient Greece. But whether



HINDU JAGANNATH WITH HIS TWO COMPANIONS.
(After Schlagintweit.)

the figure was crude or artistic, large or small, frowning or smiling, it was regarded as an artificial body in which a spirit could reside. These artificial bodies, whether made of wood, or stone, or clay, or dough, or any other material—for, in time, statues were made of almost every substance—were idols. The word “idol” means literally an “image.” Any “image” in which a spirit was believed to dwell, was an idol.

The power of the spirits was believed to exceed greatly that of men, and believing the spirits and gods dwelling in idols to have almost unlimited power over their destiny, men have prostrated themselves before, and done obeisance to them. To them they have prayed, often long and with the most intense and pathetic earnest-

ness, seeking to avert their anger and win their help. Men believed that all the benefits and good fortune of life came from the help of the spirits and gods, and all disasters and misfortunes were caused by their animosity. Imagining the inhabiting spirits to have human appetites and desires, sacrifices were offered to them. In many instances blood was daubed on the lips of the idol, or food thrust into its mouth. In other cases food and drink would be placed on a table or altar before the image so that the god could have ready access to it. Incense was burned before the idol so that the fumes might please the deity. As ideas became less gross, sacrifices were sometimes burnt on an altar before the idol, in the belief that the fumes and vapors would reach and be inhaled by the spirit. All sacrifices were intended to supply some desire of a spirit or god. The whole vast system of idolatry, which has prevailed all over the world for thousands of years and which so impresses every student of the past, has consisted of this worship of spirits and gods, believed to reside in idols.

Probably the first idols were supposed to be inhabited by human spirits and hence they were intended to imitate the human form. As the belief in spirits developed, there came a time when they were believed to be everywhere and in everything, and idols were made in the form of animals, birds, snakes, and even insects, and in some cases idols were made for the spirits of mountains, stars, rivers, etc., to reside in. In Egypt, when animal worship developed, the bodies of the sacred animals were mummified and preserved like those of men and for the same reason—to preserve them for the spirit to inhabit.

In China and Japan “tablets” have been kept for centuries in nearly every home. They appear to have been developed from a gravestone, or slab, or post. Into these “tablets” spirits of ancestors were believed to enter. They differ from idols because they are not “images” of human or other form. In Peru a disk served in place of an idol for the spirit of the sun.

Fetiches could “be made of anything of vegetable, animal or metallic nature.” Into these a spirit was believed to enter. They could be worn as charms, or kept in any convenient place. The indwelling spirit was believed to help the owner of the fetich. If the spirit left the object, which was often believed to happen, it was regarded as “dead” and of no further value, and was frequently thrown away. But while the spirit was thought to dwell in the fetich it was prayed to and worshiped. Instead of being the earliest

and lowest form of religion, fetichism was probably a subsidiary development of the general belief in spirits.

In time the belief in spirits developed to such an extent that they were supposed to teem everywhere. This belief dominated the lives of men. There were supposed to be millions of spirits. They were imagined to inhabit wells and springs, brooks, rivers, lakes and the ocean; animals of all kinds; trees and vegetables; the earth, volcanoes and mountains; the sun, moon and stars. And as all these spirits were believed to have power to control the lives of men, sending benefits and disasters upon them, they were all worshiped. But the worship of spirits not dwelling in idols was not idolatry.

It has been the popular belief that idolaters worshiped idols of wood, stone, etc. This appears to be an error. Repeatedly idolaters have asserted that they did *not* worship the image of wood, stone, or other substance, but the inhabiting spirit. Ignorant men may at times have worshiped the image alone, but this was because its object was forgotten, and such cases were probably exceptions rather than the rule.¹⁵²

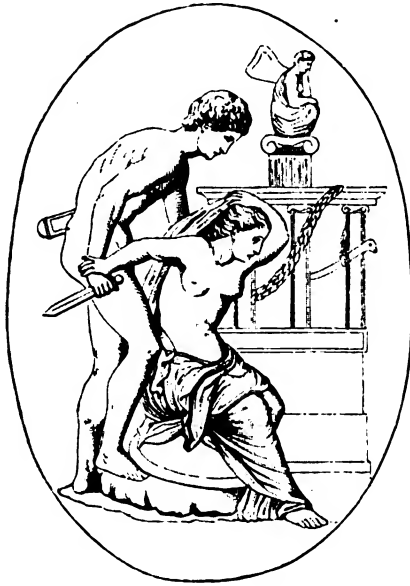
When idolatry was fully developed millions of idols were made: each man might have one or several. Their number seems surprising. There were individual, family, tribal and national idols and gods. Believing that the help of the indwelling spirits or gods was essential to their welfare, men kept idols in their homes, they wore them as charms and amulets, they placed them in the approaches to their fields to protect their crops,¹⁵³ and so on, and tribal and national idols were provided with temples, or houses in which to dwell, and there men went to sacrifice to and worship them.

We have seen that in ancient Greece and Rome the belief prevailed (and it has been general over the world) that the spirit was bound or attached to the corpse, and when that was carried from place to place the spirit was transported with it. And so when idols were developed the same idea adhered to them. Wherever the idol was carried the inhabiting spirit went. To gain their protection and

¹⁵² "Every native with whom I have conversed on the subject has laughed at the possibility of being supposed that he could worship or offer sacrifice to some such object as a stone, which of itself it would be perfectly obvious to his senses was a stone only and nothing more." Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 192. "Nowhere in the world did man ever worship a stick or a stone as such."—Brinton, *The Religions of Primitive Peoples*, 131.

¹⁵³ "Some of the Dyak tribes appoint coarse wooden idols to guard over the paths leading to their habitations, placing beside the idols a basketful of betel nuts to repay them for their trouble."—Letourneau, *Sociology*, p. 300. Boundary stones placed between fields and villages seem at times to have been rudely carved to represent human features, and to have been regarded as spirit possessed. See Burdick, *Foundation Rites*, pp. 221, 222.

help images were carried into battle, and when the idol was captured the indwelling god was believed to be captured also. A captive god was believed to be a help to the victors and a loss to the conquered. To keep them from deserting idols were sometimes fastened with chains; at other times they were hidden, and at times their names were kept secret to prevent their being conjured with by an enemy. To gain their help efforts were sometimes made to bribe the gods of the enemy by sacrifices, or an attempt was made to take them by stealth.



HUMAN SACRIFICE AMONG THE GREEKS.

(After an ancient cameo in Berlin.)

Polyxena dies by the hand of Neoptolemus on the tomb of Achilles.

In fact the one great essential in war and in peace was to secure the help of these gods, and the greatest of all calamities was to lose their protecting care. So intense and sincere was this belief that men would at any time sacrifice every thing that was dear to them in obedience to it—their property, their friends, and even their children, or lay down their own lives. Men have paid a bitter price for their adherence to what now appears to have been a mistaken conclusion. It is hard to see how any adequate conception of the past can be formed, without gaining a clear understanding of the way this belief in spirits took possession of the human mind, shaped

the customs, ceremonies, and philosophies of men, and moulded their practical affairs, as well as their ideas.

Although men generally feared the spirits, at times they have tried to coerce them, beating, scolding, ducking and variously mistreating them.

Wherever idolatry and fetichism are closely examined, even in the most diverse parts of the world, they are found to be essentially the same, both in their origin and character. They are merely objects for spirits to inhabit. Men often speak about the different religions of the world, or they contrast the fetichism of one religion with the idolatry of another, and so on. As a matter of fact, there appears to have never been but one religion. It has consisted of the belief in and worship of spirits. Varying in some details in different regions, the various religions all resolve into this.

When Christianity spread among the pagan nations it was found impossible, in many cases, to eradicate the idolatry which had been practiced for ages by the ancestors of the people, and inherited with all its traditions. Therefore many of the old idols were retained, but rechristened as "images of the saints." Thus Heracles, dwelling in his idol, was represented as complaining because he was forced to become St. Luke.¹⁵⁴ And so, under a new name, the old worship of spirits went on. The "worship of the saints," was only a modified form of ancient idolatry, and the Christian "image" was often merely a revamped "idol" of a heathen god.

As civilization advanced and men outgrew the belief in idolatry, in many instances iconoclasts overthrew or smashed the idols. The worshipers of the gods believed to inhabit the images looked on with awstruck horror, expecting the spirits to wreak dire vengeance on the wicked destroyers of their habitations. When no disaster befell the iconoclasts—and none ever did—the idolaters were filled with utter surprise. History records numerous instances of this kind.

Until the belief in spirits was developed in the mind of primitive man, there were, and could be, no idols. Among some of the lower savages there now appear to be none.¹⁵⁵

They probably developed in the middle stages of savagery, and abounded in the higher stages of savagery and on the lower levels of

¹⁵⁴ He was imagined to protest, saying: "I am Heracles, the triumphant son of Zeus; I am not Luke, but they compel me." *Anth. Pal.*, Xi, 269.

¹⁵⁵ Idols are said to have been almost or quite unknown among the lower savages, like the Bushmen, Patagonians, Australians and Anaman islanders, while they were common among the more highly developed of the Polynesian races, the Fins, the American Indians, the Mexicans and Peruvians, the ancient Egyptians, Semites, Greeks and Romans, and also among the Chinese and Japanese.

civilization. As intelligence increases they are discarded. And so idolatry appears to occupy an intermediate stage in the development of the race. Unknown to the lowest savages, it will be discarded by a high civilization.

Our investigations have failed to discover any evidence that idolatry was based on the wickedness and depravity of the human heart, as some theologians have taught and many people have believed. Instead of this it appears to have been a result of human ignorance. It seems to have originated among savages and to have been an outgrowth of their misunderstanding and misinterpretation of natural phenomena. The belief in spirit-possessed idols and fetiches, and the resulting idolatry and fetichism, has been part of the vast, wide-stretching morass of ignorance through which, with endless suffering, mankind has been floundering in its age-long struggle to master the problems of life, and learn how, through the knowledge of nature's laws, to unlock her storehouses and use her forces to his advantage. Progress can be made in no other way. Increased intelligence is the only road to advance.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE AH FANG PALACE.⁴

BY TU MU (A. D. 803-852).

[Tu Mu, otherwise Tu Mu Chih, belonged to a family resident in the capital (Chang-an) for many generations. In the second year of the period Tai Ho, he took his doctor's degree, and other titles, both civil and military, were conferred on him. He has been called the "lesser Tu," to distinguish him from his namesake, the great poet Tu Fu. While the characteristic of the later T'ang poetry is an over-softness and elegance, Tu's verses are strong and masculine, and among the later T'ang poets he has been accorded the first place.

The following poem refers to the fall of the Six Kingdoms and the rise of the Chin Dynasty, and the subsequent fall of Chin owing to its inability to profit by the lessons of the past. The poem hinges on the building of the palace of Shih Huang-ti, evidently a distasteful piece of extravagance on the part of an emperor who was also obnoxious as the architect of the "Great Wall" and the destroyer of the books. Several lines have been omitted in the following version, being, probably, those in which Dr. Grube finds a prodigality of metaphor sounding harsh to western ears. But as characteristically Oriental, it may be permitted to insert them here, although perhaps the translation "westernizes" them, if I may say so, too much.

"See bright stars twinkling overhead,
'Tis folding mirrors open spread.
See that dark cloud that hides the sun,
The ladies' toilet is begun.
And see, in flood the river flows,
As labors of the toilet close.
But hark, 'tis thunder sure, I hear.
No, 'tis the Emperor's chariot near.
And grandly rolling, rolling on,
Now heard afar, from sight 'tis gone."

The purpose of these lines is to emphasize the immensity of the palace. So numerous, the poet intends to say, were the women of the harem that when they took out their mirrors for toilet purposes, the light flashing on them seemed to the onlooker like a sky full of stars. When the ladies let down their black hair, it seemed like the coming of clouds to obscure the sun. And when they poured off the toilet water, the river seemed to rise in a flood, so great was the quantity used by so many people.]

⁴ Translated by James Black.

I.

The Six are done: the Empire One.
 Though hills are bare, a palace rare
 Fills up three hundred *li* and more,
 And dims the light the landscape o'er.
 From Li Shan north extending far,
 Then towards the west the buildings are.
 From there to Hsien Yang straight we go,
 And still the palace precincts show.
 The walls are crossed by rivers two,
 And as we stroll the place to view,
 Some stately building here we spy,
 And here some tower that rises high.
 Like silken ribbons wind the halls;
 The eaves jut out from lofty walls.
 Fitly around each building stands
 Crescentic center all commands.
 And as they spiral o'er the ground,
 The courts, like honeycombs, abound,
 Each with its proper water-flow
 Through which the eddying currents go.
 To view the bridge that leads the way
 From shore to shore, who would not say—
 "A dragon from the river rears,
 Though in the air no mist appears."
 A corridor, it spans the tide,
 And shines, by curious eye descried,
 Like rainbow arching o'er the stream
 Though no soft shower aslants the gleam.

II.

In singing tower how mild the air
 From the warm breath that mingles there!
 In dancing room a chill wind blows
 From off the dancers' fluttering clothes.
 One palace and one day bring forth
 The balmy south, the frigid north.
 And ladies fair, and sons of kings
 Each day to Chin's great palace brings.
 At morn they sing, at night they play,
 To while an emperor's time away.

 The charm that each from nature caught
 Is here by art to excellence brought
 And here the courtiers stand and vie

The treasures of Chi Chu arrayed.
 Full many a generation here,
 And toil of many a toilsome year,
 To this grim pile consigned at last
 From those who owned them in the past.
 Through halls a gleam with jewelled rays,
 The Chin men pass, but scorn to gaze.

III.

And yet, be one man's heart surveyed,
 Behold the hearts of all displayed.
 The Chins love luxury. True; but all
 The joys of home how oft recall.
 Then why should Chin these homes despoil,
 To scatter wanton o'er the soil?
 And why should palace more contain
 Of pillars than the fields have men?
 Of crossbeams than in robe you find
 The threads by weaver's hand entwined?
 Of lattice work should it have more
 Than city walls the empire o'er?
 And sounds of mirth that reach the town
 The voices in the market drown.
 Protest the people dared not, though
 They dared to led their anger grow.
 But he, the Solitary One,
 Increased in pride from sun to sun.

IV.

The kingdoms six themselves destroyed,
 Not Chin, though Chin's the arm employed.
 And who in turn caused Chin to fall?
 'Twas Chin. The people? Not at all.
 Oh! Had the Six the people loved,
 In vain had Chin against them moved.
 Had Chin the peoples' voice but heard,
 It had not perished in its third,
 But countless kings had borne its name,
 And none could rise to blast its fame.
 No pity, bent to milder ways,
 Had Chin, though its decay may raise
 Pity for it in after days.
 And later generations too
 Still miss the lesson old and true,
 And they are pitied by the new.

 MELANCHTHON ON DUERER'S MELANCHOLY.

BY EBERHARD NESTLE.

In the July number of *The Open Court* there is an interesting paper on
 "Albrecht Dürer and the Freemasons," together with a reproduction and long

description of Dürer's much discussed "Melancholy." In this connection the notice will be welcome that among unpublished writings of Philip Melanchthon a description of this picture has just been published. See Dr. Wrampelmeyer's *Ungedruckte Schriften Philipps Melanchthons* (Program of the Clausen Gymnasium, 1911, No. 412). Melanchthon was in Nuremberg in 1525 and again in May, 1526, in which time Dürer's well-known picture of Melanchthon may have been made. The greater interest therefore attaches to his description of Dürer's picture. It runs thus:

Pictura melancholiae.

Albertus Durerus artificiosissimus pictor melancholiae picturans ita expressit. Mulier sedet demisso capite, manuque cubito nisea, quam genu fulcit, illud sustinet, et vultu severo, qui in magna consideratione nusquam aspicit, sed palpebris deiectis humum intuetur. Omnia autem sunt circa illam obscura. Ipsa claves habet appensas lateri, capillo est neglectiore et diffuso. Iuxta enim [eam?] conspiciuntur artium instrumenta: libri, regulae, circini, normae, etiam ferramenta et lignea quaedam opera. Ut autem indicaret, nihil non talibus ab ingeniis comprehendere solere, et quam saepe eadem in absurdum deferantur, ante illam scalas in nubem deduxit per quarum gradus quadratum saxum veluti ascensionem moliri fecit. Tacet autem prope hanc ad pedes ipsius contracta corporis parte etiam porrecta, canis cuius modi solet illa bestia in fastidio esse, languida et somniculosa et perturbari in quiete. Cernere etiam est quaedam ad fenestram araneorum tela et venatio harum inter alia huius naturae indicia a pictore tenuissimis lineis expressa.

There are curious differences between Melanchthon's description and the representation on page 423. Where for instance is the spider's web over a certain window mentioned by Melanchthon? And the chief figure, the woman, does not look on the ground as Melanchthon says but stares off in the distance. Was there another representation of the subject which Melanchthon saw? This solution may be suggested by the figure 1 after the word "Melancholia" on Dürer's engraving. But I must leave this to the expert.

THE TABU OF HORSEFLESH.

In a recent *Open Court* (March 1911) the editor made a comment on the use of horseflesh and stated that the abhorrence shown in Germany, England and other Teutonic countries is due to the tabu imposed upon it as a sacrificial animal of pagan times. We now receive the following slip published in the Boston *Evening Transcript*, of June 19, 1909, in which our correspondent under the name of "Rockingham" makes the same statement which reads as follows:

"The monotonous French diet is a surprising phrase even as to the humble, but hot and nutritious. *pot-au-feu*; this last, in the inquirer's view, is inferior to cold dainties for meeting the needs of a laborer in the fields.

"A recent report of the British Board of Trade was cited in the *Transcript* for May 29 last, where the extract begins: 'In regard to food, the meat dietary of the French working-class family shows a much greater variety than of either the English or German family of the same class. Horseflesh appears to be more largely consumed—chiefly for reasons of taste—in France than in Germany.'

"To follow up this last statement, it is curious that horseflesh should be

less popular in Germany than in France, nominally a country much more Roman Catholic; the prejudice against horseflesh seems to be entirely of theological origin, the horse being the most fastidious feeder among our farm animals and thus having flesh the least unclean. But horseflesh and its eaters are said to have been declared unclean by Pope Gregory III (731-41), who issued a bull evidently to discourage a then prevalent yearning 'for the flesh-pots of Egypt.' The horse, as a symbol of the sun, had long been a sacred animal whose flesh, after sacrifice, was divided among the heathen worshippers. The sacrifices of (and to) horses, and the controverted connection with sundry great 'white horses' cut in the turf of English hillsides, unluckily cannot be discussed here within the space available. The prohibition against horseflesh, like many others governing our daily life, has descended in full practical force to us, though the reason therefor has generally been forgotten ages ago.

ROCKINGHAM.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE SANCTUARY: MAHA-VIRA. By *William W. Hicks*. Boston: Sanctuary Publishing Co., 1911. Pp. 186. Price, \$1.25.

The Sanctuary Publishing Company (43 West Newton Street, Boston, Mass.) has published in its series "The Sanctuary" a monograph on *Maha-Vira*, who was the founder of the Jaina sect, a contemporary of Buddha and worshiped as the last incarnation of the Jain by a sect of about one million souls still existing in India. The representative of this religion during the Religious Parliament of Chicago in 1903 was V. R. Gandhi. *Maha-Vira* is the rival of Buddha and the followers of both attribute to their leaders the same titles, such as Kaina, the conqueror; Tathagata, the perfect one; Buddha, the enlightened one; Samanara, the saint; Arhat, the holy one; but in the course of time Siddhartha Gautama was called the Buddha, while *Maha-Vira*'s title was Tirthakari or Jina. The difference between the sects consists mainly in their underlying philosophies. Jainism believes in the purification through asceticism while Buddhism rejects mortification of the body as useless. Otherwise the two systems agree pretty closely in morality, charity, and benevolence; but above all both are opposed to the ancient Brahmanist sacrifices, and neither the Buddhists nor the Jains submit to the authority of the Vedas.

The book is written with enthusiasm for the subject which it treats and this may be considered an advantage by many, especially those who are interested in the New Thought movement; but on the other hand it will be felt as a disturbing factor which does not present the subject matter with scientific objectivity, but strongly colors it with the sentiment of the author's own interpretation. Considering the fact that Buddhism has received the lion's share of interest, this little book will be welcome to all students of religion.

K

Dr. phil. K. Langen, who in company with his wife, Mrs. Marta Langen, *nee* Countess Strachwitz, keeps a boarding school for English and American youths at Eisenach in Germany, has published a pamphlet on "Esthetic Valuation" under the title *Der ästhetische Wert* in which he analyses the significance of beauty in literature and art. Dr. Langen is a disciple of Professor Eucken of Jena.

A LOVELY GIFT BOOK.

Japanese Floral Calendar

An Illustrated Account of the Flower Festivals of Japan

By ERNEST W. CLEMENT

New and Enlarged Edition. 80 pp. Boards, 50 cents net (2s. 6d.)



BLOOMING CHERRY TREES AT ASUKAYAMA, TOKYO

THE JAPANESE are a nature-loving people and frequently give practical expression to their feelings by taking a holiday simply for "flower viewing." At the proper season, the entire nation, so to speak, takes a day off and turns out on a big picnic, to see the plum blossoms, or the cherry blossoms, or the maples, or the chrysanthemums. No utilitarian views of the value of time or miserly conceptions of the expense of such outings prevail for a moment; for the Japanese are worshipers of beauty rather than of the "almighty dollar." A few pennies on such occasions bring many pleasures, and business interests are sacrificed at the shrine of beauty. And, as one or more flowers are blooming every month, there is almost a continuous round of such picnics during the year."—Introduction.

(JUST OUT)

Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism

By FRANZ CUMONT

With an introductory essay by Grant Showerman.

AUTHORIZED TRANSLATION

Pp. 320. Cloth, \$2.00 net. (8s. 6d.)

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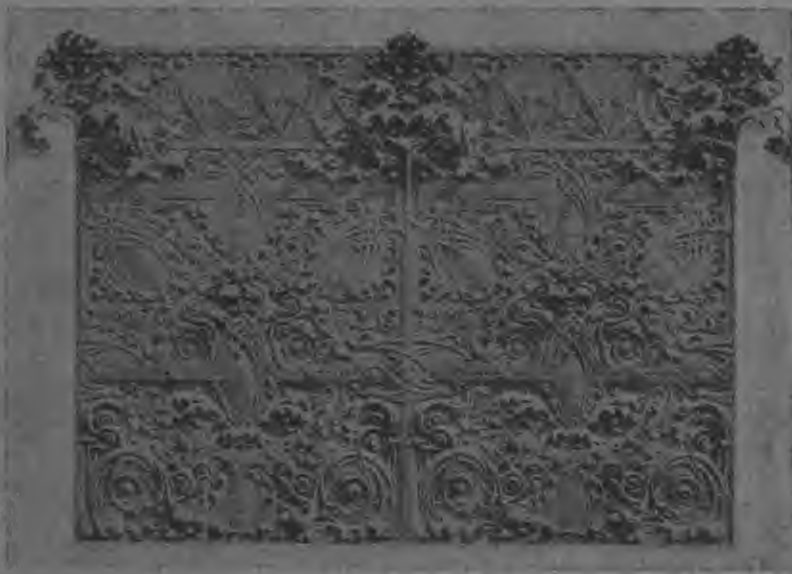
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DIES IRAE.

BY BERNHARD PICK.

THE TEXT.

The Liturgical Text..

THE text of this grand hymn which is variously called *Prosa de mortuis*, *De die judicii*, *In commemoratione defunctorum*, and which is used in the Latin Church regularly on the day of All Souls (November 2) and, at the discretion of the priest, in masses for the dead and on funeral solemnities, reads as follows:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 "Dies irae, dies illa,
Solvat saeculum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla. | 8 "Rex tremendae majestatis,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me, fons pietatis. |
| 2 "Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando iudex est venturus,
Cuncta stricte discussurus! | 9 "Recordare, Jesu pie,
Quod sum causa tuae viae;
Ne me perdas illa die. |
| 3 "Tuba, mirum spargens sonum,
Per sepulchra regionum,
Coget omnes ante thronum. | 10 "Quaerens me sedisti lassus,
Redemisti crucem passus,
Tantus labor non sit cassus. |
| 4 "Mors stupebit et natura,
Cum resurget creatura,
Judicanti responsura. | 11 "Justae iudex ultionis,
Donum fac remissionis
Ante diem rationis. |
| 5 "Liber scriptus proferetur,
In quo totum continetur,
Unde mundus judicetur. | 12 "Ingemisco tamquam reus,
Culpâ rubet vultus meus:
Supplicanti parce, Deus. |
| 6 "Iudex ergo quum sedebit
Quidquid latet apparebit,
Nil inultum remanebit. | 13 "Qui Mariam absolvisti,
Et latronem exaudisti,
Mihi quoque spem dedisti. |
| 7 "Quid sum miser tunc dicturus,
Quem patronum rogaturus,
Quum vix justus sit securus? | 14 "Preces meae non sunt dignae,
Sed Tu, bone, fac benigne,
Ne perenni cremer igne. |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 15 "Inter oves locum praesta,
Et ab haedis me sequestra,
Statuens in parte dextra. | 17 "Oro supplex et acclinis,
Cor contritum, quasi cinis:
Gere curam mei finis. |
| 16 "Confutatis maledictis,
Flammis acribus addictis;
Voca me cum benedictis. | 18 "[Lacrymosa dies illa,
Qua resurget ex favilla,
Judicandus homo reus,
Huic ergo parce, Deus! |
- 19 "Pie Jesu, Domine,
 Dona eis requiem. Amen.]"

This is the marvelous *Dies Irae*, according to the received text in the Roman Missal¹. The last six lines in brackets are no part of the original poem. Besides this liturgical text we have two other recensions; one, the so-called text of the *Marmor Mantuanum*; the other by Haemmerlin.

The Marmor Mantuanum Text.

In an old Lutheran hymnbook published at Koenigsberg in 1650, entitled *Neu Preussisches vollständiges Gesangbuch Lutheri und anderer geistreicher Männer sambt den Fest-Begräbniss-Liedern und Kirchencollecten für die Kirchen, Schulen und Häuser im Herzogthumb Preussen*, we find the *Dies Irae* in a Latin text and German translation with the remark that these ancient rhymes were found near a crucifix at Mantua, in the church of St. Francis. In a manuscript of 1676 left by Charisius, a burgomaster of Stralsund, Mohnike found among other papers the *Dies Irae* in an enlarged form with the note that it is a copy of the Mantuan marble slab inscription. Mohnike published this text for the first time in modern times, as he supposed, in *Kirchen- und literarhistorische Studien*, Vol. I, pp. 1-100, Stralsund, 1824. But this notion must now be given up. In the *Dublin Review* (Vol. IX, 1883, p. 377) we read in a note that in a volume of an old and long forgotten religious periodical called the *Orthodox Churchman's Magazine* (March, 1806, X, 229) is printed the text of the Mantuan marble. The writer of that note asks whence it was taken. He is inclined to the view that it was copied from the original marble for the following reasons: it cannot have been taken from the Frankfort *Florilegium*, 1621, which has no title;² nor from Charisius, otherwise the title would be the same as that given by Mohnike, who gives as heading *Meditatio vetusta et venusta de novissimo judicio quae*

¹ Having in manuscript a collection of 75 translations made between 1646 and 1909, it is difficult to select any one. For this reason I give the text only.

² Daniel (*Thesaurus Hymnolog.*, II, 118) is of opinion that Charisius copied his text from the *Florilegium*, without any allusion to the Mantuan inscription.

Mantuae in aede S. Francisci in marmore legitur, whereas in the *Orthodox Churchman's Magazine* of 1806 the heading is: *Meditatio vetusta ac venusta, quae Mantuae in aede D. Francisci sub pictura extremi iudicii legitur*.

But the probability is that the text was derived from the first edition of *Variorum in Europa itinerum deliciae* of Nathan Chytraeus of the year 1594, and this may have been the source for Charisius as well as for the editor of the Koenigsberg hymnbook and for the editor of the *Orthodox Churchman's Magazine*. Chytraeus gives it simply as one of the inscriptions he found in Mantua, and as in the church of St. Francis. But as the church and convent of St. Francis were suppressed in 1797 (the year of the French occupation of Mantua), and as the church was desecrated in 1811 and the convent turned into a military arsenal, no trace of the slab can now be found either in the churches to which the monuments of St. Francis were removed, or in the royal or civic museums of the town.

The text according to Chytraeus (1594) p. 186, has the following stanzas, which are given *before* the opening stanza of the older form of the hymn, thus serving as an introduction and giving the poem the aspect of a solitary devotional meditation. The heading already given reads:

Meditatio vetusta et venusta de Novissimo iudicio quae Mantuae in aede S. Francisci in marmore legitur.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 "Cogita (quaeso) anima fidelis,
Ad quid respondere velis
Christo venturo de coelis. | 3 "Dies illa, dies irae,
Quam conemur praevenire.
Obviamque Deo irae. |
| 2 "Cum deposcet rationem
Ob boni omissionem
Ob mali commissionem. | 4 "Seria contritione
Gratiae apprehensione
Vitae emendatione." |

[1 "Weigh with solemn thought and tender
What response, thou, soul, wilt render,
Then when Christ shall come in splendor.

2 "And thy life shall be inspected,
All its hidden guilt detected,
Evil done and good neglected.

Then follows the *Dies irae, dies illa*, as we now have it from the first to the sixteenth stanza; but in place of the next verse, which forms the 17th of this, beginning: *Ora supplex et acclinis*, the Mantuan copy has the following for its 21st and concluding stanza:

21 "Consorts ut beatitatis	["That in fellowship fraternal
Vivam cum justificatis	With inhabitants supernal
In aevum aeternitatis. Amen!"	I may live the life eternal. Amen!"]

The English translation here appended was published by Coles in the preface to his "*Thirteen Original Versions*," thus proving that he did not consider these stanzas as belonging to the original text. Judging from the first line of Joshua Sylvester's rendering:

"Dear, dear soul, awake, awake,"

published in *Divine Weekes of Du Bartas* (1621), it seems that he, the earliest translator of the *Dies Irae*, also translated from the Mantuan text. The same was the case with William Drummond (died 1649), whose translation was first published in *Posthumous Poems* (1656).

Mohnike thinks that the Mantuan text is the original form of the hymn, or at least comes nearest to it. Of the same opinion is also Fink in his article "Celano" in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædia* (Sect. I, Vol. XVI, p. 8). Lisco in his *Dies irae* (Berlin, 1840), p. 89, states that the original text is certainly the text which is found on that Mantuan marble slab. But as we have already stated no trace of the slab can now be found. The best authorities are in favor of the liturgical text as we have it, and consider the Mantuan text as an enlargement of the original.

The Haemmerlin Text.

A second rival of the received text is found among the poems of Felix Haemmerlein or Haemmerlin (Malleolus) of Zürich, a distinguished ecclesiastical dignitary of his age, a member of the councils of Constance and Basel, and a reformer of various abuses. He was born in 1389 and ended his life in 1457 in the prison of the Franciscan convent at Luzerne. Among several poems which he composed in prison was found a *Dies Irae*, which was published from the manuscripts of the public library of Zürich, by Leonhard Meister. The text in 24 stanzas of three lines is given by Mohnike (pp. 39-42) and by Daniel (II, p. 103). It opens like the received text, which it presents with some verbal variations until the seventeenth stanza, and then adds the following stanzas, which we give with the translation of Dr. Coles.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 18 "Lacrymosa die illa,
Cum resurget ex favilla,
Tamquam ignis ex scintilla. | 18 "On that day of woe and weeping
When, like fire from spark upleaping,
Starts, from ashes where he's sleeping, |
| 19 "Judicandus homo reus;
Huic ergo parce, Deus,
Esto semper adjutor meus! | 19 "Man account to Thee to render;
Spare the miserable offender,
Be my Helper and Defender! |
| 20 "Quando caeli sunt movendi,
Dies adsunt tunc tremendi,
Nullum tempus poenitendi. | 20 "When the heavens away are flying,
Days of trembling then and crying,
For repentance time denying; |
| 21 "Sed salvatis laeta dies,
Et damnatis nulla quies,
Sed daemonum effigies, | 21 "To the saved a day of gladness,
To the damned a day of sadness,
Demon forms and shapes of madness. |
| 22 "O tu Deus majestatis,
Alme candor trinitatis,
Nunc conjunge cum beatis, | 22 "God of infinite perfection,
Trinity's serene reflection,
Give me part with the election! |
| 23 "Vitam meam fac felicem,
Propter tuam genetricem,
Jesse florem et radicem. | 23 "Happiness upon me shower,
For Thy Mother's sake, with power
Who is Jesse's root and flower. |
| 24 "Praesta nobis tunc levamen,
Dulce nostrum fac certamen,
Ut clamemus omnes Amen." | 24 "From Thy fulness comfort pour us,
Fight thou with us or fight for us
So we'll shout, amen, in chorus.." |

In the French missals, e. g., that of Paris, 1738; and that of Metz, 1778, the opening lines read:

"Dies irae, dies illa,
Crucis expandens vexilla
Solvat seculum in favilla."

They are retained in the English translations of Williams, Alford, Irons, etc. The reading of the Mantuan text, "*Teste Petro cum Sibylla*," for "*Teste David cum Sibylla*" is retained e. g., in the popular German reproduction, "*Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit*" by Bartholomaeus Ringwaldt, 1582, the first stanza of which reads:

"Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit,
Dass Christ der Herr wird kommen
In seiner grossen Herrlichkeit,
Zu richten Bös' und Fromme.
Da wird das Lachen werden theuer
Wenn Alles wird vergehn durchs Feuer,
Wie Petrus davon schreibet."

Concerning these variations in the text in the opening lines of our hymn, "*Teste Petro cum Sibylla*" and "*Crucis expandens vexilla*," the late Archbishop Trench writes: "An unwillingness to

allow a Sibyl to appear as bearing witness to Christian truth, has caused that we sometimes find this third line '*Teste David cum Sibylla*' omitted, and in its stead '*Crucis expandens vexilla*' as the second of this triplet. It rests on Matt. xxiv. 30, and on the expectation that the apparition of a cross in the sky would be this 'sign of the Son of man in heaven.' It is, however, a late alteration of the text; and the line '*Teste David*' is quite in the spirit of the early and medieval theology. In those uncritical ages the Sibylline verses were not seen to be that transparent forgery which indeed they are; but were continually appealed to as only second to the sacred scriptures in prophetic authority;³ thus on this very matter of the destruction of the world, by Lactantius, *Inst. Div.*, VII, 16-24; cf. Piper, *Method. der christl. Kunst*, pp. 472-507; these with other heathen testimonies of the same kind, being not so much subordinated to more legitimate prophecy as co-ordinated with it, the two being regarded as parallel lines of prophecy, the church's and the world's, and consenting witness to the same truths. Thus is it in a curious medieval mystery on the Nativity published in the *Journal des Savans*, 1846, p. 88. It is of simplest construction. One after another, patriarchs, prophets and kings of the Old Testament advance and repeat their most remarkable word about him that should come; but side by side with them a series of heathen witnesses, Virgil, on the ground of his fourth Eclogue, Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. iii. 25), and the Sibyl; and that it was the writer's intention to parallelize the two series, and to show that Christ had the testimony of both, is plain from some opening lines of the prologue:

"Et vos, gentes, non credentes
Peperisse virginem,
Vestrae gentis documentis
Pellite calligenem!"

"O Judaei, Verbum Dei
Qui negatis, hominem
Vestrae legis, testem Regis
Audite per ordinem.

"And such is the meaning here—"That such a day shall be has the witness of inspiration (of David) and of mere natural religion (of the Sibyl); Jew and Gentile alike bear testimony to the truths which we Christians believe." All this makes it certain that we ought to read *Teste David*, and not *Teste Petro*. It is true that 2 Pet. iii. 7-11, is a more obvious prophecy of the destruction of the world by fire than any in the Psalms; but there are passages enough in these (as Ps. xcvi. 12; xcvii. 3; xi. 6), to which the

³ See Pick, "The Sibylline Oracles in the Writings of the Church Fathers" in *Lutheran Quarterly* (Gettysburg, Pa.), July 1885, pp. 448-464.

poet may allude; and the very obviousness of that in St. Peter makes the reading which introduces his name, suspicious.”⁴

THE AUTHORSHIP.

There are no less than nine persons to whom the authorship of the *Dies Irae* is ascribed. Of these two must be excluded as having lived too early to have written the poem, viz., Gregory the Great (died 604), and St. Bernard (died 1153). Besides these two names others are mentioned, viz., St. Bonaventura (died 1274); Latinus Frangipani, also called Malabranca, a Dominican (died 1296); Humbert, the fifth general of the Dominican Order (died 1276); Felix Hämmerlin⁵ or Malleolus, of Zürich (died 1457) etc.

The authorship of *Dies Irae* cannot be determined with absolute certainty. But the probability is that it belongs to Thomas á Celano, in Italy, a Franciscan friar of the thirteenth century, and the friend and biographer of St. Francis of Assisi, Superior of the Franciscan convents at Cologne, Mayence, Worms and Speier, who died after his return to Italy about A. D. 1255.

The first notice of the poem we find in a curious book, entitled *Liber Conformitatum*, written in 1385 by a Franciscan monk, Bartholomaeus Albizzi of Pisa (died 1401), setting forth the points in which St. Francis sought to imitate his divine Master. Having occasion to speak of Celano in this work, the author goes on to describe it as the place “de quo fuit frater Thomas, qui mandato apostolico scripsit sermone polito legendam primam beati Francisci, et prosam de mortuis quae cantatur in missa: Dies irae, dies illa etc. fecisse dicitur.” This passage proves only the existence of a tradition in favor of the authorship of Thomas and the use of the *Dies Irae* in the mass toward the close of the fourteenth century.

The learned and painstaking Lucas Wadding in his *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*, Romae, 1650, ascribes it to Thomas of Celano, mentioning that others assign the authorship to Bonaventura or to Matthaeus Aquaspartanus (d’Acquasparta). Wadding was followed by nearly all the modern writers on the subject and Mohnike comes to the conclusion: “Thomas of Celano must be regarded as the author of the *Dies Irae* until—which can scarcely be expected—it can be irrefragably proven that another composed it.” E. Lempp in

⁴ *Sacred Latin Poetry*. London, 1886, p. 303.

⁵ So Follen, *Alte christl. Lieder u. Kirchengesänge*, Elberfeld, 1819, according to Kayser, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Kirchenhymnen*, 1886, Vol. II, p. 195. Duffield states (*Latin Hymn Writers*, 1889, p. 427) that Follen ascribes it to Malabranca, 1278, Bishop of Ostia. Not having Follen at hand, I cannot decide who is correct.

his article "Thomas von Celano" (in the Herzog-Hauck, *R. E.*, Vol. XIX, 1907, p. 719) thinks that if "Thomas composed the hymn, he is one of the greatest hymn-writers."

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Whoever the author, it is certain that this hymn, which he wrote for his own edification, is one of the grandest and sublimest poetical productions. He composed it without dreaming that he would thereby edify unborn millions in languages and countries he never heard of. Like the cathedral builders, he forgot his own name in the grandeur of his theme. He felt that nothing is great but God, and nothing real but eternity.

The hymn is a soliloquy, a meditation on the terrible day of judgment, when all men shall be summoned before the throne of an infinitely holy God to answer for every thought, word, and deed. It brings before us the awful theme with a few startling words from the Scriptures, describes the collapse of the world, the resurrection of the dead, the appearance of the Judge, the opening of the books, the trembling of sinners, the award of eternal bliss and eternal woe. It expresses the sinner's sense of guilt and dismay, and ends with a prayer for the mercy of the Saviour, who died for sinners, who pardoned Mary Magdalene and promised the penitent robber on the cross a seat in Paradise.

The author takes the beginning and the keynote of his poem from the prophetic description of the great day of Jehovah as described in Zephaniah i. 15, 16, where the text of the Vulgate reads: *Dies irae, dies illa, dies tribulationis et angustiae, dies calamitatis et miseriae, dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nebulae et turbinis, dies tubae et clangoris super civitates munitas et super angelos excelsos,*" which may be thus translated: "That day is the day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of waste and desolation, a day of darkness and gloom, a day of clouds and thick darkness, a day of the trumpet of alarm against fortified cities, and against high battlements."

Besides the prophetic words of Zephaniah, the author has before him our Lord's description of the judgment in Matt. xxv, and such passages as 2 Peter iii. 7-12, "The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall be dissolved with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up;" 1 Cor. xv. 52, "The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised"; 1 Thess. iv. 16; Dan. vii. 10; Rev. xx. 12; Job iv. 18; xv.

15; 1 Peter iv. 18; Eph. ii. 8; 2 Tim. i. 9. The poet took it for granted that the final judgment of the world is founded in reason as well as revelation, and was foretold by heathen sages as well as the Hebrew prophets. Hence he introduced alongside of David the fabulous Sibyl as the representative of the unconscious prophets of paganism. Michelangelo did the same in his famous frescoes in the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican, where he placed the Sibyls alongside of the prophets of Israel.

Which of the Psalms the author had in view is difficult to state. But he no doubt refers to those in which the judgment of the world is foretold, as Ps. xcix. 13; cii. 26. In some copies and translations, however, "Peter" is substituted for "David" on account of 2 Pet. iii. 7-12.

With David is joined the Sibyl.^a Which passage in the Sibylline oracles the author had in view, is difficult to say. It is customary to think of the lines of the Sibylla Erythraea, which form an acrostic on the words Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ, i. e., "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour." This passage is quoted by Augustine in *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 23, where only twenty-seven lines of the thirty-four are given. The fuller form as contained in the *Oracula Sibyllina*, VIII, 217 ff. reads: "Jesus Christ, Son of God (the) Saviour, (the) cross (σταυρός). In this full form it is also given by Eusebius in *The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine*. The late Dr. Neale published a translation of the full form in the *Christian Remembrancer* of October 1861, which was published in *The Open Court* of June, 1911 (page 332) in connection with the writer's article on "The Cabala."

Verse 3. Here the words "*tuba mirum spargens sonum*" are no doubt in allusion to 1 Cor. xv. 52: "The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised," and 1 Thess. iv. 16: "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and with the trump of God."

Verse 4. "*Mors et natura*" are personified, both are astonished at the resurrection of the dead. Daniel quotes with reference to this passage the words of Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust*:

"Wie Viele hab' ich schon begraben,
Und immer circulirt ein neues frisches Blut!
So geht es fort, man möchte rasend werden."

^a Some objected to the use of the word Sibyl in our poem, whereas they

Verse 5. The "*liber scriptus*" is the record of all human actions which will be opened on the judgment day, Dan. vii. 10; Rev. xx. 12.

Verse 6. The poet describes the judge on his seat before whom all is open. Daniel quotes as parallel the words of Schiller:

"Da gilt nicht falsche Kunst,
Nicht Freundschaft oder Gunst,
Kein frech Verneinen;
Was man hier noch versteckt,
Wird dort ganz aufgedeckt
Im Licht erscheinen."

Verse 7. Here the poet had undoubtedly in mind Job iv. 18; xv. 15, and especially 1 Pet. iv. 18: "If the righteous scarcely be saved (*si justus vix salvabitur*), where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?"

Verse 8. Here the second line expresses the idea of salvation by free grace as taught in Rom. iii. 24; Ephes. ii. 8; 2 Tim. i. 9, etc.

Verse 10. In the first line we have a touching allusion to Christ's fatigue on the journey to Samaria, John iv. 6: "Jesus *fatigatus ex itinere, sedebat* sic supra fontem." The Mantuan text reads *venisti* for *sedisti* which according to Mohnike would refer to the whole state of Christ's humiliation. But the correct reading is *sedisti*. It is related of the celebrated Dr. Samuel Johnson, that, rough and coarse as he was, he could never repeat this stanza in Latin without bursting into a flood of tears.

Verse 13. The Mary here is Mary Magdalene, or the sinful woman to whom Christ said: "Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace" (Luke vii. 50). The Paris and Metz missals read for "*Mariam absolvisti*," "*peccatricem absolvisti*," following the reading "*erat magna peccatrix*," i. e., she was a great sinner (Luke vii. 37).

Verses 15 and 16 are suggested by the description of the judgment, in Matt. xxv. 33-46.

Verse 17. The last line in this verse: *Gere curam mei finis*, is usually considered as an appropriate close of the original poem, whereas the following six lines are considered an addition by another hand, probably from a funeral service already in public use. Nevertheless Mone (*Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, 1853, Vol. I, p. 408) thinks otherwise. He has suggested the idea that the *Dies Irae* did not arise, as was heretofore supposed, from the individual contemplation of a monk in his lonely cell, but was intended for the funeral service of the church, and was inspired by other eschatological hymns in public use. In one of these which he found

in a manuscript at Reichenau from the twelfth or thirteenth century, the passage occurs:

"Lacrymosa dies illa,
Qua resurgens ex favilla
Homo reus judicandus."

The closing prayer for the departed,

"Pie Jesu, Domine,
Dona eis requiem."

is likewise found in older hymns and missals. Mone conjectures that the author of *Dies Irae* himself appended these closing lines to his poem. Daniel (Vol. V, p. 110) and Philip Wackernagel (*Das Deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit*, etc., Vol. I, p. 138) are disposed to adopt this view. But says Schaff: "It seems to me much more probable that the original poem closed with *Gere curam mei finis*, and that the remaining six lines, with their different versification and the change from the first person to the third (*huic* and *cis*), were added from older sources by the compilers of medieval missals. Then we have a perfectly uniform production, free from any allusion to purgatory."

GENERAL ACCEPTANCE.

The hold which this sequence has had upon the minds of men of various nations and creeds has been very great. Goethe uses it with great effect in the cathedral scene of *Faust* to stir up the conscience of poor Margaret, who is seized with horror at the thought of the sounding trumpet, the trembling graves and the fiery torment:

"Horror seizes thee!
The trumpet sounds!
The grave trembles!
And thy heart
From ashy rest
To fiery torments
Now again requickened
Throbs to life!"

Justinus Kerner, the Swabian poet and mystic in his *Lyrische Gedichte* (5th ed., Stuttgart, 1854, pp. 23 ff.), makes good use of it in his poem *Die vier wahnsinnigen Brüder*, where four impious brothers enter a church to ridicule religion, but are suddenly brought to repent by hearing this judgment hymn. In the translation of the late S. W. Duffield (*Latin Hymns*, 497) the poem runs thus:⁷

⁷ Another translation by James Clarence Mangan is found in *The Dolphin* (Philadelphia, April, 1905).

The Four Crazy Brothers.

"Shrivelled into corpselike thinness
 Four within the madhouse sit;
 From their pallid lips no sentence
 Tells of either sense or wit.
 Starkly there they face each other,
 Each more gloomy than his brother.

"Hark! the hour of midnight striking
 Lifts their very hair with fright;
 Then at last their lips are open,
 Then they chant with muffled might:
Dies irac, dies illa,
Solvat sacclum in favilla!

"Once they were four evil brothers,
 Drunk and clamorous withal,
 Who with lewd and ribald ditties
 Through the holy night would brawl.
 Heeding not their father's warning,
 Even friend's remonstrance scorning.

"Gape their mouths for very horror,
 But no word will issue thence;
 God's eternal vengeance strikes them,
 Chilled they stand without defence;
 White their hair and pale their faces,
 Madness every mind erases!

"Then the old man, dying, turned him
 To his wicked sons and said:
 Doth not that cold form affright you
 Which shall lead us to the dead?
Dies irac, dies illa,
Solvat sacclum in favilla!

"Thus he spoke and thence departed,
 But it moved them not at all;
 Though he passed to peace unending,
 While for them should justice call,
 As their lives to strife were given,
 Near to hell and far from heaven.

"Thus they lived and thus they revelled,
 Until many a year had fled;
 Others' sorrow cost them nothing,
 Blanched no hair upon the head;
 Jolly brothers! they were able
 To hold God and sin a fable!

"But at last, as midnight found them
 Drunkly reeling from the feast,
 Hark! the song of saints was lifted
 Through the church, and high increased;

"Cease your barking, hounds!" they
 shouted,
 As with Satan's mouth undoubted.

"Then they rushed, those wicked
 brothers,
 Roughly through the holy door;
 But, as though at final judgment,
 Down they heard that chorus pour:
Dies irac, dies illa,
Solvat sacclum in favilla."

It also furnishes a grand climax to Canto VI in Sir Walter Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel." In a letter to Crabbe he remarks: "To my Gothic ear, the *Stabat Mater*, the *Dies Irae*, and some of the other hymns of the Catholic church, are more solemn and affecting than the fine classical poetry of Buchanan; the one has the gloomy dignity of a Gothic church and reminds us constantly of the worship to which it is dedicated; the other is more like a pagan temple, recalling to our memory the classical and fabulous deities."

The *Dies Irae* has not only been translated into many languages, especially into the English and German where it has found a place in the hymn books of the church, but it has also given rise to some of the greatest musical compositions of Pales-

trina, Durante, Pergolese, Haydn, Vogler, Winter, Cherubini, Gottfried Weber, Neukomm, as well as Mozart's famous Requiem, during the composition of which the musician died (1791).

It is interesting to hear what scholars say of this acknowledged masterpiece of Latin church poetry, and the greatest judgment hymn of all ages.

Daniel, the learned hymnologist, calls it "*ecclesiae Latinae κειμήλιον pretiosissimum*" and adds: "Even those to whom the hymns of the Latin church are almost entirely unknown, certainly know this one; and if any can be found so alien from human nature as to have no appreciation of sacred poetry, yet certainly, even they would give their minds to this hymn, of which every word is weighty, yea, a veritable thunderclap." (*Thesaurus hymnol.*, II, p. 112.)

Frederick von Meyer, the author of a highly esteemed revision of Luther's German Bible, in introducing two original translations of this *Gigantenhymnus* (i. e., "hymn of the giants"), calls it "an awful poem, poor in imagery, all feeling. Like a hammer it beats the human breast with three mysterious rhyme-strokes. With the unfeeling person who can read it without terror or hear it without awe, I would not live under one roof. I wish it could be sounded into the ears of the impenitent and hypocrites every Ash Wednesday, or Good Friday, or any other day of humiliation and prayer in all the churches." (*Der Lichtbote*, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1806.)

Albert Knapp, one of the greatest religious poets of Germany, compares the Latin original to a blast from the trumpet of the resurrection and declares its effect inimitable in any translation (*Evangel. Liederschatz*, 3d ed., p. 1347).

Archbishop Trench, author of one of the best translations of the *Dies Irae*, remarks: "Nor is it hard to account for its popularity. The meter so grandly devised, of which I remember no other example, fitted though it has here shown itself for bringing out some of the noblest powers of the Latin language—the solemn effect of the triple rhyme, which has been likened [by Frederick von Meyer] to blow following blow of the hammer on the anvil—the confidence of the poet in the universal interest of this theme, a confidence which has made him set out his matter with so majestic and unadorned a plainness as at once to be intelligible to all—these merits, with many more, have combined to give the *Dies Irae* a foremost place among the masterpieces of sacred song." (*Sacred Latin Poetry*, 3d ed., p. 302.)

Abraham Coles, the author of thirteen distinct translations of *Dies Irae*, says of it among other things: "Every line weeps. Under-

neath every word and syllable a living heart throbs and pulsates. The very rhythm or that alternate elevation and depression of the voice which prosodists call the *arsis* and the *thesis*, one might almost fancy were synchronous with the contrition and the dilatation of the heart. It is more than dramatic. The horror and the dread are real, are actual, not acted!"

"The *Dies Irae*," to quote from the celebrated French philosopher V. Cousin, "recited only, produces the most terrible effect. In those fearful words, every blow tells, so to speak; each word contains a distinct sentiment, an idea at once profound and determinate. The intellect advances at each step, and the heart rushes on in its turn." (*Lectures on the True, the Beautiful, and the Good*, p. 177.)

Mrs. Charles says of the *Dies Irae*: "That hymn rose alone in a comparative pause, as if Christendom had been hushed to listen to its deep music, ranging as it does through so many tones of human feeling, from the trembling awe and the low murmurs of confession, to tender, pathetic pleading with One who, though the 'just, avenging Judge,' yet 'sate weary' on the well of Samaria, seeking the lost, trod the mournful way, and died the bitterest death for sinful men. Its supposed author, Thomas of Celano, in the Abruzzo, lived during the fourteenth century, was a Franciscan monk, and a personal friend of St. Francis himself, whose life he wrote. But so much doubt has hung about the authorship, and if Thomas of Celano was the author, so little is known of him—even the date of his birth and death not being ascertained—that we may best think of the *Dies Irae* as a solemn strain sung by an invisible singer. There is a hush in the great choral service of the universal Church, when suddenly, we scarcely know whence, a single voice, low and trembling, breaks the silence; so low and grave that it seems to deepen the stillness, yet so clear and deep that its softest tones and words are heard throughout Christendom, and vibrate throughout every heart—grand and echoing as an organ, yet homely and human as if the words were spoken rather than sung. And through the listening multitudes solemnly that melody flows on, sung not to the multitudes, but 'to the Lord,' and therefore carrying with it the hearts of men, till the singer is no more solitary, but the selfsame tearful strain pours from the lips of the whole Church as if from one voice, and yet each one sings it as if alone, to God." (*The Voice of Christian Life in-Song*, N. Y., 1864, p. 170.)

The late Prof. Ph. Schaff in *Christ in Song* (New York, 1870, p. 373) says: "The secret of the irresistible power of the *Dies Irae*

lies in the awful grandeur of the theme, the intense earnestness and pathos of the poet, the simple majesty and solemn music of its language, the stately meter, the triple rhyme, and the vowel assonances chosen in striking adaptation to the sense—all combining to produce an overwhelming effect, as if we heard the final crash of the universe, the commotion of the opening graves, the trumpet of the archangel that summons the quick and the dead, and as if we saw ‘the king of tremendous majesty’ seated on the throne of justice and mercy, and ready to dispense eternal life and eternal woe.”

A PARODY.

In the writings of Leibnitz edited by G. E. Guhrauer (Berlin, 1840, Vol. II, pp. 371-372) is found a Latin parody by some Roman priest, who about the year 1700, gratified his hatred of Protestantism by perverting this hymn into a prophecy of the downfall of the reformed religion in Holland and England, which he hoped from the restoration of the Stuarts and the union of the French and Spanish crowns—the Bourbon family. This “*Naenia Batavorum*” or Dutchman’s Ditty has been published by Lisco together with Guhrauer’s German translation. The late A. Coles, whose translation we subjoin, remarks: “The skill and dexterity shown by the parodist in his manipulations of the original text are undeniable; but whatever may be thought of him as a poet, subsequent events have made it certain that he was no prophet; while the licentious irreverence amounting to blasphemy, which leads him to put the “Grand Monarque” in the place of Christ the Judge, is quite shocking to all right feeling and good taste. Still, as one of the curiosities of literature it possesses much interest. It is for this reason, and because it possesses an historical value, that we give it here.”

The Latin Text.

“Dies irae, dies illa,
Solvat foedus in favilla,
Teste Tago, Scaldi, Scylla.

“Quantus tremor est futurus,
Dum Philippus est venturus,
Has Paludes aggressurus!

“Turba, mirum spargens sonum
Per unita regionum,
Coget omnes ante thronum.

“Mars stupebit et Bellona,
Dum Rex dicet: Redde bona,
Post haec vives sub corona.

“Miles scriptus adducetur,
Cum quo Gallus unietur
Unde leo subjugetur,

“Hic Rex ergo sum sedebit
Vera fides refulgebit,
Nil Calvino remanebit.

“Quid sum miser tunc dicturus
Quem Patronum rogaturus
Cum nec Anglus sit securus?

“Rex invictae pietatis
Depressisti nostros satis.
Si cadendum, cedo fati,

"Posthac colam Romam pie,
Esse nolo causa viae,
Ne me perdas illa die.

"Pro Leone multa passus,
Ut hic staret eras lassus,
Tantus labor non sit cassus.

"Magne Rector liliorum,
Amor, timor populorum,
Parce terris Batavorum

"Ingemisco tanquam reus,
Culpa rubet vultus meus,
Cadam, nisi juvat Deus.

"Dum Iberim domuisti,
Lusitanum erexisti,
Mihi quoque spem dedisti.

"Preces meae non sunt dignae,
Sed, Rex magne, fac benigne,
Ne bomborum cremer igne.

"Inter Tuos locum praesta
Ut Romana colam festa,
Et ut tua canam gesta.

"Confutatis Calvi brutis,
Patre, nato, restitutis,
Redde mihi spem salutis!

"Oro supplex et acclinis
Calvinismus fiat cinis,
Lacrymarum ut sit finis!"

The Translation.

"That day of wrath, how it shall burn
And shall the league* to ashes turn,
From Tagus, Scheldt, and Scylla learn.

"What trembling multitudes afraid,
While Philip shall the land invade,
And through the marshes march and wade!

"The blare of trumpet making known
Through the united countries blown
Shall bring them all before the throne.

"Mars and Bellona dumb shall stand
What time the king shall give command:
'Yield to my scepter, self and land.'

"His levied hosts he forth shall call,
And joined to these shall be the Gaul
Therewith the lion to enthrall.

"Then when this king shall sit and reign,
Lo! the true faith shall shine again,
And nought to Calvin shall remain.

"What shall I say forlorn and poor,
What patron sue then or procure,
When not the Englishman's secure?

"King of unconquered piety!
Vexed hast thou ours^b sufficiently;
Falling, I yield to destiny.

* The League between England and Holland.

^b Huguenots of France.

"Henceforth at Rome my vows I'll pay,
Will not be cause more of the way,
Lest thou destroy me on that day.

"Thou for the Lion much hast borne,
That he might stand¹⁰ hast been much worn,
Let not such toil of fruit be shorn!

"Great Ruler of the lilies," hear!
The people's love, the people's fear,
Spare thou the Dutchman's lands and gear!

"Like one condemned, I make my plaint,
Remember faults my visage paint—
Unless God aid, I'll fall and faint.

"For that while thou hast conquered Spain,
Hast Portugal upraised again,
I too some hope may entertain.

"My worthless prayers no favor earn,
But be, great King, benign, not stern,
Lest that by blazing bombs I burn!

"Among thine own me reinstate,
That I Rome's feasts may venerate,
And thy achievements celebrate!

"When quelled the Bald-head's"¹¹ stupid horde,
The father"¹² and the son restored,
Then hope of safety me afford.

"Do thou, I humbly supplicate,
All Calvinism extirpate,
That so our tears may terminate."

¹⁰ Formerly when France aided the Dutch.

¹¹ Louis XIV, of France, in allusion to the lilies on his armorial shield.

¹² William, Prince of Orange, who was bald.

¹³ James II, of England, and his son, the Prince of Wales, expelled in December, 1688, by Parliament and the Protestant William of Orange.

THE INFLUENCE OF ORIENTAL ART.

BY F. W. FITZPATRICK.

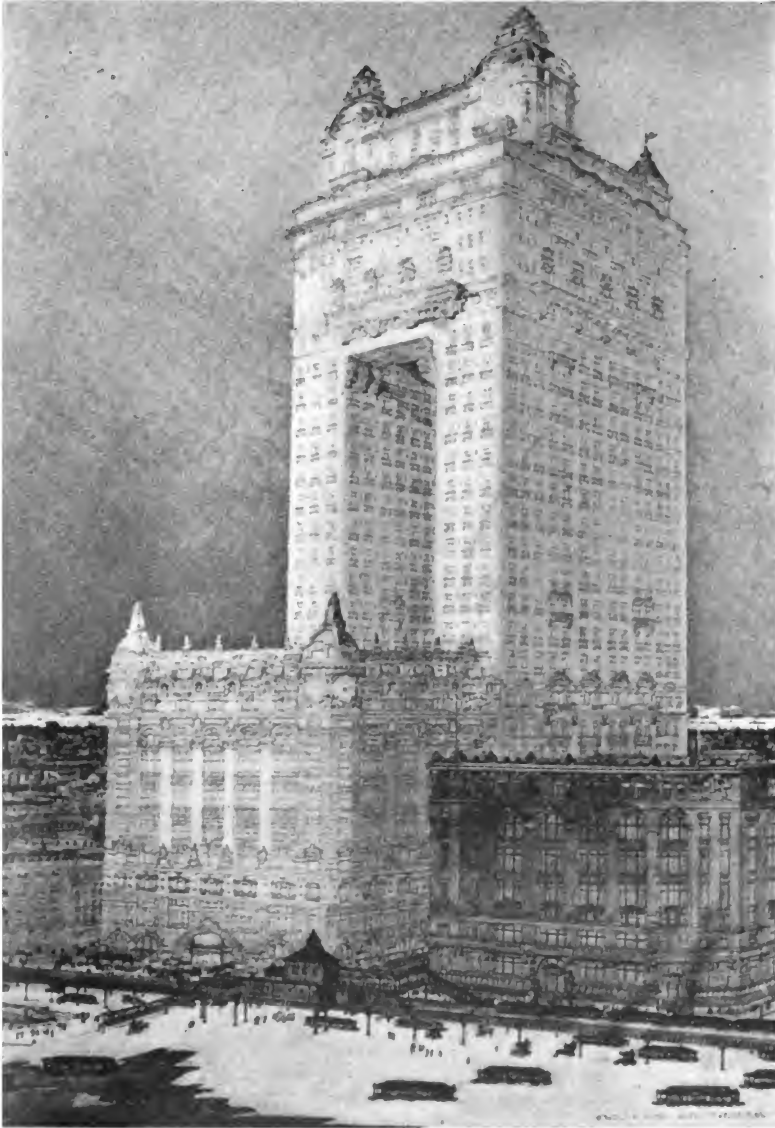
"...And out of the darkness of the East did ye fetch its arts, its adornments, and fitting these about ye and about your temples did ye become as of the East....and will ye hand down these things to all posterity...."

THE first impression made upon an artist who travels in the Orient is the immobility, the placidity, the unchangeableness, as it were, of its monuments, its aspects, its customs, its very peoples. There is a harmony one finds nowhere else. A civilization that seems as old as man; a land that has been invaded time and again, conquered, but that, unlike other conquered lands, always impressed its civilization, its laws, and its customs upon its invaders, instead of being changed, affected by them.

In the comprehensive term "civilization" is, of course, included art; or rather let us call one but the synonym of the other. And Oriental art has been a most potent influence upon that of all other lands, if, indeed, it may not be termed the *mother* of all art. In the ancient Orient all art centered about the greatest, most useful and finest of human achievements in artistic fields—architecture. All else, painting, sculpture, enameling, pottery, mosaics, textiles, all these agencies were impressed into the service of the great mistress, and their resultant works became—if they had not their origin as—embellishments, ornaments, mere accessories, to enhance her qucenly splendor.

In Greece it was different. The conditions, climate, exceptional circumstances, permitted an influence to be made upon its arts that was felt nowhere else, and is not apt to make itself felt anywhere again. I refer to the inordinate love of gymnastics. These exercises that developed the human body to its highest perfection gave an impetus to the plastic and drawn representation of the human form that led to the apotheosizing of those two arts, their elevation

ar above all the others, and, we may add, led to the corruption of good morals and the final debasement of the Greeks. Christianity



THE TERMINAL OF THE M'ADOO TUNNEL.

Rather Academic in detail, but its unconventional, unusual lines and minarets remind one of the Orient.

and Mohammedanism found it necessary to suppress this voluptuous depicting of the human form, but they could not eradicate the love of perfectly symmetrical and beautiful forms that that influence had created.

Now architecture is the art in which that sentiment finds its highest expression, its most subtle application. Therefore are we, as de Beaumont so aptly puts it, "the more impressed with the civilization that gave us the magnificent perspectives of Thebes, of Memphis, of Babylon and of Nineveh, ages before Milo's nameless sculptor thought of his Venus or Phidias of his bas-reliefs. In the former are not only the perfect harmony of the human form, but the sentiment, the evidences and complex significance of a complete and exalted civilization, a symbolism profounder and far more eloquent than the mere perfection of a representation of however beautiful a human body."

Architecture has attributes so essentially her own, a manner so essentially, we might say, personal, of expressing the beautiful, and has such peculiarly individual tendencies that it is impossible to look upon that art as a mere growth, an evolution, brought into play by the later necessities of man. We are prone to look upon it, and with perfect justice too, as a distinct function of our species, "an instinct *sui generis* that should be classified as one of the faculties of man—the faculty, or instinct, of construction." Many scientists seem to see in the monuments of antiquity but the successive modifications of a common plan, a primitive shelter for man; they think that the "instincts" of proportion, harmony and ornamentation were awakened in, if not given to, man very late in his development. Quatremère for instance, a high authority in archeology, by a very roundabout reasoning, thinks that the peaked-roof hut built upon posts was the original basis of Greek architecture, but that it played no part in that of the Egyptian and Asiatic peoples, the herders and hunters of animals, who lived in caverns or in tents. It has been proven beyond question that Grecian art, instead of being an outgrowth from the hut of their ancestors, such as he describes, was copied in every particular, as well as could be and with the materials at hand, from the Egyptians, who were past-masters in the science of construction ages before the Greeks needed even a hut. That they later modified that art, changed it, adapted it to their particular wants and advanced ideas is incontestable, but to attribute its invention to the Greeks is not a reasonable hypothesis.

If we observe the different ways in which the birds of different species build their nests, the labyrinthine and geometrically ad-

mirable, well-drained and well-ventilated borings of rodents, and the cellular constructions of insects, we will get ourselves in the



properly receptive mood to accept the theory that man is a *born* architect. Time has improved that faculty; education and necessity have rendered its work more complex, but we must admit that the instinct is inherent in us—an idea that scientists have combated most strenuously until very recent date.

That contention established, it is but a step to the certainty that some one people, favored by climate and other conditions, developed the inborn esthetic instinct to a very high degree, and became the fountain-head of that art, as it was also the source of the highest civilization. Few studies are as interesting, and few present so open and legible a book to study from. Perfectly preserved monuments, or debris of structures from which time has been unable to efface the records they establish, are at every step the student takes—in the right direction. In Egypt, in Arabia, in Assyria, in Phenicia, in Persia, one may trace the gradual growth, the flowering of that original and parent art from the sturdy and ancient trunk, that developed from the seed planted in the virgin soil of Elam eons ago, by primitive man; but man, nevertheless, endowed with the faculty that inspired the planting of the seed.

To follow out all the branches of that tree in their countless sproutings and twigs, to observe the graftings made from it to other and younger trees, grown originally from its slippings planted in strange soils and forced with strange fertilizers, would be interesting indeed, but space permits us no such pleasant rambles. We must hasten on to the influence of Oriental art upon our own era.

Some would have us think that our splendid art of the Middle Ages literally sprang into being, was invented and carried to perfection by some occult dispensation from the law of evolution, a miraculous intervention. On the contrary, it was brought all ready-made from the Orient. Like some exotic plant that, when taken from its native soil, droops and apparently withers, art had a period of decadence just before that time, but when transplanted into congenial soil and carefully nursed it bloomed and clothed itself with such fresh splendor that, seen in its new surroundings of more somber hue than those of its birth, it could hardly be recognized as the plant that in its own country seemed so ordinary, so commonplace. That refinement of art, the culture of the Middle Ages, which we are asked to look upon as a spontaneous growth, was not even the maturing of an imperfect civilization long established, but was a mere continuation of that civilization, and not always of its highest possibilities either, a civilization that had flourished for at least eight centuries and had been in active progression for nearly twelve!

The new faith, Christianity, that had risen from the ruins of pagan antiquity, when once strong enough to stand alone, to rule in its turn, borrowed none of the forms from the customs of the peoples who had oppressed it, nor patterned in any way upon their art. All that pertained to them, or that even reminded the followers of Christ of them, was revolting—at least at first. Was it not for that reason largely that the Christian counsellors of Constantine advised the upbuilding of a new capital far from Rome and its unpleasant memories? He, a warrior, a Christian but in name, a leader of warriors, was fascinated with the charms, the insidious attractions of the Orient, and the capital of the world was transplanted to the Bosphorus. Still, neither he nor his followers were artists, though they saw, appreciated, admired and desired the beauties of all kinds the East set before them.

The time of miracles was almost past; few suppose the wondrous construction and perfect ornamentation of that capital was heaven-given. The inference is that those things were borrowed, assimilated; and whence?

Construction as typified by this so-called *new* art of Byzantium, indicated an advanced knowledge of statics of equilibrium, of complicated mechanism, and acknowledged neither Egypt nor Greece, nor Rome as prototypes. Perfect as were the parts, the construction of the details and the sculptured decorations used in the architecture of these three great teachers of the world, was primitive, infantile, so simple as to be unscientific, a mere superposing of masses, entablatures and roofs upon vertical supports placed close together, structures covering much ground, but rising little above it, a construction one is justified in terming technically "brutal." Egypt piled masses high in the air, it is true; but bulding a mound of stone even mountain-high, though impressive, is not the art of construction. The monuments of India were but excavations in the rock, with elaborately carven surfaces. There was nothing serious about the monuments of ancient China; dainty they were, interesting, but not to be dignified by the name art. No, the artists employed by Constantine, the architects of St. Sophia and of the other strikingly beautiful structures of Byzantium took none of these for their models, nor did they create a style upon some heavenly inspiration; they were influenced, as were their masters, by the examples of Persian art they saw all about them. In fact, most of them were men trained in the Orient, if not indeed Orientals themselves.

Some strange, preservative influence has been at work that permitted that country, in spite of its ups and downs and the mutations

and vicissitudes of time, the Elam of old, the birthplace of art, to retain its place among nations as the highest exponent of the true science of building, of the perfection of form and the correct balance between structure and ornament.

The absence of stone and timber in quantities necessitated the use of bricks and materials of small dimensions, hence their skill in handling such small parts and incorporating them into magnificent masses. When wide openings were required the arch was the only means of spanning them. Such construction forced them into the knowledge of statics and into scientific experimenting and calcula-



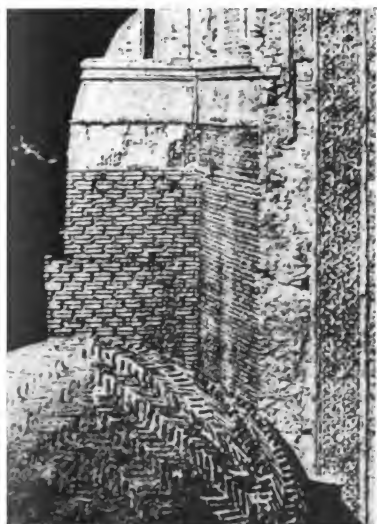
THE MOSQUE OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

tions. Their inborn love of beauty and color forced them to the use of enamels, dainty pottery, inlays and mosaics. At the time I write of, the art had been brought to a state almost of perfection.

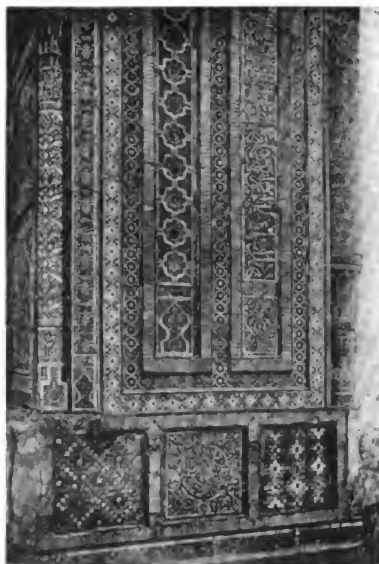
The Romans and other despoilers of the East, admiring these works, had robbed it of much of its portable treasures. The merchants of the West trafficking back and forth—the East was then the great storehouse of the world, the land of gold and of promise, and was in much the same relation to the West as America was regarded by Europe in the seventeenth century—had left stations, settlements all along the great highways from India to Rome, and to

the north, built after the manner of the East, and filled with its productions. All about Constantinople were such stations, such influences; all breathed of Persia and of Arabia, "Araby the blest," and of far-off India.

The founders of the new capital were thus already familiar with Oriental art, and now as they set about building their city, and became subject to the still closer influence of that art, being men not at all of an inventive race anyway, they were most susceptible to the fascination of their surroundings. Therefore it is not at all sur-



ARABIAN BRICK WORK.

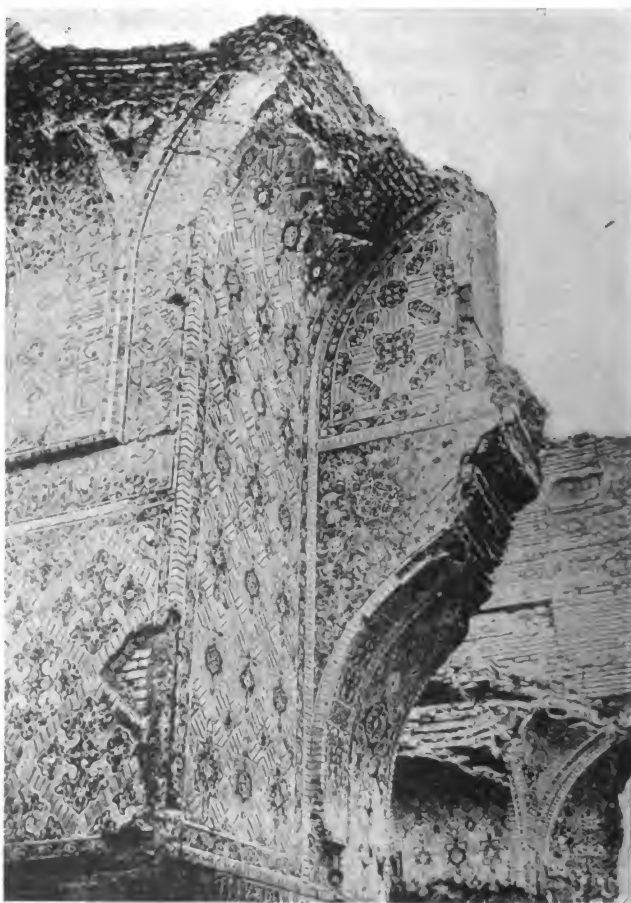
TILE AND ENAMEL WORK OF THE
SARACENS.

The more crude structurally ornamented brick work of the Arabians suggested and preceded the almost feminine refinement of the art in Mohammedan hands.

rising that they adopted the delicate, sensuous and graceful art of their new neighborhood rather than that of their fathers, let alone any prejudice they might have had against the latter for the religious reasons I have before mentioned, and notwithstanding that they had the quarries and the forests and the laborers of the world to draw upon for even cyclopean construction had they desired it, rather than the dainty arcades, traceries and mosaics they used.

Some wise men of the West have attempted to trace Grecian influence in the art of the new capital. Grecian influence, forsooth!

Greece was dead, despoiled, forgotten, no longer visited ; its civilization, carried to Rome long before, had become debased, deformed and finally replaced entirely by Asiatic influences that held most potent sway over the Romans, a people capable of appreciating beauty, but without initiative in art, invention or any creative powers in that line.



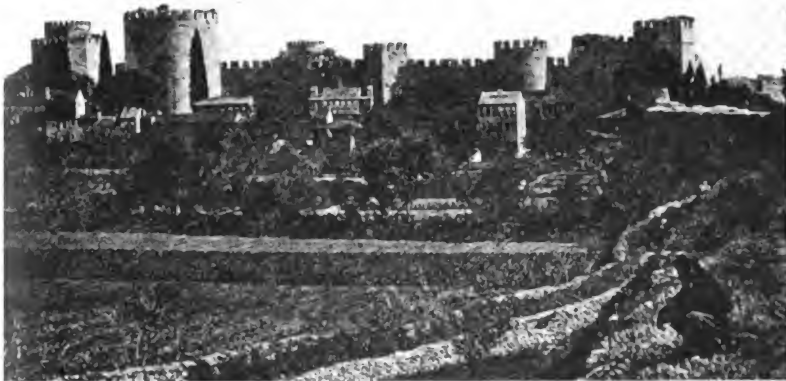
LATER ORIENTAL DECORATION.

The brick base upon which and embedded in which were "woven," so to speak, the face tiling and enamels of later Oriental work.

Where in Grecian or Roman art do you find a suggestion for

backgrounds to their vividly colored pictorial representations, done in bits of glass and enameled tile; their mosaics, their fabrics, their jewels, their glassware, their furnishings; were they inspired by the severely correct, albeit beautiful, works of Greece? Can there be any connection between the natural poses and true painting of the human figure by the Greeks, and the conventionalized, stiff, almost grotesque figures of Byzantium?

After Alexander's great conquests and their resultant dislocation of the Persian empire, its customs and its arts still held sway, as we have noted, over not only the conquered but the conquerors.

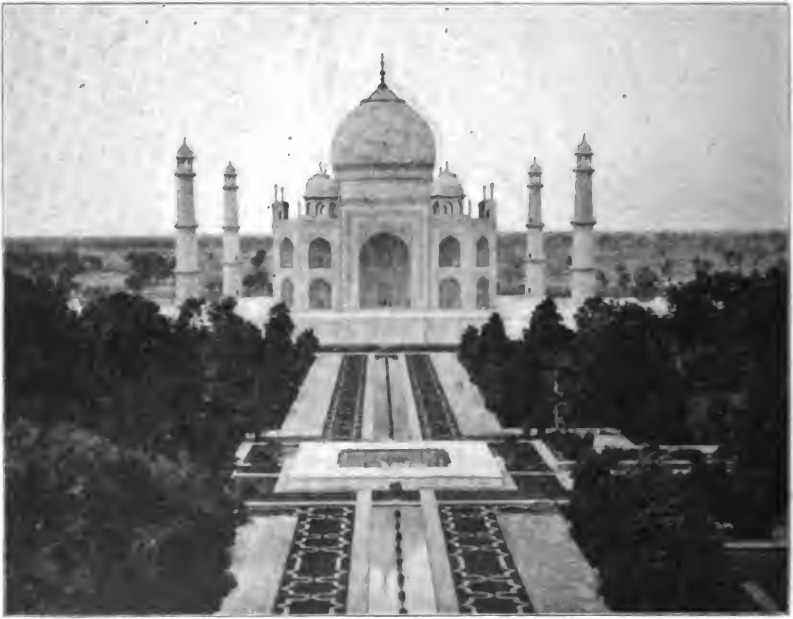


THE SEVEN TOWERS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Oriental influence in Byzantium, refining, luxurious, almost effeminate as it made them, did not prevent the Byzantines from building exceedingly strong and forbidding fortifications.

So after the destruction of Nineveh, of Babylon, of Persepolis, those regions preserved the memories of their former greatness. Any building that was erected was along those lines so well remembered. The spirit of those old achievements was dormant, but it took but a man, some mastering genius, or a great cause, to awaken to full life, and refreshed by that rest, all the splendor and grace of old. Such an art was easily resuscitated. The building of Constantinople furnished the occasion, the awakening; the result we have seen all over the world and still feel.

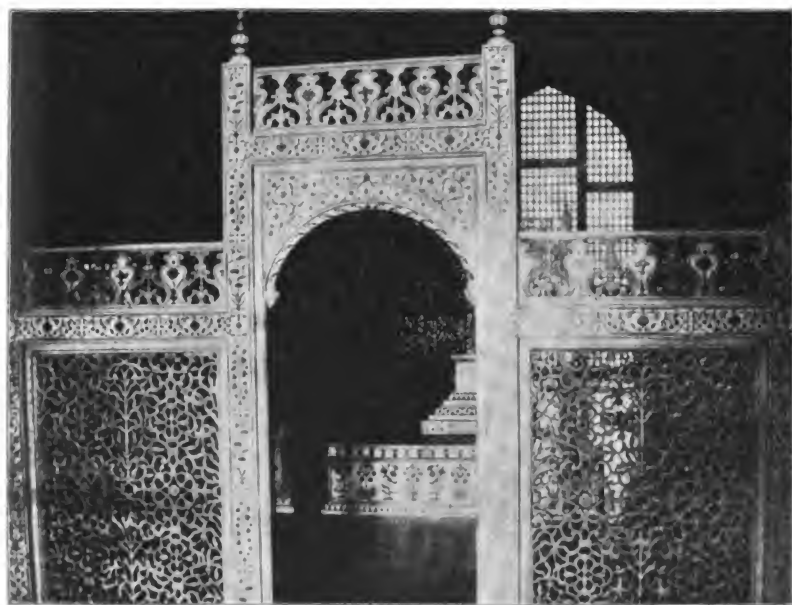
And Byzantium or Constantinople was but the way-station, so to speak, for that grand Oriental art on its way to a world-influence. Persia and its art were too far from, too completely separated from Europe, to affect it at one bound. Constantine was thus the intermediary of that powerful Asiatic influence. He employed Metrodorus to build his church, his palaces. Later Anthemese of Tralles, and Isidorus of Milet rebuilt the church as it has been preserved to us. All three were Orientals, two of them Persians. Even Justinian II employed a Persian architect in beautifying his capital. Other peoples of the Occident came to Constantinople, as visitors, as captives, as



TAJ MAHAL (GEM OF BUILDINGS) AGRA, INDIA.

merchants, and, admiring the grandeur and beauty of its marvelous works, carried the seed back with them, scattering it about in every direction. Byzantium was truly the pivotal point from which that Oriental influence radiated. There was much traveling and visiting those days; that influence spread and bore fruit with astonishing rapidity. You see, as we have before noted, the Orient, or perhaps more properly speaking, India, was the great treasure-house. There was a constant stream of travel toward and from it. Naturally all the lines of travel westward contracted and passed through the new capital, hence the wide range of that astonishing Byzantine influence.

Mentioning Indian trade calls to mind what a lodestone that commerce has ever been to the entire world; a bone of contention, too. Its possession has always been looked upon as absolutely essential to any nation desiring to be a world-power. Egypt and Assyria contended for it, and as each gained it did she become mistress of the world. The rivalry of Nineveh, Thebes and Babylon for that trade gave rise to the wars that immortalized the names of Rameses and of Sesostris. The Argonauts sought to gain that commerce; so did greater Greece. Alexander's objective point was India and its riches. Rome fought for it, too, and in gaining Egypt and both banks of the



INTERIOR DECORATION IN THE TAJ MAHAL.

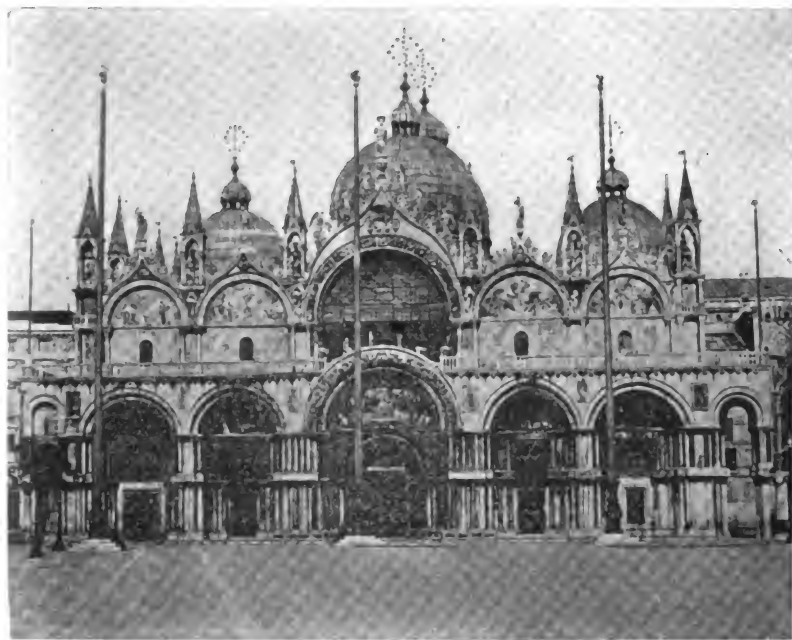
Euphrates controlled the two great highways to that promised land. Then Islamism overthrew all that the emperors had accomplished. It was to avoid the caliph's exactions, and the monopoly of Venice, that the great navigators, Columbus among them, sought a sea route westward to India. Spain, Holland, France, England have contended for its possession. Napoleon in his Egyptian campaign was headed for India; England seems to have a pretty firm grip upon it to-day, but would rest more securely and blissfully did Russia not persist in ever reaching out in that direction.

Is it necessary to repeat here the old arguments claiming a

Greco-Roman influence upon the buildings of Byzantium? Surely not; those old contentions have been disproved years ago. Persian art, as we have before noted, held sway all about; its arcades, aqueducts, vaulted and domed ceilings, its rich ornamentation, its fabrics, its embroidery, all absolutely unlike anything Occidental, particularly Grecian, had reached high perfection. There had been great luxury in their work ever since the founding of the post-biblical cities under the Arsacidian and Sassanidian dynasties. So that the founders of Byzantium found an art already made. Founded by Byzas, the Greek navigator, taken two hundred years afterward by Darius and held by the Persians until the end of the reign of Xerxes, it was really a Persian city, anyway. From the whole world there flocked to the new capital scientists, men skilled in the arts and crafts, as well as great merchants, financiers and the aristocracy of Rome and many other centers. From Alexandria came a colony of experts, we might call them, who, having already been deeply imbued with that Oriental art, and inflamed with the exalting mysticism and purity of the new faith, quickly adapted that art to the forms, the purposes, the soul, I might say, of Christian worship and life. The square plan of the olden pagan temple gave place to the cross-shapen plan of the church; religious zeal and fervor, supplemented with boundless wealth, made all things possible. That style, Byzantine indeed, but of Persian birth withal, grew amazingly. Most extraordinary effects were gotten and wondrous feats in construction performed. Under Emperor Basil did that style reach its apogee. Arcades were superimposed upon arcades, cupolas upon cupolas, arches became more and more stilted, some were pointed, in fact, vast domes were sprung from tiniest supports, color and ornament that in other hands would have been riotous, were blended into splendid harmony. The men of that day and place were profoundly versed in statics, in geometry, in algebra and equilibrium; they thoroughly understood the values of masses and openings, of lights and shadows, and their works were marvels of combined science and art, epoch-marks in the history of the arts, aye in the history of the world.

By the year 440, one hundred and twelve years after the founding of the capital of Byzantium, and just one hundred years after the building of St. Sophia's by Constance, the son of the great Constantine, the so-called Byzantine style had found a firm foothold in Italy. That year they began a great cathedral at Ravenna, patterned in the main after St. Sophia's, though the Italians found it difficult to divorce themselves entirely from classic forms. The acanthus leaf and the Ionic volutes still had charms in their eyes, and they indulged.

during that transitory time, in some strange medleys of those forms with wild animals, flowers, snakes and what not that were deemed essential parts of Oriental decoration. The fluted columns became thinner and took on lines in the other direction, bands, garlands, lozenges, twistings and turnings. The earlier attempts of the Italians to apply what they had seen in the city of Constantine to their own buildings were certainly crude. The style they evolved, otherwise known as Romanesque, might rather be called a travesty upon the Persian daintiness of Byzantine art. Still, the seed was there.



ST. MARK'S CATHEDRAL AT VENICE.

The church of St. Cyriac at Ancona (its capitals are absolute copies of Persepolitan works), that of St. Zeno at Verona, and that of St. Mark at Venice are striking examples of that transitory period, the infancy of Byzantine art in Europe.

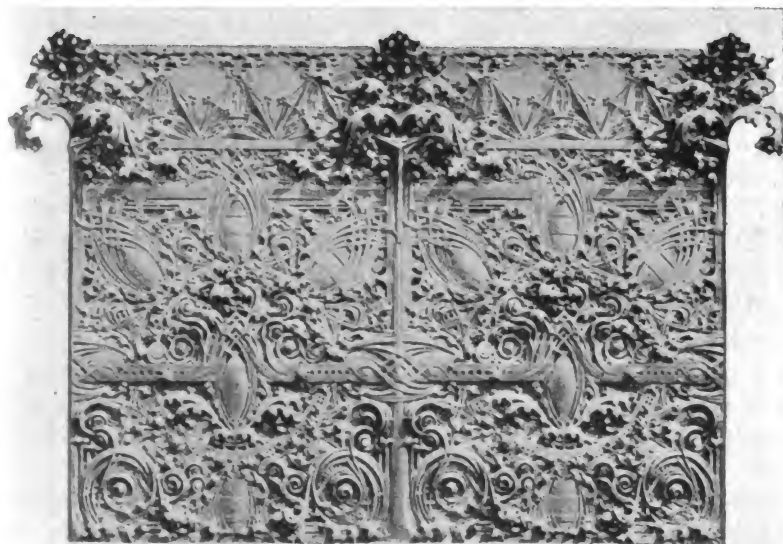
In many of the buildings of the period immediately following, notably the work at Padua and Venice, radical departures were made in the general lines; the style became more flamboyant and daring, but after a little while, they got back to a closer imitation of St. Sophia's in form, in detail and in construction. This church really seems to be the most perfect example of that art. The Turks clung



THE SHRINES OF HUSSEIN AND ABBAS AT KERBELA.

o it, when once they began copying it, more tenaciously than any other people. At Stamboul, for centuries after, every building erected was but a copy of some part of St. Sophia's. The later structures in Egypt, in Persia, in India and in Russia, are all traceable to that magnificent model.

You may follow the old Persian art of Babylon and of Persepolis, down through that of Ecbatana, of Hamadon and of Media—and find that this one example of Byzantine is the hyphen uniting that ancient art to that of Catholic Europe, first called *romanesque*,



A DISTINCTLY SULLIVANESQUE ORNAMENT.

Oriental in feeling, mystic and beautiful.

ren gothic, as well as that of the Mohammedans that finally permeated the entire world.

It seems strange to have to thank the fanatic Mohammedan as the most important medium of transmission that art of the Orient ever had. With him, as with the Goth, the Ostrogoth, the German, the Gaul, the Illyrian, and the other wild men who made incursions into civilization with the sole idea of rapine and conquest, he was quickly tamed by the refinement and beauty of his unwonted surroundings. In 637 Mohammedan invasions became the fashion. These hordes of wild Arabs—Arabia had lapsed into a state of almost primal savagery; its monuments buried, its people degenerated

into herders of cattle and roving bands of robbers—fanatical followers of the prophet, at first destroyed all that fell under their hands. Art and its treasures had no significance for them. Soon, however, it began to exert an influence upon them. No man can live with and see art all about him without soon becoming its abject slave. Then, too, these wild men were of good stock; their forefathers had lived in palaces and worshiped in magnificent temples. Constantinople became their headquarters; St. Sophia their chief mosque. Luxury and refinement grew less and less sinful in their eyes; the Oriental within them made itself felt. Persia fell under their sway. With Persian artists in their midst, Constantinople their headquarters, India their storehouse, and fresh art treasures and libraries and masters of crafts falling into their hands every day, they could not long stand the pressure. From brutal barbarity they became protectors, aye, masters of all the arts and sciences. Persian art then became Arabian art—by right of conquest. The followers of Mohammed still carried the sword and ruled by it, but then the highest civilization went along with them. The world never saw greater masters in every line of thought and action than attended the caliphs' bidding in erecting stupendous and beautiful palaces and mosques, in rearing great fortifications, in making splendid roads, in training the young, in making waste places bountifully fruitful, in fine, in civilizing the uncivilized world and vastly improving that part already civilized. Remember that their rule extended over a vast stretch of territory, bounded on the west by the Guadalquivir, on the east by the Ganges! Then you will appreciate the extent of the influence of Mohammedan art—but another name for Persian art, modified, translated, though not enriched by Mohammedan touch.

A building of that period that has had a most extraordinary influence upon European and even American art is the Alhambra in the city of Granada, the home of the ancient Moorish kings of Granada, the "Red Castle," in the Arabic tongue, the *Casa Real* of the Spaniards of our day. Some portions of that grand construction have fallen into decay and other parts have been destroyed by looters, but the Court of the Fish Pond and the Court of the Lions, with their beautiful colonnades and arcades, magnificent specimens of the ceramic arts and of the wondrous work done in intaglio and in inlays and in mosaics by the patient Arab toilers in the marbles brought from Italy and Africa, still stand unmarred by the ravages of time or the vandal hand of man.

And Persia still remained the fountain-head, the base of supply, the genesis of that exquisite art. Did one want to build a palace



THE ALHAMBRA AT GRANADA.

or mosque of particular splendor, it was a Persian artist who was entrusted with the commission; when Abderam decided to build the Alcazar at Cordova it was to Persia he sent for an architect, and who will claim that even classic Greece gave birth to greater artists, men of more exalted ideals, more poetic inspiration and more skilful in gracefully clothing those ideas in imperishable materials, than were the artists of the Middle Ages who first saw light in Kashan, in Hamadan, or in Geheran?

To the westward that art drifted into what we call "Arabian," and later "Moorish"; to the east, India, perhaps, of all Oriental



INLAID TOMB OF I'TIMADUDAULAH, AGRA, INDIA.

Copyright 1907 by H. G. Ponting. By courtesy of the Bausch & Lomb Optical Company.

countries, carried it to the highest perfection. That country's climate, the wealth of its princes, all conditions were favorable to its development. The baths, the tombs, the palaces of Delhi, of Lahore, of Agra, are still, despoiled as so many of them are by native greed or foreign vandalism, the wonder and admiration of all western travelers.

After long suffering the peoples of southern Europe threw off the hated yoke of the "true believer." Still all southern Europe was inoculated with the learning, the art of the Mohammedan.

Add this influence to that already noted, the Byzantine, and you will have some idea of the leaning there was toward Orientalism.

Then Christendom, encouraged by its deliverance from the scourge of Islamism, carried its advantage still further, even into the land of the enemy. It became the invader, determined to wrest the Holy Sepulcher from the Saracen—together with whatever portable belongings the latter might not be able to hold onto.

The Crusaders brought back not only plunder, but the habits, the luxuriousness of their old foes. They were captivated by all



PAILOU OF THE GARDEN OF THE HALL OF CLASSICS, PEKING, CHINA.
 "Oriental" in strictest sense of the term, coincident with though hardly influenced by the art of India and of Babylon.

Copyright 1907 by H. G. Ponting. By courtesy of the Bausch & Lomb Optical Company.

they had seen in the Orient, they employed artists from the East to build their castles, their great public buildings, aye, even their sacred edifices. And thus was added another mesh to the already stout lashings that held the artistic world bounden to the Orient.

The men of the fifteenth century believed they had forever outgrown that influence. when they again began to copy in season and

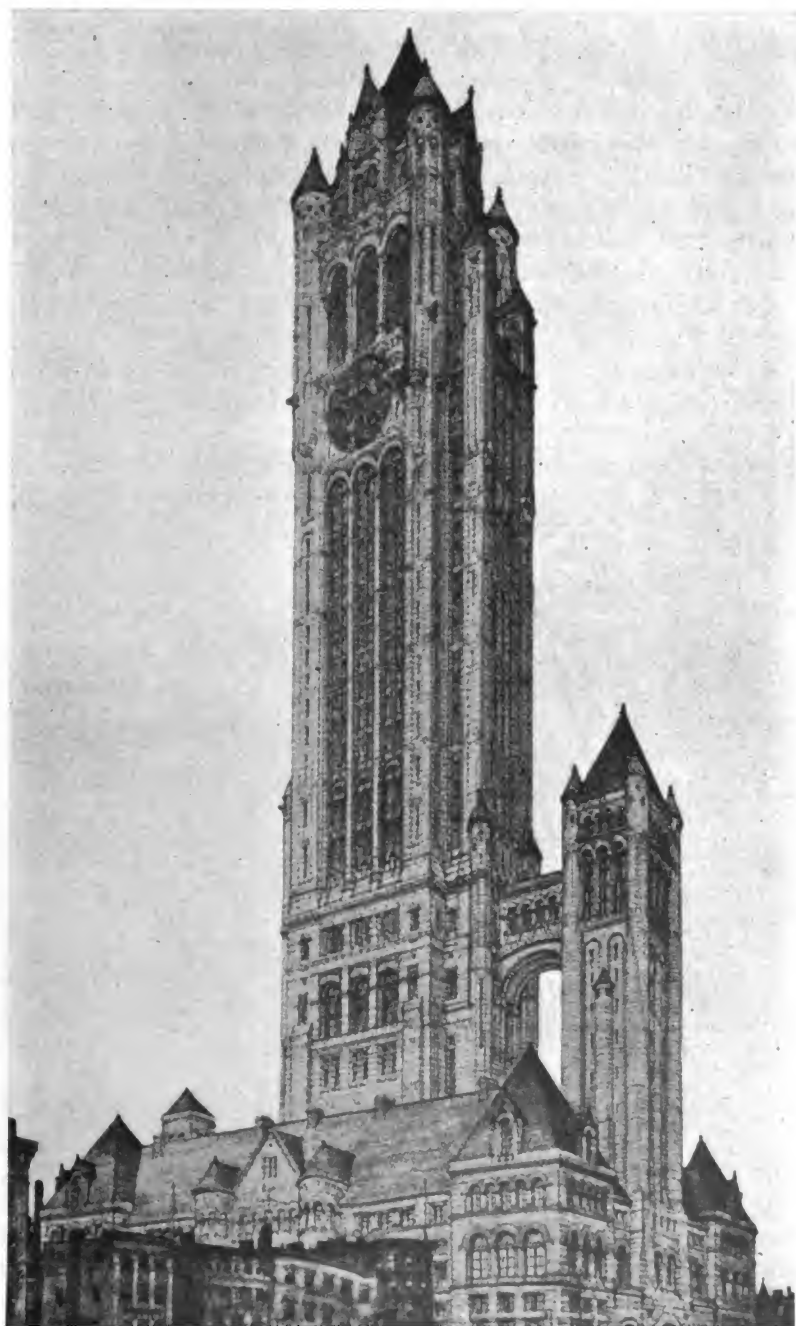
however, that even we of far-off America, and in this late generation, still feel its thralldom.



A SAN FRANCISCO BUILDING.

With a distinctly Oriental flavor; a refreshing change from the hackneyed styles.

Of the men of our own time who has left a deeper impress upon our architecture than Richardson, and who, if not he, has had such a horde of feeble imitators follow in his wake? And yet the school.



the style he worked in, was not our well-beloved classic, or neo-grec, or French Renaissance, but a very coarse, I may say almost clumsy, order of that Oriental art. His particular fancy was an early Byzantine, with a strong tendency toward the vigorous, virile, Norman influence, and rendered usually in stone, and that of large dimensions and rustic surfaces. Not by any means the insidiously delicate, subtle dreaminess, the idealization of the later Byzantine, and but a faint suggestion of the true Oriental.

An influence, too, I will add as my "lastly," that we do wrong to combat, as we seem to be doing of late. I am not an advocate of



A MINNESOTA BANK.

Merely decorated construction. One of Sullivan's happiest designs.

any one style of architecture being used for church and stable, palace and cottage. Of the two evils I would rather follow the school that so earnestly, even if misguidedly, advocates "a medieval style for colleges, because their teaching is of the dark ages(?); a gothic for Anglican churches, because that church had its beginning in early gothic times; a German renaissance for Lutheran churches; a classic for public buildings, because the perfection of civic government was reached in Greece, etc." But I do believe that in our commercial buildings, where light and lightness both are much to be desired,



A BUSINESS BLOCK OF BUFFALO, N. Y.

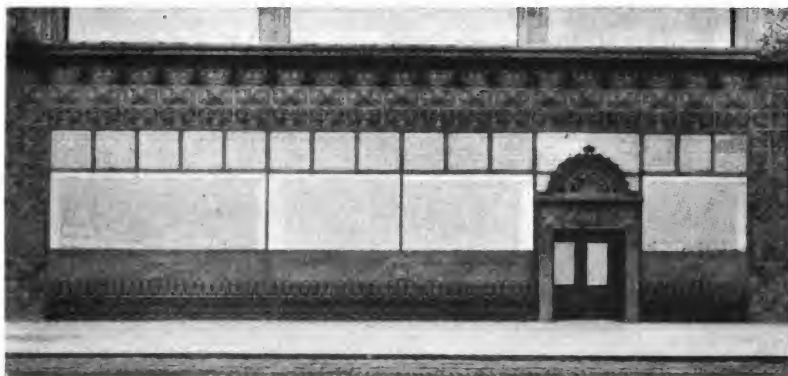
No attempt at classic or other forced style, a highly decorated exterior, but simple and straightforward, eminently suited to our modern commercial wants.



"A CORINTHIAN TEMPLE PERCHED UPON A BASEMENT OF TWENTY STORIES."

their steel members could be covered with dainty brick and tile and terra-cotta, in the pretty blended colors and glazes, and graceful lines we could borrow from the Orient—since we can not invent, but must copy something; or, at least, be “inspired” by something already done—to much better advantage and with far more truth than we do in our classic fad of to-day.

Are you not a trifle tired of seeing a Corinthian temple two stories high, perched upon a “basement” some twenty-odd stories higher, doing duty as an acropolis? And what truth or real art is there in a façade of cyclopean columns and a mighty cornice, every stone of which is tied to and teetered upon a steel girder, or suspended from above as you would hang a bird-cage? And all these feats of equilibrium performed merely to try and make the thing look



ONE OF SULLIVAN'S "PICTURE-FRAME FRONTS."

Sensible, attractive and frank.

like a massive masonry structure, that every one knows perfectly well it is not!

Many of us, most of us, laugh at Sullivan, of Chicago, and his “East Indian picture-frame fronts” of buildings, but is he not, of us all, nearer the solution of the problem presented us by the new conditions, the tall frames we have to clothe, and are too timid to cut into the cloth without the old reliable Butterick patterns of our fathers’ solid masonry and classic details being first well-pinned down over that cloth? He, at least, frankly shows us that he is merely using a veneer of brick or other thin plastic material, to conceal and protect the steel skeleton that we all know is there, and then proceeds to decorate and ornament that veneer as effectually and pleasantly, but truthfully, as he can. And he does it, too; but

he did not succeed in doing it until he dipped into the deep well of Oriental art for his inspiration.

A well as broad as it is deep and still filled to o'erflowing, though it has been drawn from, as we have briefly reviewed, by all nations at all times. A well, too, as attractive as it is inexhaustible, but that for some not well-defined reason we have avoided of late. Perhaps we fear its seductions; they have been called enervating, but wrongly, I do protest. Some architects, the over-righteous ones of the craft, may turn from me, when I so earnestly plead for renaissance of Oriental art, fearing there may again be occasion to lament its "baneful" influence, as Jeremiah of old did lament the influence of Babylon, saying: "Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken; the nations have drunken of her wine; therefore the nations are mad."

THE JEWISH EXPECTATION OF GOD'S KINGDOM IN ITS SUCCESSIVE STAGES.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

ALTHOUGH the older Hebrew prophets, such as Micah and Isaiah, did not use the term "kingdom of God" or "kingdom of heaven" as did the later Jewish writers, they spoke in glowing terms of the coming of a glorious time in the "latter days," when nations would "beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks," and "not lift up a sword. . . . any more"; when every man should sit "under his vine and under his fig-tree and none make them afraid"; when there would be a ruler upon whom should rest "the spirit of Yahveh. . . . the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Yahveh," who should judge, "with righteousness the poor and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth," who "shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth and with the breath of his lips. . . . slay the wicked"; when "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of Yahveh as the waters cover the sea."

Those early prophets had further spoken of a complete and perfect new world-order in the well-known description of a time when the wolf, bear, leopard and lion would dwell and feed together with the lamb, calf and ox, and a young child would put his hand on the cockatrice's den without harm. When speaking of this time they had further represented Jerusalem as the central seat from which would proceed this state of universal righteousness, justice and peace, saying that the nations would flock to the temple of the God of Israel to learn there his "paths and laws"; that such nations who were not hostile to God's people would be mercifully received, and that finally all the scattered tribes of Israel would be reunited. Still these writers did not predict a definite historical time, when all this would come about.

The first writer who used the term "kingdom of God," "king-

dom of heaven" for the glorious time already imagined by those earlier Hebrew prophets and who brought the appearance of this kingdom in connection with a special historical period, who predicted and expected its near coming, was the unknown Jew who wrote the Book of Daniel about 164 B. C.

According to him the world's history was to close with the end of the Macedonian empire founded by Alexander the Great, and the division of this empire among his generals. The Book of Daniel was written as a book of consolation and exhortation in the severe times of persecution and trial, when the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to destroy the Jewish religion and to force Greek religion and customs upon the Jewish people. The purpose of the book is to arouse faithful perseverance in the belief of the fathers, for God will soon erect his kingdom and a personality will appear in the clouds to whom the final everlasting government will be given. Those remaining faithful to the national religion will be partakers of this eternal kingdom while the unfaithful will be destroyed in the final judgment.

The expectation of the nearness of the time when the kingdom of God would come down from heaven, and the assignment of this advent to a special period of the world's history, as appearing for the first time in Daniel, was the natural result of the most terrible trial the Jewish religion had up to that time passed through. Great had been the vicissitudes and trials undergone by the Israelites during the succession of the great Asiatic empires whose dominion lasted to the time of the composition of the book, but the persecution begun by Antiochus, which was the cause of the book, was the worst of all.

The Israelites had lost the prestige of the political rôle they had played in the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah through the successive conquests of Assyria and Babylonia and had come under the dominion of Persia and Macedonia; from where else was help to be expected but from heaven? While the older prophets had continued to hope for a rejuvenation of the old royal stock of David that would produce some scion who would bring back the old glory, the later Jewish writers more and more imagined this personality to be a divine king coming down from heaven directly.

Under all oppressions and vicissitudes since the conquest of Nebuchadnezzar the Jews had remained zealously faithful to their religion and had purged it entirely from idolatry. Would not their faith be rewarded directly by heaven, especially since they considered it as their peculiar calling to be the religious light of the

world amid surrounding darkness? Hence the confident expectation of the writer of Daniel in the middle of the second century B. C. that the kingdom of God was close at hand.

Though the expectation of the writer was not fulfilled, the Book of Daniel at least accomplished its purpose. The attempt of the Syrian king Antiochus to destroy the Jewish religion was thwarted by the successful insurrection of the Jews under their leaders the Maccabees, after which the Jews again for some time had rulers of their own nationality. One of these Maccabees or Asmoneans even extended the limits of his realm to the former boundaries of the Davidian kingdom.

While the Book of Daniel was written in Palestine under religious persecution, we find about thirty years later an unknown Jew of Alexandria writing an oracle which prophesies that the kingdom of God would come under the reign of Ptolemy VII of Egypt who reigned from 146-117 B. C. This statement occurs in the Sibylline oracles, a collection of writings in Greek hexameter, which as we now have them are but a chaos and conglomerate of different fragments belonging to different times strung together in the most arbitrary order.

Ptolemy VII was called by his subjects *Physcon*, "Big belly," on account of his extreme corpulence, and instead of *Euergetes*, "Benefactor," the surname he had assumed at his accession, they dubbed him *Kakoergetes*, "Malefactor," for he was one of the most infamous rulers that ever sat on a throne in spite of the fact that he had inherited a taste for learning, was a patron of learned men and something of an author himself. From beginning to end his reign was sullied by his private vices and debaucheries as well as by a number of single and even wholesale butcheries. This monster once sent to his divorced wife, who was at the same time his sister, the head and hands of their son as a birthday gift. Josephus further relates that he once caught all the Jews he could get in Alexandria and had them exposed with their wives and children in an enclosed space to be trodden upon by his elephants, which he had previously made drunk for that purpose. The event, however, ended differently, for the elephants turned upon their masters instead, and the Jews afterwards celebrated this miraculous escape of their people.

Under this king the unknown Jew predicted the end of Egypt, the final great judgment to be ushered in by terrific omens of nature, the acceptance by all men of the law of the one and only God. "The people of the great God will be strong again and the leaders of life to all." (Sibyll., III, 97 etc.)

We shall not criticize the unknown Alexandrian Jew if in describing the new world soon to come he falls into lengthy glowing descriptions partly borrowed from Isaiah and other early prophets, speaking of the wolf and the lamb, the lion and ox dwelling together, etc. Under such infamous monsters as Ptolemy VII and many other oppressors and despots of that time, the intense hope that a terrible final judgment would bring retribution on all such evil doers, and the expectation that the old world-order would change into another in which all injustice, wrong and imperfection would be done away, was the only thing which made bearable the miserable conditions of the oppressed.

While the writer of Daniel and the Alexandrian Jew wrote their oracles under the immediate pressure of foreign persecution, we find a little later in history another Jewish work of similar character written under rather more specific and peculiar internal Jewish conditions.

This work, fictitiously attributed by its writer to the antediluvian Enoch, seems according to its contents to have been written under the influence of the victories and final success of the Maccabees against the Syrian oppressors, but also under the influence of the party dissensions which had rent the Jewish people. In consequence of the Hellenization of Asia through the empire of Alexander the Great, many Jews had a leaning towards Greek habits and ideas, while others held firmly to the national Jewish customs and laws. Moreover even the Maccabees had entered into political intriguing and scheming and had contracted alliances with foreign rulers in order to gain advantages for the Jewish people—all of which practices were discountenanced by those Jews who held that the only correct policy was a faithful and rigid adherence to Jewish customs and laws and the religion of the fathers without any compromise with foreign ideas and politics.

These strict Jews believed in a theocracy pure and simple, in a reign of God alone as they conceived it to take place through the ordinances of the traditional religion. For this reason they looked with great disfavor upon the innovation of the Maccabees, who were of priestly but not highpriestly descent, in trying to combine with their political rulership over the Jewish people the high-priesthood as well. In this time fell the beginnings of those Jewish sects, the Pharisees and Essenes, who more than any other Jewish parties fostered the religious life and the study of the sacred writings, and whose hopes lay more in the expectation of a future ideal and perfect state to be brought about miraculously by God than in any worldly,

temporal, realistic politics undertaken for the advantage of the Jewish people. In consequence of their views they were peculiarly adapted to keep alive the idea of the coming kingdom of God. We see therefore in the Book of Enoch this thought playing a dominant part.

Among many other things the book gives a history of the perversion of mankind through the fall of the angels in marrying human women and teaching mankind all kinds of arts and knowledge such as working metals, making swords and armor, jewelry, etc., as well as the secrets of astrology and magic; a history of the Israelitish nation in a symbolical representation up to the time of the writer showing its backslidings and misfortunes; the description of a journey through heaven and hell accompanied with a representation of the "elect one" or the "Son of Man" dwelling with the "Ancient of days," both of the Daniel type. After this it gives many exhortations to live righteously and faithfully as the judgment and final consummation draws near.

Though giving no special historical date when the end will come, the book divides the world's history into ten periods ("weeks" as it calls them). According to the description of what has already passed in these weeks of the world's history the last two weeks are at hand. Of these last two the book says: "And then in the ninth week the just judgment of the whole world will be revealed and all works of the wicked will disappear from the earth; and the world will be written up for destruction and all mankind will look for the way of righteousness. And then in the tenth week in the seventh part will take place the great eternal judgment in which he will give retribution to the angels [of course the wicked ones who play such a great part in the book through their perversion of mankind]. And the first heaven will pass by and a new one appear, and all powers of the heavens will flash out sevenfold in eternity. And then there will be many weeks without number till in eternity in goodness and righteousness, and sin will from then on not be mentioned any more eternally" (Enoch 91).

Following history down to about the forties of the first century B. C. we meet with a book which does not give revelations and oracles about the future as those touched upon so far, but which nevertheless shows how intense the hope for the kingdom of God continued to be. This book is the so-called Psalms of Solomon, written in the same style as the Psalms of the Old Testament. These psalms deal plainly (1) with the desecration of the Jewish temple by Pompey the Great, who was the first pagan to enter the Holy

of Holies B. C. 63 and whose assassination on the shores of Egypt in B. C. 48, is (2) looked upon as a direct punishment for entering the temple; (3) the psalms speak of the crimes and atrocities of the native Asmonean house.

In consequence of all this the writer expresses the hope that God will soon send his Messiah and purge Jerusalem and the nation from all oppression and degradation coming from both the foreign tyrants and the native rulers. The expected king is described similarly to his portrayal by the older prophets, a ruler who will destroy all wickedness by the breath of his mouth; who will at the same time be a king of peace and not of war, not putting his trust in horse and rider and bow, but filled with the spirit of wisdom, justice, righteousness and mercy; who will be undefiled by sin. Not only will all the scattered tribes of Israel be united under his reign but all the nations will submit to his rule. One of the psalms which glorifies the coming of the final kingdom of God through his Messiah, ends with the words: "Blessed are they that shall be born in those days. May God hasten his mercy towards Israel, may he deliver us from the abomination of unhallowed adversaries. The Lord, he is our king from henceforth and even for evermore." (xvii. 51). These words and the tone of those psalms which deal with the Messiah's kingdom though they do not mention a definite time when it is to appear, nevertheless breathe an intense desire that it may come soon.

Another point which distinguishes these psalms from such apocalyptic writings as Daniel, Enoch and the Sibylline oracles, is that while the other writings do not speak of the ruler of the kingdom of God as a descendant of David, these psalms return to the phraseology of the old prophets, calling him a son of David "whom God will raise up in the time which he knows." Still in spite of this phraseology, because he is described as "pure of sin," these psalms also seem to consider him rather more as a divine personality.

Somewhat later than the composition of the Solomonic psalms is a Sibylline oracle in book III of that collection (vv. 36-92) which tells of the second triumvirate, that of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus B. C. 43, who proscribed so many Roman citizens and committed so many atrocities, and which further speaks of Cleopatra the Egyptian queen playing her noted political rôle in relation to Cæsar, Antony and Octavian. The Sibylline passage is so interesting, giving a good example of these Jewish oracular utterings and its ideas, that we will translate most of this passage in prose:

"But when Rome, then in power, will be king of Egypt, then

will the great kingdom of the immortal king appear unto men. A holy ruler will come holding the scepter of the whole earth for all the eternities of time. And then will be the inexorable wrath of the Latins. Three will utterly destroy Rome with lamentable fate. All men will be destroyed in their own homes when the fiery cataract will rush down from heaven. Ah me, when will that day come and the judgment of the divine king? Now truly all you cities are built and adorned with temples and race courses and forums and golden and silver and stone images, in order that you may come to the bitter day. For it will come, when the breath of the divine one will go out among all men.

"But from the *Sebastenoi* [*i. e.*, the "august ones," the surname used for the Roman emperors] will come Beliar [the incarnate Evil One]; he will do many signs with respect to mountains and sea and sun and moon and the dead. But they will be only deceit. He will deceive many men, faithful and chosen Hebrews, the unjust and other men, who do not obey the word of God. But when the threatenings of the great God will draw near and the burning might will come billowing upon earth, he will also burn Beliar and all proud men who put faith in him. And then the whole world will be in the hands of a woman governed and obeying in everything. Then when a widow will govern the whole world and throw gold and silver into the great sea and copper and iron of ephemeral men, then will all its elements be wanting to the world, when God dwelling in the ether will roll up the heaven as a scroll. And the whole many-shaped universe will fall down upon the earth and the sea. A cataract of destroying, untiring fire will rush forth and burn the earth and the sea and the heavenly pole; day and night and the whole creation will be melt and choose out for cleansing. And there will not be the joyous spheres of the stars, nor night, nor morning nor many days of care, nor spring, nor winter, nor summer, nor fall. And then the judgment of the great God will come into the midst of great time when all this will happen."

A point to be noticed in this passage is the view already expressed here, which recurs in the New Testament writings, that in the last days the incarnate power of evil will do great signs and wonders by which it will deceive many even almost believers. Especially in Rev. xiii this thought returns with full force where the Roman empire is described as the powerful and deceitful incarnation of the Evil One.

At the time when this Sibylline oracle was written which tells of the scheming Egyptian queen Cleopatra we meet with another

noted political schemer, Herod I, called in history "the Great." This man of Idumean nobility and related by marriage through his wife Mariamne with the native Jewish Asmonean house, like Cleopatra had first espoused the cause of Antony. After the death of the latter he was more lucky than Cleopatra in winning the favor of Octavian and was by him confirmed king of Judea. The hatred of the Jews against this Idumean reign under Roman supremacy had long been smoldering during its duration of thirty-seven years. Finally, not long before Herod's death, B. C. 4, a band of forty young men, disciples of the rabbis Judas and Mathias who were the founders of that fanatical wing of the Pharisees called the Zealots, who taught that the Jews ought not to obey any other king but God, had one day climbed up to the golden eagle, the sign of Roman sovereignty which Herod had placed over the entrance of the temple, and had cut it down with their axes. For this deed they with their teachers were burnt alive by Herod.

At the death of Herod the Jews broke out in open rebellion against his son Archelaus and against the Romans. After some successes on the side of the Jews the revolt was finally quelled by the governor of Syria, Varus, who crucified two thousand of the ringleaders. During this revolt a part of the temple was burned and the sacred treasury plundered of over \$500,000 by one of the lieutenants of Varus, Sabinus. This revolt, called by the Jews "the war of Varus," is mentioned in the writing called "The Taking up of Moses," under which name some Jewish zealot represents Moses revealing to Joshua the varying fortunes of Hebrews from the time he is taken up to God until the end of history and the coming of "the eternal kingdom of God." There is doubt about the date of this apocalypse, many scholars assigning it to the first century of our era and others to the first quarter of the second century. The question is difficult to solve because of the extremely mutilated condition of some of the passages in the manuscript found in the middle of the last century. Still, whatever may be the right solution regarding its date of composition, the fact remains that the writer of this apocalypse clearly and extensively describes and condemns the crimes and degradations of the later Asmoneans, who desecrate the "altar of God" and enter into alliances with foreign gods; the teachers of the law who accept bribes; the rise of Herod "godless, and exterminating the best of the people with the sword during thirty-four years"; the short reigns of Herod's successors, by which he must mean the co-regents Antipater and Archelaus; the taking of Jerusalem by the Roman forces,

the burning of a part of the temple and crucifixion of Jews and the so-called "War of Varus" mentioned above. "Shortly after this," the writer continues, "time will come to an end." Then follows the extremely mutilated passage which caused the dispute about the date of composition.

In the further course of the book the author speaks of the coming final and most fearful persecution of the Jews, in connection with which he utters these words significant of a Jewish zealot: "Let us rather die than transgress the laws of the Lord of Lords, the God of our fathers! For if we do this and die, our blood will be avenged before the Lord." Following this exhortation come the words: "And then his kingdom will appear in his whole world. Then will the devil have an end and sorrow will be gone with him." Upon this follows a description of God rising from his throne to destroy pagan idolatry and to avenge his people, accompanied by a representation of the vanishing of the old earth and heaven, similar to that we have given from the Sibyllines. "Then wilt thou be happy, Israel," jubilantly cries the writer, "and will rise above the necks and wings of the eagle and soar in the starry heavens." It reads "necks" in the text, resembling the description of the Roman power as an eagle with several heads and several pairs of wings in a later Jewish apocalypse, as we shall see. These words significantly picture the spirit and fervor of the Jewish zealots who cut down the Roman eagle over the entrance of the temple. "Two hundred and fifty periods" after the ascension of Moses, the end will come, says the book. Nothing definite as to the time the writer intended to indicate can be gained for us from this expression, since the chronology from the death of Moses up to our era differs in the Old Testament, Josephus and other chronologies. Whichever we accept, the apocalyptic term "250 periods," denoting surely each a certain number of years (as in Daniel, who speaks of year-weeks, i. e., weeks of seven years each), the expression would land us somewhere in the first century of our era.

We are now at the threshold of Christianity. During the boyhood of John the Baptist and Jesus happened the exciting times of the revolt of the Jews, the war of Varus.

Every one knows that both John the Baptist and Jesus began to preach with the words: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," meaning thereby the near visible coming of a kingdom from heaven, the end of the world and the judgment as the Jewish apocalyptical writers had meant it before them. This is proved by different sayings attributed to Jesus in the gospels. Jesus says that

his disciples would not finish their preaching in the cities of Israel before the end would come (Matt. x. 23); that some were standing about him who would not see death before the kingdom would come with power (Mark ix. 1), and that immediately after the destruction of the city the end would come (Matt. xxiv. 29¹); Paul expected to live to see the end (1 Thess. iv. 17; 1 Cor. xvi. 52); the whole New Testament expresses throughout the expectation of the approaching end, especially the Revelation of John. That the Roman empire was to be the last empire was the established opinion among the Jews of Christ's time according to the false interpretation of the Book of Daniel in vogue at that time which explained the image seen in the dream by Nebuchadnezzar as symbolizing the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, Macedonian and Roman empires, instead, as originally meant, the Babylonian, the Mede, the Persian and Macedonian empires. Even the Jewish historian Josephus expresses this opinion in his *Antiquities* written for Gentiles, cautiously omitting to mention the Roman empire by name and adding that he did not think it proper to relate the meaning of the stone that smashed the image (X. 10, 4).

From the oracles of Daniel down through the apocalyptic literature to the times of Jesus, the Jews considered themselves to be the bearers of the only true, pure religion and the revealed law of God, in opposition to the idolatry of paganism and the many immoral and lax practices connected with it. They looked for the final downfall of idolatry and the victory of Jewish monotheism. They zealously denounced and ridiculed polytheism and idolatry. This denunciation and ridicule is even a more distinctive feature of the apocryphal apocalyptic Jewish literature than of that of the Old Testament.

At the same time these writers denounce the political and social oppression of the great pagan world-powers, especially their persecution of the Jewish religion and its adherents. In the Jewish oracles concerning the coming of God's kingdom there is much intense and fierce crying to God for retribution for this oppression and persecution. At the same time there is also much denunciation of the laxity and unfaithfulness towards God and his law among the Jewish people. Much of this denunciation may have been directed against lax outward observance of the Jewish law. But this denunciation does not stop here. It goes deeper. It condemns also the

¹ Compare also Matt. xxiv. 34; Mark xiii. 30; Luke xxi. 32, stating that the generation living at his time would not pass away before the end would come.

unfaithful observance of the deeper ethical demands of the law. It would be a great mistake to think that the zealous Jewish apocalyptic writers when demanding and preaching faithfulness towards the Jewish religion only preached outward ceremonial righteousness and did not think of a deeper righteousness consisting in a just and brotherly behavior towards one's fellowmen. And in this respect the preaching of the Baptist and Jesus and the preaching of the apocalyptics touched one another.

Nevertheless, we must not overlook the fact that the Baptist and Jesus, though preaching the nearness of the kingdom of God and the final judgment as did the preceding Jewish apocalyptics, directed themselves more specifically and distinctly to the individuals in their own nation, bidding them repent of all evil and unrighteous action and be truly righteous in heart and not only outwardly. The apocalyptic writers had mainly in mind the more general distinction between the Jews as the proclaimers of monotheism and the followers of polytheism and idolatry. It was in the preaching of John and Jesus that the words rang out most clearly to their people: "Do not think we have Abraham for our father. The ax has been placed at the root of the tree. Every tree not bringing forth good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire," that is to say, no outward belonging to God's people, but only a true change of heart and life, saves in the day of judgment and makes acceptable in the coming kingdom.

The preceding Jewish prophets of God's kingdom touched more upon the political, social and religious oppression coming from their pagan adversaries and world-powers and emphasized the importance of the chosen race and its possession of the only right religion; while John and Jesus laid no stress whatever on these outward things but aimed to lead each individual in their nation to the conviction that the greatest bondage is not political bondage but the bondage of individual sin and passion, that the only genuine religion and liberty is to free oneself from this bondage. The true preparation for the kingdom to come, wherein would be perfect peace, righteousness and justice, would be to begin here to root out individually all selfishness and to practice benevolence, righteousness, forgiveness, mercy and love towards one's fellowmen. No one could be expected to be a partaker of God's kingdom unless he had at heart a disposition for it.

John the Baptist, Jesus and their followers were as much deceived in their expectation that the kingdom of God would come down suddenly and visibly from heaven as were the previous apo-

calypical writers. But their teachings laid stress on a radical, individual personal change of heart and mind, leaving out the dangerous apocalyptic national element of belonging to God's people and of having monopolized the true religion and law of God, and thus they were better fitted to open the path for a universal religion in which the idea of a kingdom of God received a higher meaning. This new conception was an idea to be realized not by a sudden overturning of the whole existing physical world-order but gradually by each individual bringing himself into accord with the supreme mind and will, the true, the good and the beautiful; so that governed by one Law, all may develop into a humanity of which each member will serve the rest unselfishly in as complete harmony as the many parts of the universe blend together.

After this digression on the teaching of Jesus in connection with the idea of the kingdom of God we will turn to the last historical stages in the Jewish expectation of that kingdom.

This expectation entered a peculiar stage with the death of Nero, 68 A. D. Shortly afterward the legend arose among the people, as the Roman historians Tacitus and Suetonius testify, that Nero was still living and had fled to the Parthians from whence he would return again. This legend is taken up in the Sibyllines (Book IV) and there woven together with other things. The flight of Nero to the Parthians is mentioned, the contention for the succession to the imperial throne, the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, the terrible eruption of Vesuvius as a warning to Rome to acknowledge the wrath of God for having destroyed "the guiltless race of the godly." Nero will come back across the Euphrates with "myriads" in his train, Rome will be punished and will give back doubly to Asia the great wealth it has plundered there. The whole world will be shaken. With all this is joined the exhortation to acknowledge God and repent, for the judgment is approaching.

Towards the end of the first century and the first part of the second we have the Jewish apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch, fictitious revelations attributed to the scribe Ezra of the Old Testament (on the ruins of the city, as the book anachronistically says) and Baruch, the friend of the prophet Jeremiah, at the taking of the city of Nebuchadnezzar.

In the first is related a vision of an eagle with three heads, twelve large and eight small wings, rising from the sea and spreading himself over the whole earth. A roaring lion from a forest foretells his destruction as the last of the symbolical animal-monsters reigning over the earth, of which Daniel set the first type. At the

words of the lion the eagle-monster instantly disappears. The eagle is interpreted in the book as an empire reigned over by twelve main rulers, eight pretenders and three final reigns, the most impious of all. The lion is "the anointed of the Most High" reserved by him to bring judgment on the eagle and salvation for his people.

Another vision is given in the book. A man rising from the sea carried by the clouds of heaven takes his place on a high mountain. Great multitudes make an attack upon him, but are consumed by a stream of fire issuing from his mouth. This vision is interpreted as the destruction of the enemies of God by his anointed standing on Mount Zion. The book predicts besides the gathering of all Israel that also of the ten tribes. It further states that the world's history is divided into twelve periods of which ten have passed by and half of the eleventh part. Almost all commentators are agreed that the vision of the eagle refers to the Roman empire up to the time of Domitian, 81-96. With the beginning of the reign of the three Flavians, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, the three heads of the eagle, came the most fatal time for the Jews, the destruction of the city and the temple.

In close connection with the twelve periods of the Ezra apocalypse is the division given by the writer of the Baruch revelation, who sees a great cloud rising from the sea covering the whole earth, full of black and light colored waters, which succeed each other twelve times. The last waters are the darkest of all. Upon this a great flash of lightning appears lighting up the whole earth. The book interprets the vision as meaning the duration of the world and the history of Israel. The light colored waters designate the happy times of Israel when they were faithful, the dark waters its evil times. The last, the darkest waters of all, represent the end of all things; the great flash of lightning is the coming of the Messiah and the salvation of his people. Besides this the apocalypse says that God will prepare different peoples who will rise up in war against the last rulers of the last empire. This representation of revolts and great dissensions in the last empire is a feature which occurs in most Jewish apocalypses and oracles and is looked upon by them as a mark of the last days. Noted commentators consider the first quarter of the second century as the date of the composition of Baruch and that of the expected end.

With the last-mentioned work we have reached the last stage of the Jewish literary products on the subject treated. All expectations of the Jews in respect to the coming of God's kingdom had come to nought. The Roman empire continued to live while the

Jewish state had lost its existence after the destruction of the city and the unsuccessful final revolt under Bar-Cochab during the reign of Hadrian. After the destruction of the Jewish state the dispersed Jews for the time despaired of being able to foretell the definite period of God's kingdom as they understood it and resigned themselves to their fate.

But rising Christianity, the daughter of Judaism, took up the heritage of the Jewish apocalypses. The more the Roman government learned to distinguish between the Jewish religion and Christianity and the more aggressive the latter began to be in its fight with paganism, the more of that persecution came to be directed against the new faith which formerly had been aimed at the hated peculiar Jew.

The earliest Christian apocalypse, the Revelation of John, runs entirely along the lines of previous Jewish apocalypses. Rome is the last empire; from it will rise the Antichrist, the personification of the Evil One; Nero will return;² revolts against Rome will take place and the great city will fall and the end come through the coming of Christ and his victory over the Antichrist and his forces. The whole background of this apocalypse is so thoroughly in accord, as regards its spirit and detail, with other Jewish apocalypses, that it may be almost counted with these. Even the fantastic materialistic description of the new world-order with its abundance of fruit, its gigantic bunches of grapes, its manna, its aromatics, etc., are transferred verbally from the Baruch apocalypse by such early Christian writers as Papias of Hierapolis.

The spirit of the first Christian apocalypse which saw in pagan Rome the incarnation of the Evil One because of its persecution of Christianity for which it would soon be punished and destroyed, is continued in later Christian writers of the second and third centuries. In the Christian Sibyllines and other Christian writings, such as in chapters xv and xvi of the Ezra apocalypse which are Christian additions, invectives are hurled against Rome either openly under this name or under the name of Babylon, in which the wrath of God is threatened and predicted for the shedding of the innocent blood of the believers in the new faith, all this in a tone imitating the old Hebrew prophets.

² The return of Nero is hinted at in Rev. xvii. 11 "the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven"; xiii. 3, "his deadly wound was healed"; xiii. 18, "the number of the beast," the number 666 according to the most plausible explanation referring to *Neron Caesar* in Hebrew numerals; and xvi. 12, which speaks of the drying up of the Euphrates to make a way for the kings of the Orient (probably Parthia) who are to destroy Rome (led by Nero).

But as this is beyond the purpose of our article we will not enter any further into this kind of literature. Suffice it to say, that the Christian apocalyptic writers as well as their Jewish fore-runners were disappointed in their predictions and expectations of the kingdom of God in the literal sense of the word. Rome did not fall in the sense these writers expected, nor did an Antichrist arise from it who was destroyed with his forces by the second appearance of Christ. The idea of a kingdom of God on earth therefore underwent a transformation. Augustine (*De civ. Dei*, XX, 7, 9) and other Christian writers taught that the victory of the Christian church over paganism marked the advent of Christ's reign of a thousand years upon earth with the martyred saints and "those who had not adored the beast" (Rev. xx. 4). Since the times of the Reformation the idea of the kingdom of God has become a more spiritual, moral and even social idea, and the idea of a visible kingdom coming down from heaven has become more and more empty and meaningless in spite of the belief in it continued in the different confessions of the churches.

RIVERS OF LIVING WATER.

BY THE EDITOR.

THERE is a remarkable passage in the New Testament, the strangeness of which seems still unexplained. We refer to John vii. 38: "He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." Mr. Albert J. Edmunds calls attention to a parallel passage in the Buddhist canon where the same miracle is attributed to the Tathagato.¹ The mooted passage is found in the canonical work known as "The Way to Supernal Knowledge," (I, 53) and reads as follows in the translation of Edmunds: "What is the Tathagato's knowledge of the twin miracle? In this case, the Tathagato works a twin miracle unrivalled by disciples; from his upper body proceeds a flame of fire and from his lower body proceeds a torrent of water. Again, from his lower body proceeds a flame of fire, and from his upper body a torrent of water." This is not an isolated conception in Buddhism, for we find in the Book of Avadanas as quoted by Mr. Edmunds the following passage (*loc. cit.*, p. 260):

"From half of his body the water did rain,
From half did the fire of sacrifice blaze."

The strange agreement of the same perplexing simile whose significance we can no longer understand seems to indicate that there must be some historical connection between the two, that is to say, that the Buddhist passage in some way found its way into the New Testament. The statement, however, must have meant something to the writer and may incorporate an old religious conception based upon prehistoric mysticism, of which the explanation has been lost. This view is supported by a number of old illustrations found on

¹ Buddhist Texts Quoted in the Fourth Gospel," *Open Court*, May, 1911. The opinion of Prof. R. Garbe of Tübingen on this passage will be found in his article "Contributions of Buddhism to Christianity," in *The Monist* for this month.

Greek vases which show certain deities the lower part of whose body consists of running water. One of these represents the Great Mother Goddess of the universe. We may call her Astarte, or a primitive Diana who appears in this form as the great nature goddess. Her hands are wings and the lower body consists of streams of running water, the living character of which is indicated by the presence of a fish. At either shoulder hovers a bird and on both sides on the ground we see two wild animals which as we know from other similar pictures are meant for lions. Swastikas and crosses cover the available empty spaces.

Schliemann, in his *Excavations*, publishes fragments of vases found at Tiryns which show a remarkable resemblance to the god-



THE MOTHER GODDESS ARTEMIS.

Boetian amphora, now in the Museum at Athens.

dess whose lower body consists of streams of living water. We quote his comments literally:

"Many fragments of Dipylon vases have been found in Tiryns, a sign that the citadel continued to be inhabited for a considerable length of time after the decline of the Mycenaean period.

"Figure 130 shows women carrying bunches of flowers and holding one another by the hand. Only two women have been preserved on the fragment, but the remnants of another figure on the right, where the breakage occurs, shows that several were represented, and we probably have the picture of a round dance or *choros*. Fig. 131 gives as a contrast to this feminine pastime the more earnest occupation of the men. A man is walking in front of a

horse which he is probably leading by the bridle. His waist is even more tightened in than that of the women, and his chest forms a complete triangle. A sword is sticking out from his girdle. Under the horse, simply to fill up the space, a fish is painted, and by the side of the man as well as above and below him all kinds of ornaments have been introduced for the same purpose, a meander, a swastika, or hooked cross, and several lozenges with a dot in the middle."

We would deny that any of the symbols painted on the vase are inserted merely "to fill up the space." All ornaments originally



FRAGMENT OF VASE FOUND IN TIRYNS.

Schliemann, Fig. 130.

possess a magic significance, although in the course of time it is easily forgotten. We have no doubt that the fish, the dotted lozenges, the meander, the swastika, have been put in with intention, and the chorus of women on the vase may be dancers who imitate in their dress the goddess of the flowing water. The wave lines too seem to indicate the waters above the firmament and the rain coming down from the clouds. The zigzag lines are a not uncommon representation of lightning.

It is not safe to make positive assertions, but we may be sure that the figures and symbols on these vases are not purely ornamental but had a definite meaning.

We cannot doubt that the idea of a divine body consisting partly of flames (or perhaps more correctly of light) and partly of water inhabited by creatures of earth, air and water, was not isolated, and the question arises whether this view does not come



FRAGMENT OF VASE SHOWING MAN AND HORSE.
Schliemann, Fig. 131.

down to us from a primeval age and so would naturally be common to all mankind. This conception of divinity may have acquired a definite meaning in some mystic rite indicative of the attainment of the highest degree of perfection.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE PRIEST. A Tale of Modernism in New England. By the author of "Letters to His Holiness Pope Pius X." Boston: Sherman, French, 1911. Pp. 269. Price \$1.25 net.

To one who has been interested in the Modernist's presentation of his cause in his *Letters*, the fact that he has undertaken to deliver his message in the form of fiction comes with something of a shock. The public, surfeited with the sensationalism of yellow journals, jumps to the utterly unfounded conclusion that here the real motive of a disgruntled priest will be laid bare, and at once they cry, *Cherchez la femme*. But whoever takes up the book with the expectation of finding such an excuse for criticism or such an opportunity for the enjoyment of cheap sensation will be disappointed. Two young women play a part in the priest's life. One is a Catholic saint of the medieval type, the other is a strong cultured modern woman with high ideals and efforts for the good of humanity. She is the agent through whom influence is exerted at the last which leads the persecuted priest to turn his back on the punishment meted out to him, though it means banishment from the church he has loved and served. But this influence is really the life and argument of the Unitarian clergyman who has just died as a martyr to blind prejudice, and not the influence of a woman's personality in any sense.

What the author has undertaken to give us is "a chapter of contemporary life that is little known because essentially solitary, and a picture of present-day reality that gives few outward signs because it lies in that province of experience about which men are most sensitive and most reticent."

With regard to his sources and method he says in his preface:

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The tone of the book is one of sincerity and conviction, and in order to recognize the evils attendant upon the system of Rome it is not necessary to assume that all bishops are as cruel and blind as Bishop Shyrne or all successful priests as revengeful and hypocritical as Dooran. It is well known that the Roman church centuries ago set its seal on dogma and the interpretation of scripture and that all the later developments of archeological and Biblical research can add no further illumination for it. Still we are not quite prepared for the revelation of the Modernist with regard to the positive ignorance of the very heads of Catholic theological schools upon matters pertaining even to the history and dogma of their own church. p

The object of a little book entitled *A Common-Sense View of the Mind Cure* by Laura M. Westall (New York, Funk & Wagnalls, 1908) seems to be to explain the physiological and psychological foundation for the success of mental therapeutics. It not only cannot be considered a contribution to the specific literature of Christian Science but explains its efficacy as due to the exertion of will-power which Christian Scientists strenuously deny. p

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BEETHOVEN'S CHARACTER AND DESTINY.¹

BY BARON VON DER PFORDTEN.

ON December 17, 1770, at Bonn on the Rhine, Ludwig van Beethoven was baptized, probably therefore he was born a day or two earlier. Only by some happy accident can we reach certainty on this point, and until such a time his baptismal day must serve also as birthday.

If the environment in which a man grows up, and especially the atmosphere of his parent's home, is of supreme importance in determining the character of every man, this factor must be especially worthy of consideration in the case of artists and musicians. In this respect we find extraordinary contrasts among the various masters of music.

Mozart's childhood and youth stand out again and again in enviable brilliancy. He had the unspeakable good fortune to have had an ideal father. Though later investigations may correct some particular features in the picture of Leopold Mozart, it will always remain in large outlines as we have become acquainted with it through Otto Jahn's presentation. Here was a man worthy of a great son fulfilling his parental duties wisely and faithfully. Wolfgang could look up with reverence, gratitude and confidence to his father as his best friend, the guide and teacher of his boyhood, the guardian and stimulator of his genius. Nothing is more refreshing than to observe this intimate communion between father and son. To be sure Leopold Mozart was not in the least a genius. Genius is not an essential in the father of a great artist. We may even admit that he was not capable of completely comprehending the genius of his son. This again is not necessary for the relation be-

¹ Translated from the German by Lydia G. Robinson.

tween them. But he was through and through a character of high principles, a complete man, a proficient musician and a gentleman of culture. He felt very seriously his responsibility toward his highly gifted children; he had a proper respect for art and wholesome steadfast views with regard to duty and a well regulated conduct of life. If all this often extended to trivialities, what did it matter? Wolfgang could easily avoid them. Thus we have the unusual experience of knowing that the greatness of the son was vouched for by the uprightness of his father. It was not without warrant that he used often to say, "Next after the good Lord comes Papa." This was not merely a childish manner of speech, but it was an expression of the most genuine childlike piety.

Such a father as this would we fain desire for each one of our favorite masters, and for Beethoven first of all. But Beethoven's father was a sorry contrast to Leopold Mozart. By no means untalented as a musician, and not a bad man in any sense, he was nevertheless weak and unable to manage his own business affairs and those of his family in a suitable way, and was altogether incapable of educating his son Ludwig as a child or as an artist.

The obstinacy, stubbornness and hot temper of the father became disastrous for the son, as we shall see. There are certain characteristics which appear dangerous just because under certain circumstances they can resemble the virtues of which they are but caricatures. Such are energy, pride, strength of will, independence and freedom. We may well imagine that young Beethoven was obliged to see in his father a caricature instead of an ideal; indeed the wretched scandal which the drunkard finally aroused was not needed to fill the son's cup of misery.

Less important is the fact that Beethoven's bringing up was greatly interrupted; and yet we cannot say that he lacked artistic instruction and incentive. Even his needy circumstances were not the worst feature. Much more does the peculiar tragedy of this son appear in the fact that he could not look up to his father, as Mozart could, with love and veneration. If we try to realize the situation we can conceive what this fact means and how great was his loss.

But might it be possible that he did not feel this deprivation so deeply and bitterly, or that he received some other compensation for his loss as far as that might be possible?

His mother was a good woman but rather insignificant. At her death in 1787 he sadly mourned her as his best friend. We can realize from this fact how unfortunate he must have considered himself in not having his father for his best friend. But he did

not stand alone; he had intercourse with the best families and an advantageous friendship with noble men and women. From this circle of friends we have received a very significant phrase. "The dear, low-voiced man," Beethoven was called. This may well surprise us since it does not at all correspond to the idea of him to which we have become accustomed. There is no doubt but that he altered greatly in the course of his life. He was not always so fearfully intense and violent, so unapproachably distant and reserved, so dramatically passionate; at least his friends could not have considered these qualities as characteristic of him. "Dear" and "low-voiced"—we must not forget these epithets. Therefore he must surely have been deeply susceptible to kindness and love, to tenderness and devotion, to gentleness and peace—and as surely in need of all that his father did not possess and could not offer him.

I deem it of decided importance that we should remain distinctly conscious of this twofold character of Beethoven in order to be able to estimate his future course both as a man and an artist. From his early years we can trace this contrast in his character and life, and through his entire life and work we shall observe the increase and sharper delineation of this antithesis.

This picture is indeed far different from that of the carefully guided, happily encouraged development of Mozart. Life for Beethoven began, ran its course and ended *dramatically*. At this significant word we may well pause.

Here, according to my firm conviction, lies the fundamental basis of his entire being, his greatness, and his eccentricity. A deep longing remained unsatisfied, a sensitive lack in his soul-life remained unfilled, a hallowed thirst for love remained unslaked; this is his tragedy. On the other hand demons awoke in his breast—his father's miserable legacy—with increasing power, with threatening violence; and a battle raged within him between the dominating passions which he had not learned to control, and the ideals he bore shyly hidden in his heart, hoping and renouncing, believing and despairing. This is the sublime drama of his life and his activity. We shall see whether he remained victor and how. At any rate his destiny became so closely linked with his temperament and character as to make the conquest of self as difficult for him as could be.

In November 1792 Beethoven went to Vienna, and in December his father died. This youth of two and twenty years was now alone and dependent upon his own resources, a stranger in the great strange city. It is true he brought with him valuable recommendations, and equally true that many a hospitable home was opened

to him. It can not be said that he suffered want. As an artist he was already quite matured. He had brought a large supply of work with him and it was not long before his genius had spread its wings for its victorious flight. But one invaluable benefit was still wanting and remained wanting, namely, the peaceful assurance of his own personality (*Ich*) which rests on correct training.

That for which his early home still remained indebted to him life itself must retrieve, and the school of life is always a stern one—doubly severe for a Beethoven who could not take anything easily, either with regard to himself or others. It was by no means a comfortable lot to associate with him. He was responsible for many a disagreeable experience for himself and those around him, which under normal conditions might have been easily avoided. There were many annoyances and accusations on both sides. He was too little acquainted with the world and mankind to deal with them quietly and to look beneath the surface. He was impractical and unworldly and therefore, as so often happens, suspicious and distrustful. We hear complaints of his extraordinary irritability and sensitiveness even towards tried friends and patrons. His pride could assume the appearance of arrogance, his self-consciousness of conceit. He could hurt people's feelings by a rude gruffness, yes by actual bad manners. To palliate or excuse it would be quite absurd, and he himself did not make the attempt. On the contrary he would torment himself with the most violent reproaches, and his remorse was as passionate as the outbreak that occasioned it. He had always the same battle to wage within him, ever and again the same drama of emotions.

At this point it is well to observe that Beethoven did not continue to be misunderstood. If we read all that happened we must come finally to the conclusion that he did many things in Vienna which were socially impossible in those days. It would not have been at all surprising if his patrons and friends had gradually withdrawn from him. That they did not do so is not only a credit to them, but gives us an indication of Beethoven's true character.

It is well known that he mingled to a great extent, if not exclusively, in circles of the nobility. It is an honor to the Austrian aristocracy of the end of the eighteenth century that it supported and aided art and artists to a remarkable degree not only with money but also with the most active personal interest. In this way it understood how to continue to play the part of spiritual leader for a long time.

These proud and highly cultured counts and princes not only

suffered Beethoven among them with all his frailties and moods, but treated him with distinction and invited him again and again to their homes. If they had looked upon him only as an eccentric character and had granted him a clown's liberty they would certainly have soon tired of it. They were not so petty as to stumble against his unconventional ways in society; they could recognize his greatness amid his failings and weaknesses. Shall we do less to-day? We are impressed with the fact that Beethoven's errors are those of a great soul which must wrestle its way through to its true freedom. From the beginning the man appears before us as proud and much more self-conscious than, for instance, Mozart. Not until he shall have become great, he says to his friends in his old home, shall they see him again. He had an exalted opinion of himself and his mission. He was imbued with the majesty of the artist's calling, and this inward sublimity manifested itself externally quite of its own accord. He does not stand aside in shy humility or amiable long-suffering, but with head held high he strides through the world whose only mission seems to be to listen to him.

Again it may be said that this has the appearance of insufferable arrogance, and this is always the suspicion with regard to every great man who thus rises above his surroundings. There are also foolish anecdotes which ascribe to Beethoven a demeanor as childish as it was churlish, but it is exactly this sort of stories which are misleading. That he and Goethe could not understand each other is easily comprehensible, but Beethoven can no more be said to have borne himself haughtily, than Goethe can be said to have lowered himself in a servile manner.

We must not look upon the matter from a negative point of view, but from a positive one. In a thousand other less significant natures the inherited frailties and weaknesses would have conquered, the passionate temperament would have subjugated the character.

Beethoven stands before us as a hero in the battle with himself; his whole being breathes *heroism*. This is the second catchword that we shall use. It led upwards, it led to conquest, it led to the ideal—of this Beethoven himself was conscious and the people around him might at least have perceived it. Now we may no longer misunderstand him when he says that he too is a king, and expresses the opinion that it is a good thing to associate with the nobility, but that one must also possess something with which himself to impress them.

It is especially significant that Beethoven sought aristocratic

intercourse with marked preference. The girls and women whom he loved and honored were almost exclusively ladies of the nobility, and his most intimate pupil and his noblest patron was no less a person than the Archduke Rudolf. He wished to walk upon the heights of humanity and there sought both inner and external excellence where he supposed it would most readily be found. In this he was nothing less than fanatical; he was really not in the least reactionary, but democratic in his own way. He set up his own personality and in so doing was sure that he counterbalanced every one else. Many another has done the same thing before and after him. Even Mozart fortified his own dignity by the fine utterance, "A man's heart gives him nobility." But in Beethoven's case it is differently worded: "My nobility is in head and heart," and "Power is the morality which distinguishes some men above others." Here we have the determining motto of his life; power in his entire being, power in his aberrations as in his virtue, power in every phase of his life and in all he accomplished. He himself was conscious of this power; he did not mutely and helplessly let it hold sway, but freely and joyously he exhaled power. It made him an optimist, it fortified his courage, it assured him of victory. There have been few men who were men of power as Beethoven was. It is not even given to every one to understand them.

In the first place many will not comprehend that it is just such enormous power that is capable of the finest delicacy and tenderness, so that in its inmost depths such a nature can be incomparably gentle and mild and therefore possess indescribable richness and goodness of character. For the same reason, however, it suffers the more when injured by misunderstanding or disappointment. The mighty Beethoven was a constant surprise on his other side by his touching gentleness and abnegation. He had no great knowledge of men but did not for that reason feel a contempt for them. An infinite capacity for love lived and stirred within him, and together with it a strong craving for love.

Here again we recognize the tragedy of his life; he was alone and remained alone. This is the lot of greatness and was his destiny. In spite of all the friendship and veneration bestowed upon him on many sides he still remained alone. He never found the woman who might have become the companion of his life, and we might as well say that he could not find her. The costly riches of his inner nature he might not share with any single individual. He was to reveal them to the entire world. To make others happy and sacrifice himself; to enrich others and deprive himself; to

exalt others and himself to suffer and endure—this has been the tragedy of the great man and artist who might well have posed as a martyr.

Now we see clearly that he not only was not but could not have been dominated by selfish motives. Had he been an egotist he could not have endured his destiny. He was able to endure it because it was God who, so to speak, gave him what he had to suffer, and because he therein recognized a sacred task, a true mission. Thus he has become for us a prophet and a searcher of hearts; thus was he called to the vocation of a dramatist in music.

In this fact we have a key to a proper comprehension of his works. That music is capable of giving expression to feeling is of course universally known and recognized; that this expression of feeling can be very different in kind, that music possesses accurate expression for all imaginable degrees and shades of feeling, every one is probably willing to concede. In order to comprehend Beethoven we must learn to understand that music is not only able to give forth simple, uniform and therefore lyrical sounds, but also that it has expedients by which it can reflect mingled feelings, objects, sense-relations and emotions. Thus music becomes dramatic, and Beethoven has revealed to us in how great and emphatic a measure it can be made dramatic. We constantly admire in his works his power and greatness, his tenderness and delicacy, but the dramatic character of his music is always especially distinctive, for in his works he sounds forth his own nature and life. We have become familiar with it as a drama, as a struggle of emotion, as a constant conflict and eternal contrast. How a perfect artistic masterpiece instead of a wild unformed chaos has arisen from this combination, is a mystery which can never be entirely disclosed. It is at the same time, however, a speaking witness to us that Beethoven remained victor over himself and his destiny. We have a whole series of epigrams which express this clearly. Beethoven asserts that he will seize Fate by the throat; he will defy her; he will find the wings of Daedalus, for he feels that he is ruler in the spiritual realm. This power and inspiration was finally to be put to the sharpest test by the worst affliction that could possibly have befallen him.

As early as 1798 he received the first forebodings of a thickness of hearing which was to end in complete deafness. It can not be certainly determined just what the cause was. Various physicians were called in consultation and all known remedies were applied to the case. For a time Beethoven himself believed a cure was

possible, but soon every hope of improvement vanished. He was obliged to undergo the whole painful process of becoming deaf gradually and his confidential communications on the subject are deeply touching, especially the famous Heiligenstädt Testament of 1802. Little by little his resistance was compelled to yield. From 1814 the demon in his ears became very apparent; with cruel remorselessness it ruined every attempt to direct others and every possibility of hearing his own works.

Can we imagine what that meant, what it must have meant for a Beethoven? If we picture to ourselves his temperament and character we must confess that no greater or more critical calamity could have befallen him. Suspicion and mistrust, sensitiveness and irritation—how must they have found constantly increasing support in the fast approaching deafness!

We all know from experience how deafness, in vivid contrast to blindness, tends to induce ill-temper and an unfortunate disposition. On the other hand Beethoven's hunger for love and tender devotion must have suffered unspeakably under the constantly increasing difficulties of oral converse. The blank-book he kept always at hand in order to put himself in connection with his surroundings is still in existence. It cannot be wondered at if he now became more and more reserved and taciturn, more and more unapproachable and eccentric; if his feelings, weaknesses and passions gained more resistless control of his entire nature. Excuses could be made for him in abundance, but he refused to submit.

Now for the first time we understand the dramatic element of his life in its full tragic import. Now for the first time we comprehend how lonely he was. This also, the hardest of all his battles, he had to fight alone, and he stood his ground like a hero. He did not complain against deity; his severe affliction did not make of him a blasphemer or a pessimist. Neither in the spirit of defiance and ill humor nor in indolent submission did he resign himself to being deaf. On the contrary, the more the outside world died to him, the more splendid did the inner world unfold itself before him. The more he depended upon himself, the richer and more beautiful grew his own individuality, and by his wonderful moral strength he escaped the frightful peril of losing himself as man and as artist.

Thus we see him most genuinely great in his affliction. It would have been the destruction of thousands of other people, but him it exalted to his highest self; his sentence of doom became a blessing to him. Now unconfused by the world, by people and the

life around him, remaining faithful to himself, he speaks out all his greatness in his works with supreme truthfulness and freedom, and from his inmost being. Thus we may clearly see how great and genuine he is. Again we must not be surprised if every one is not able to follow him.

Beethoven is not only our great musical dramatist, he is at the same time the great soul-musician who dared to sound forth the entire force of his personality and in so doing to enrich and exalt musical art to its strongest and deepest expression. To understand him, therefore, means to think and to feel with him; the path to this end can be open to us only by the knowledge of the forms and mediums of expression which he has imbued with new meaning to such an unprecedented degree.

A BUDDHIST VERONICA.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE origin of the Veronica legend is ultimately due to the natural desire among faithful Christians to possess a portrait of their Saviour, but, as we have observed in former articles on the

subject,¹ there was a serious obstacle to the accomplishment of it in the strong prejudice of the church against all pictures and statues. This prejudice, inherited from the Jews, prevailed in the first and second centuries of the Christian era, and those sectarians and heretics who were opposed to the Jews were the most liberal in that respect. They did not oppose art, and so it is among them that we find the first pictures of Christ.

Irenæus in the second century of the Christian era mentions heretics who believed in the transmigration of souls and the doctrine of universal salvation by a "passing from body to body." Says Irenæus:² "They style themselves gnostics. They also possess images, some of them painted, and others



VERONICA.

Copper engraving of 1510 by Albert Dürer. Redrawn by A. Petrak.

with the images of the philosophers of the world; that is to say, with the images of Pythagoras, and Plato, and Aristotle, and the rest. They have also other modes of honoring these images, after the same manner as the Gentiles."



SS. PETER AND PAUL WITH THE SUDARIUM.

Copper engraving of the beginning of the 16th century. Attributed to Master M. (Passavant III, p. 89, No. 3, and also Anderson, pp. 33, 109).

To find a way out of this difficulty, images were produced which were claimed not to have been made by human hands but to have originated in a supernatural way. To explain the origin of one of them, the Edesseum, kept at Edessa and famous in the Greek church, the Abgar correspondence was invented presumably at the end of

the second century. In the meantime in the domain of the Roman church Christian art had developed a picture of Christ in its own way, and so when the type of the Abgar picture, claiming to be the



VERONICA WITH THE SUDARIUM.
Painting by Master of Flemalle, 1450.
Preserved in the Städel Institute at
Frankfort on the Main.*

only true picture (or *vera icon*), reached western Europe much later at the beginning of the Middle Ages, quite a similar version of the same motive took shape in the legend of St. Veronica.

The supernatural origin of these portraits of Christ, of the *vera icon* so-called, naturally implied their miraculous power, and the stories connected with them always dwell on this point, that they cured the most hopeless diseases and conferred religious blessings, especially forgiveness of sins, upon all who would gaze at the picture in faith.

The Veronica legend incorporated into itself several other features. When the Jews began to be an object of persecution, a motive for the conquest of Judea was introduced which would make it appear as if Titus had laid siege to Jerusalem and had destroyed it with savage barbarity for the sole purpose of avenging Christ's death. The story of Berenike was superadded solely on account of the similarity of the name.³

In the development of ecclesiastical art the Veronica, or "true picture" of Christ, painted in the

traditional Byzantine style. is very much in evidence. We find it

* See *op. cit.*, 676-679.

* A drawing of it by Roger van der Weyden exists in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge and has been made accessible to the general public by

on surplices, Lenten veils, rood-cloths, palls, sepulchral garments, processional banners, and on altar pieces. It still continues in the history of modern art and affords even Protestant painters a motive for picturing the lugubrious. In addition to artistic representations of the Veronica motive, we here insert some examples of the different stages through which it has passed in the course of Christian art.



VERONICA.

Woodcut by Michael Wolgemut, inserted in the text of *Buch der Chroniken*. Nuremberg, 1493.

A peculiar version of the Veronica legends is found in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the eleventh century, preserved in the University Library of Cambridge, the title of which runs *Nathanis Judaei Legatio*, i. e., "The Message of the Jew Nathan."

Karl Pearson in his *Fronica*, Plate VI. The drawing differs in some unimportant details from the painting. The face expresses more firmness of faith than grief or sorrow and is certainly the work of a great artist, but in all essential points it remains a faithful copy of the original. In both the sudarium is translucent and the figure and posture are identical.



ST. VERONICA WITH THE SUDARIUM.

Illustration in a German breviary, Egerton Coll., British Museum.
Beginning of 15th century. Veronica is dressed in a red robe and
a blue mantle.



ST. VERONICA WITH THE SUDARIUM.

A German colored woodcut preserved in the Hutbibliothek. This picture was published in Königshofen's *Cronik von alten Königen und Kaisern*, printed by Bemmler, Augsburg, 1476. Cf. Karl Pearson's *Die Fronica*, p. 109, where it is stated that in the copy of Königshofen's *Cronik* in the British Museum this cut is missing.

It relates that Tiberius suffered from leprosy and no physician could cure him until a certain Jew of Venice by the name of Nathan informed him of a miracle-working garment of Christ. That the city of Venice did not yet exist in the days of Christ does not in the



THE VERONICA ON A GARMENT.

Preserved in the Court Library of Munich. See Delaborde (*La Gravure*, p. 47, plate X) who dates it in 1406.

least disturb the author of the story who goes on to say that two kinsmen of the emperor, Vespasian and Titus, were thereupon sent to Jerusalem to bring the matron Veronica, the owner of the garment, into the presence of the imperial patient. Otherwise the story

about the same as other Veronica legends; however it is noteworthy that in this version only Veronica and Tiberius were able to see the portrait. We here reproduce a picture of an old print which dated 1460 and is preserved in the Court Library of Munich.

We see that the healing power of Christ's picture is always insisted on with great emphasis, and we find the same idea in a Buddhist parallel which is remarkable on account of some similarities in details.

During the second German expedition to Turfan, Prof. Albert Grünwedel discovered in the caves of Qyzyl near Kutch a four fres-



VERONICA.

Copper engraving by Daniel Hoppfer, 1514. The angels who support the sudarium hold in their other hands the cross and the pillar of flagellation. See Bartsch, VIII, p. 476, No. 16.

is representing the miraculous recovery of the sick king Ajataru at the mere sight of a picture illustrating the life of Buddha. The Buddhist legend tells us that after the evil days of his younger years the king had become converted to the Buddhist faith and was the most devout worshiper of the Buddha. According to a Tibetan legend it happened that when the Buddha passed into *paranirvana*, that final state of bliss where nothing bodily remains—which means, as we would say of other mortals, when he died—King Ajataru happened to be critically ill. Maha-Kasyapa, one of the great disciples of Buddha, knew of his master's demise on account of the

earthquake which always takes place when a Buddha makes his final entry into Nirvana, but he did not dare to break the sad news to the king for fear that the shock would prove fatal to him. So



ST. HELENA AND ST. VERONICA.

Preserved in the Collection of Copper Engravings at Munich. About 1400.

Maha-Kasyapa invented the plan of communicating the news to the king by means of a picture which should show that the work of salvation so auspiciously begun and carried on by the Buddha had now been completed. He requested the Brahman artist Varshakara to paint the Buddha's birth, the temptation, his sermon in Deer Park, and his final entry into Nirvana.

In the left lower corner of this picture we see the birth of Bodhisattva in the grove of Lumbini. Queen Maya stands in her traditional posture, supported by a woman, perhaps her sister Prajapati, and holding herself up by her hands to the branches of a tree,



SS. PETER AND PAUL DISPLAYING THE SUDARIUM.

Copper engraving by Lucas van Leyden, 1517. See Bartsch, VII, p. 393, No. 105.

while Indra in a worshipful attitude is ready to receive the infant in a cloth. Brahma stands in the background with folded hands. The infant comes forth from the left side of his mother wrapped in an oval halo, the head being indicated by a star surrounded by an aureole.

The second scene the temptation of Buddha is in the left

The third scene in the lower right-hand corner, is Buddha's first sermon to the five ascetics in the Deer Park. Before him stands



THE HEALING PICTURE OF BUDDHIST LEGEND.

the symbol of the Buddhist religion, a pedestal bearing the trisul and the wheel, of which the trisul represents the three gems, the Buddha,

the Dharma and the Sangha, also called the Buddhist trinity, and the wheel is the symbol of the Good Law. The deer on either side indicate that the scene is situated in the Deer Park. The five monks surround the Blessed One in worshipful attitudes.⁵

Buddha's sermon in the Deer Park has been called the Buddhist Sermon on the Mount because, like Christ's, it contains the program of the religion taught therein. The description of this sermon is the subject of one of the most famous books of the Buddhist canon and bears the title "The Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness."

The wheel as the symbol of the kingdom of righteousness appears on the throne upon which Buddha is seated and the disciples who listen to the proclamation of the new doctrine are five in number in accordance with Buddhist tradition.



SEAL OF THE MAHA BODHI SOCIETY.

The importance of Buddha's first sermon at the Deer Park can be seen from the fact that the abbot of the ancient Maha Bodhi temple at Buddhagaya has adopted the emblem of the wheel surrounded on either side by deer as the crest of his monastery. Above the wheel we see the three gems, symbolizing the Buddhist trinity, the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha, covered by the outlines of a dagoba and worshiped on either side by a deva. This device was found on a seal when the British Government had the temple restored, and the Anagarika Dharmapala uses it now as the seal of the Maha Bodhi Society.

The last scene is Buddha's final entry into Nirvana with the dying Buddha in the center. At the head of Buddha's couch stands Ananda, his favorite disciple, the Buddhist St. John. Behind are two gods, presumably Indra and Brahma, standing with folded hands. Buddha's attendant, Vajrapani, the bearer of the thunder-

⁵ *Gospel of Buddha*, Chap. XV.

bolt, has thrown down his thunderbolt (*vajra*), and sits with arms crossed on his breast.

When the picture was completed, Maha-Kasyapa requested the



A BUDDHIST VERONICA LEGEND.

king to come out into the garden where he had several baths prepared for him, among which was one of *ghi* (melted butter) and the last one of sandal-wood powder. He foresaw that the king would swoon on hearing the news, and he was then to be passed from

one bath to another, and when placed in the sandal-wood powder the picture would be presented to him and a miraculous cure would thereby be effected.

The legend must have been a favorite story among the Bud-



THE SUDARIUM ACCORDING TO CORREGGIO.

dhists of Qyzyl, for there are four illustrations of it. One of these is sufficiently well preserved to admit of an outline drawing which has been made by the artistic hand of Professor Grünwedel himself. The scene to the left represents a king and queen enthroned in royal state; before them kneels a servant, and behind stands a

courtier fan in hand. The king is addressed by some person of high dignity, presumably Maha-Kasyapa, who asks him into the



garden where the several baths are prepared. In the lower part of the section on the right hand we see the earthquake represented by the tottering of Mount Meru and the disturbance of the courses of the sun and moon. The king has passed through three tubs and sits now in that of powdered sandal-wood where the picture of the life of Budha is presented to him. He raises his arms for joy at the contemplation of the salvation thus gloriously consummated and is henceforth cured of his ailment.

* * *

In spite of the many differences in the Christian legends of both King Abgar and Veronica and of the latter's appearance before the Roman Emperor as compared with this Buddhist story of King Ajatasatru, there are so many similarities in the very details of the drawings that one might feel inclined to think that both the idea of the miraculous cure and the motives of the drawings might have migrated from the east to the west or the west to the east, and yet we do not believe in any historical connection. We believe that these legends, the Buddhist one and the several Christian stories, originated in perfect independence and their similarities are due merely to a similarity of conditions.

The legend of the miraculous curative power of a pictorial representation of Buddha's life originated in a country where pure Buddhism had been considerably mixed up with exorcism and belief in miracles. Accordingly the cure which Maha-Kasyapa accomplished was not without additional magic incantations. At the left of the man holding the cloth we see a sword stuck half its length into the ground, and two arrows. Both of them are plainly visible in the larger outline picture of the detail of the cloth, while they are obscured in our illustration of the whole fresco. We see further a dish containing some medicine, and an object which, according to Professor Grünwedel, is the head of a goat, presumably an offering for magical purposes.

The four detailed scenes of the picture itself follow in all respects the traditional type of the illustrations of Buddha's life, and their type has remained classical throughout the history of Buddhist art. Later on the number of these scenes increased to eight, as we know them from Wu Tao Tze's Nirvana picture.*

We do not venture to assign a date to this Buddhist Veronica, but according to Professor Grünwedel many of the frescoes of the

* Published as a photogravure by the Open Court Publishing Co. with full explanations of the Chinese text. See also *The Open Court*, XVI, 163.

Buddhist caves of Qyzyl antedate any one of the similar representations of Christian art. While it is not impossible that the idea of the healing picture might have traveled westward from India in the same way as Æsop's fables and the story of Barlaam and Josaphat, we have no doubt that the Veronica legend was of an independent origin, and may therefore be considered as a remarkable instance of parallel formation in religious lore.

A DAUGHTER OF THE ZENANA.

BY A. CHRISTINA ALBERS.

[The author has lived in India for many years and has become greatly attached to the land and its people. In this little sketch she describes the typical life of a Hindu woman of high caste portraying faithfully her childhood, courtship, wedding, her married life and finally her death. If some details appear to the more prosaic western mind almost too mystical to be true, we can only say that the light in which the story is told tallies closely with Hindu conceptions, and thus renders the narrative the more genuine.—ED.]

SHE was a little sun-kissed maiden, with a complexion soft and mellow like the Champack blossom that fills the air with fragrance in the Baisak¹ month when the young year appears, and she had a pair of eyes, this maiden, black and lustrous and fathomless like the midnight sky at the time of Kali Poojah.² You could look at them and look for ever, and yet it would seem you never saw all that they tried to reveal. They spoke of a great deep soul that had seen ages and ages of pilgrimage, they spoke of a strong life that throbs and heaves with the effulgence of being and holds so much within itself that it would fill many a page to write all its lore: and again they laughed so merrily, these raven orbs, that they seemed like merry ripples on a great still lake.

She was a little Brahmin girl, only very little. But she was the daughter of an old, old family, that hailed from the venerable, ancient district of Nadia where still there are men and women who even in these degenerate days see the eternal face to face. They glory in fasting and austerities, and their days are long in the land.

Fourteen generations of hereditary training had moulded the sons and daughters of the house to which Shikorbashini Devi³ belonged, and fourteen generations of hereditary culture had not failed to put their stamp deeply on this daughter of old Indian blood—only

¹ May.

² The annual Kali festival which is celebrated during new moon.

³ Devi is a title given to the women of the highest castes.

one of the many that the venerable house claimed. But the daughters of an Indian family are so numerous, one can never, never know them all; let us then be content with Shikorbashini alone.

She was five years old at the time of which we are speaking, but she was very slight and appeared to be less than four. But her dignity would have been sufficient for many a maid of twenty. The correctness of her gait, the calm grace of her movements were apt to evoke a smile from an onlooker, they were so far beyond her years. She had not practised any physical exercises, she knew not even what they were. But her ancestors had sat in meditation on the Divine, with head erect, firm and motionless, and were doing so still. For in this ancient land ancestors are not at all a thing of the past. The patriarch may look down on five generations, and yet not consider it a very extraordinary occurrence.

This little maiden presented a typical sight when with book in hand she squatted down to read—with back erect as the palmtree that grows by yonder lake; her finely modeled head, so perfectly placed on these little shoulders, bending slightly over the book; her plastic little legs crossed under her, securely covered by her loose, flowing gown, one tiny crimson-tinted toe perhaps peeping mischievously from under the jealous folds that tried to hide it—it seemed she was a poem and a little statue both in one.

She lived in a large house; it was the Calcutta residence of the family—a house surrounded by a court with a high brick wall around it, which gave it the appearance of a convent. In the house itself there were the outer apartments and then the inner house. In the center was a large open court, around which shading balconies cooled the adjoining rooms. The house was very old and cracked, it had seen many of Shikorbashini's ancestors, and that is saying a good deal. But it teemed with life, and from within came the patter of little feet, and the sound of many youthful voices. This ancient roof harbored many children, sixteen in all—all brothers and sisters. They might be called cousins in western lands, second and third cousins perhaps. But the Hindu does not indulge in such terms, they sound too cold, too far away from the heart. Were they not all of one common ancestor? Why then make such distinctions?

When after the heat of the day these little ones played together in the large yard they had merry times; or when with two or three little maids like herself, Shikorbashini sought a corner on the broad flat roof of the house, telling stories and laughing merrily, until the naughty *dadas*⁴ appeared and spoiled it all for them, as brothers will

⁴ Elder brothers.

the whole world over. She rose early in the morning, but when the sun was high, when the streets were deserted under the noonday heat, when even the inevitable black crow sought the shade, and the big kite alone soared upward into the hot still sky sending its weird melancholy cry down to the world below, at that hot hour we find our little maiden in a cool corner of the house, cuddled closely up to the dear form of her mother, oblivious to heat, sky, kite and all. And again, when the hour of twilight comes, that strange hour, when the drooping sun sends mystery into the atmosphere, we see our little heroine on her mother's lap, with many little ones around her, all listening to a tale from one of India's great epic poems, the *Ramayana*, a story such as was told to little Indian daughters a thousand years ago, from which they have drawn logic for many centuries, and which have done much to mould the character of the race. Or later, when her father, tired after a long day's work, found comfort in the cool embrace of home, we see our little maiden on his lap, with eyes aglow, narrating the incidents of the day, until the worries of life seem all so little, seem all to melt away in the light of those glorious eyes.

As little Shikorbashini grew to be nearly seven years old, there was a consultation between her parents one evening, and they agreed their little daughter must be sent to school. Accordingly, the proposition was laid before her grandmother the next day, who consented after a long discussion, and our little heroine was sent. The school carriage called for her every day to take her to the Mahakali *Path-shala*⁵ where officiated the venerable Maharani Mataji, that austere *sanyasini*, who founded schools on strictly national lines, to retain in the women of India that fine old character that has moulded the race, and which modern education is not half careful enough to preserve.

Here she learned the mysteries of the Sanskrit alphabet, and to repeat *slokas* orotund and rhythmic, in that ancient tongue which is the language of the gods, the root of all Aryan languages and the only one which is not ephemeral. She learned a little of reading and writing in her mother tongue and a little less of figures. But she learned that which is worth infinitely more than all the rest. She learned that daughters of her race have to fill a mighty place, and that they can attain to it only by self-sacrifice and service. Ah! here lies a great part of the secret of India's strength. And ye of the West, who would condemn the systems of this land, would do well to learn first to understand the principles that have gone to build them.

She made many new friends at this school, but one which touched the heart more deeply than all others—Rani they called her, and thus their friendship came about. Rani brought a new pencil box to school one day and showed it around with great glee. Shikorbashini saw it, and in her naturally witty little way called out:

"You need not be so proud of your old box; it costs five pice."

"Ha, five pice," came out the quick rejoinder, "you are going to have a five pice father-in-law."

That was a dreadful insult, and with tear-stained eyes the little insulted girl told her tale to the Head Pandit. Now the father-in-law's house is a standing joke among little Indian girls, and the learned Pandit, with a twinkle in his eyes and a desperate effort to appear serious, informed them both that if they would only study well and be good little girls, they would each have a rupee father-in-law. Then he made them sit beside each other for the remainder of the day and told them to try and make friends. That worked like magic. The father-in-law incident was soon forgotten, and two little tongues kept busy, while two sweet young lives blended together in a friendship deep and lasting. And so deep became the bond between them in time that they promised the vow of *Shokipadha* to each other, that is to say, the friendship that is never broken, and the vow that can be given between two only. Two hearts joined in that vow know no secret from each other, and not even death has the power to sever it.

Thus the days passed sweetly and lengthened into years, and three happy years passed by before the little friends realized it.

But, alas, poor Shikorbashini, this is a world of many tears, and into your sweet young life sorrow is about to enter. For she whom you have chosen as life's fondest friend, has been doomed to remain a few years only on this dust-clad star; the gods are calling her home to the place whence she came.

Little Rani stepped up to her mother one day with a strange tale. "Mother, I have read a new story from the *Ramayana*; come, let me tell it to you."

"Not to-day, my child, I shall be busy. You may tell it another time."

"But I cannot wait, mother, I am going to remain with you a short time only. Only three more days, and I shall be taken from you."

The unfortunate mother was overcome by consternation. She took her child into her arms and tried to make her promise never to

* School.

say such a thing again. But little Rani was not to be persuaded, and as she had prophesied, so it came to pass. On the following day her frail form was seized by a violent fever, and on the third day the house was merged in sorrow, and the death wail arose in the room where little Rani closed the lids over her beautiful black eyes never to open them more.

This tale may sound strange to the reader, but it is a strange land, this India. Like the snow-clad range of the mighty Himalayas that seem to float in mid-air, so does this land of Ind seem floating in the ether, midway between this world and that other that we dream of. Strange, too, it seemed to the writer of these lines; it filled her heart with awe at the soul of this child, for she knew the maiden well and loved her. Nor does this strange story end here. On the days following Rani's death, her little sister was seen standing in isolated places, speaking with somebody no one could see. And she was heard to promise, "On the day after to-morrow I will join you." And thus it happened. When the day came little Buri was seized by a violent spasm, and before evening another little form was taken from the house to the Ganga riverside, where the flame was kindled that consumed her sweet young body, while her soul was left free to roam through the realms of space together with the sister she had so longed to join.

And little Shikorbashini, how did she receive the news of the first great sorrow that her young life knew? It was her mother who told her. Taking her little one away to a quiet place, she took her on her lap, and resting that sweet young head against her heart, the mother told her child that little Rani was for the world no more. And against her mother's tender heart Shikorbashini wept—wept the tears of her first grief, a grief that lingered and that would follow her into the years to come.

She was so very sad that even the naughty *dadas* stopped teasing her, but held her hand and spoke tenderly to her. Her parents feared the grief might undermine her health. They could not, of course, send her to school for a long time, for there she would feel the absence of her friend the more. And so the mother got ready to take her little family to their *Mamar Bari*.

And what is *Mamar Bari*? Ah, that is the place than which there is none more dear to an Indian child. It is the maternal uncle's house. The mother was born and raised there, and her little ones spend half their sunny childhood within its walls. Here they are ever welcome, it is their second home, and it is a refuge, a haven of rest throughout all life. 'This *Mamar Bari* is the terror

of the modern educationists, for they find their pupils, particularly the girls, half the time absent from school on account of it. Moreover, the government schools under the present regulation must send their candidates for annual examination, girls as well as boys. And the ambitious *Memsahib*, who after much weary labor hopes to have her candidates ready to shine on that auspicious day, arrives in school one morning to learn to her consternation that her most brilliant lights have absented themselves, perhaps just a month before this important event is to occur. And where are they? They are eating sweetmeats in *Mamar Bari*, and as to your examinations, Madam,—well, they are your affair, you may take care of them.

It is difficult to adjust the oriental idea of education to that which the West of the present day is producing. The Hindu would call the latter a system of memorizing. Education, according to eastern ideas, is something that is to draw the whole nature nearer to the Eternal, to develop a deep-rooted logic that can conceive the why and wherefore of being; an unfolding of the heart to understand the world the more, to understand spiritual existence the better and to draw into its sympathy all life. Reading and writing may or may not be added. Thus were educated the women of the old school, who exercised great influence over their communities. But this is a world of change, and science is to do the work, transmit the knowledge, that was at one time transmitted through the rock temples and the pyramids, through the ancient epic poems and traditions. And now these people, ever slow to move and to yield to new impulses, are standing at a cross-road—India is in a state of transition. The education of women at this critical period is dangerous work. The educator must beware lest in the giving he may not cause more to be lost than he gives. To Westernize India's daughters would mean ruin to the race. And yet the old school is practically gone. What is wanted is a system combining the old heart culture with the head culture of the West: this is the problem that confronts the modern educationist.

But to return to Shikorbashini—she was taken to this *Mamar Bari*, this blissful retreat. And here she was petted and indulged and overfed with sweetmeats until she became fretful, and got boils; and when through over-feeding and over-indulgence these little tyrants become quite unmanageable, *Mamar Bari* sends them home to recuperate and get ready for the next visit. Thus amid affection and sweetmeats and terms of fond endearment the little Indian girl spends the sunny days of her childhood.

But there were serious discussions in Shikorbashini's maternal

uncle's house this time. Her grandmother looked at her long and earnestly and then consulted with her husband and her sons and her daughters and daughters-in-law and her cousins and the many neighbors who came to visit her, and finally wound up by calling the *Ghotki*, that inevitable individual that cannot be dispensed with when a girl passes her tenth year, for she it is who makes the matches.

But it is not an easy task to find a husband for a girl. All the male and female relatives on both sides of the house have to take steps in the matter. And so it happened that our little heroine was nearly twelve years old before the matter was finally decided. Not that there was any want of suitors, but there was invariably something wrong. In one case the grandmother had a cancer, in another one of the mother's brothers did not bear a good character, again the young suitor had failed in last year's examinations. One there was who might have stood the test, but, poor boy, he had no mother. "How can I send my daughter into a motherless house?" called out Shikorbashini's mother in despair, "who will pet my child, who will train her, if she has no mother-in-law?" These Indian ladies are pretty hard to please, and willing or not willing, the men must yield.

On one occasion one of Shikorbashini's father's cousins mentioned the name of a widower who was a gentleman of good standing and substantial means. But there was such an outcry in the Zenana that he was glad to get away and say no more on the subject. A man must be very poor and have many daughters before his wife will consent to give her child to one who has already known love. On another occasion, when all seemed favorable, the ladies discovered that he had a flat nose, and the suitor was again refused.

But after a long and weary search one was found who was satisfactory. There had been no hereditary ailments in his family for five generations; for five generations there had not been a member of the house who could not stand the severe Indian criticism as regards character; personally he was intellectual, good-looking and young. As regarded his social position there was no question about it, no Hindu can marry his daughter into a family beneath him in rank; marriages are always made in the same caste division. He had father and mother and sisters and brothers, so the whole system was complete.

Evolution is collective in this land. Marriages are not so much a question of promoting personal happiness as of adding to the well-being of the community, and the first consideration is supposed to

be to keep that pure. The individual is trained to merge his personality into the whole and sacrifice his private interests to the caste to which he belongs.

At last arrived the eventful day when the prospective father-in-law, accompanied by several friends, came to the house to see the little bride. And we now find the little heroine of our tale at the important task of having her toilet made. Her grandmother, and her mother, assisted by her aunts and several other ladies, were busy at decking her sweet form with pretty garments. And fair indeed she looked, this little damsel, in her flowing silken robes and rich gold ornaments. Women must be dressed as their rank demands. It is a religious duty devolving on the Indian house-holder to secure for wife and daughters suitable ornaments. And woe betide him who fails in this duty, for is it not written in Manu's Law that a house in which women are not honored will surely fall?

But Shikorbashini received that which is vastly more precious than silk or gold. She received words of counsel and admonition which fell deep into her soul. "My daughter," said the grand-dame, "you stand now at the threshold of your new life. The house in which you were born is not your real home, a woman must follow her husband. Remember, you are the daughter of an ancient race, fourteen generations look down upon you. Among them there has not once been a woman who has failed in the performance of her duty, who has not served her husband and his people till she drew her last breath, ever praying for the boon to precede husband and sons into death. Let the noble blood of your ancestors assert itself in you." And then there came a number of examples hoary with age, of women of the past who had attained to great spiritual heights because no task had been too heavy to secure the well-being of those they loved, until Shikorbashini's young spirit rose with pride and determination to be second to none in nobility of life.

It is on these lines that the character of the Indian race evolves. The duties before them may be great, the etiquette is always rigid, but one must know these women at forty to see the result. They cast around them a strong sense of self-respect that is not conscious of personal merit, but which has been developed by years of discipline in which not once the severe rules that regulate their lives have been broken. Theirs is not a life of servitude, but one of self-sacrifice and cheerful service, such as only a soul trained in the Hindu religion can grasp, and which has prepared for the race a highly superior type of womanhood. It is the women upon whom has devolved the task of preserving the nationality of the land; but for them the

Hindus would have ceased to be a nation through these dark cycles of suffering and hardships.

But where is Shikorbashini? Ah, she is ready—ready to appear before her father-in-law. Filled with inspiration of the future before her, the flush of youth on her fair young face blending softly with the maidenly shyness that lingered on her drooping lashes, she looked almost too fair for this world. A cloud-fairy, it would seem, had slid down on a silver beam to see this earth just once.

She entered with palpitating heart and was told to seat herself on a rug. She was already known to the visitors, having visited in their houses. They observed her closely, however, and decided in their minds that her features were regular—the nose aquiline, the mouth well curved, forehead not too high, etc., etc. The Hindus are severe critics of beauty, and that makes the selection of a bride often very difficult work.

All being agreeable, the prospective father-in-law wound up by saying that he would consult his elder brother about the matter, and he consenting, the arrangements would be made and word be sent in a day or two. And word was sent in due time, and all was settled.

Next the horoscopes of the two young people were consulted, and it was found that their characters were fitted for each other. They were both *Dev-gan*.^{*} Shikorbashini was *Beebra-burna*, that is to say, one whose touch meant blessing, and who would attain to great spirituality, a Brahmini of the soul as well as by right of birth.

Now began a lively time in the house. The goldsmith was sent for, and orders were given for ornaments. The *sari* woman came daily with a new supply, and each time selections were made. Cosmetics and perfumes and a hundred smaller toilet articles were procured. The guests began to arrive from the interior, for the wedding was to take place within a few days. Presents were exchanged daily between the two houses, servants, numbering as high as twenty, arrived carrying brass trays on their heads, which contained gifts of sweetmeats, fruits, *saris*, veils, etc. They received their meals each time they came, and oh, how busy everybody was. Then came the day of the ceremonial bath, for which her future mother-in-law sent the unguents. This day preceded the wedding-day. Meanwhile

* The Indian astrologers divide characters into three divisions, *Dev-gan*, *Nur-gan* and *Rakush-gan*. Of these *Dev-gan* is the highest. People belonging to different divisions will not agree in marriage.

little Shikorbashini was half giddy with excitement in the expectation of the life before her.

The wedding-day is a very trying one for the little bride, at least so it would appear to an onlooker. But the little Indian girl takes great pride in all the ceremonies which she has to perform and the fast through the day that dare not be broken. Nothing could induce her to take the smallest particle of solid food. And Shikorbashini went through the ordeal with as much cheerfulness and as much pride as any little bride ever did. Up with the dawn she rose, and the day seemed not a bit too long for her.

At nine o'clock in the evening excitement reached its height. "The bridegroom is coming!" this joyous shout electrified the house. Everybody rushed to take a peep—everybody but the poor little bride herself, who must sit complacently in a corner and wait and wait and practise patience.

And gorgeously arrayed came the new son-in-law. Preceded by torchbearers and a band playing the bridal tune, he was himself seated on a large platform borne on the shoulders of over a hundred coolies. He was received by the bride's father and conducted to the seat of honor, where he remained quietly seated until the auspicious moment arrived. The day of the marriage as well as the hour in which the nuptial tie is to be bound, is always set by the astrologer, and the latter is invariably late in the evening, sometimes past midnight. It was 11 o'clock in our Shikorbashini's case. The ceremony is very long, lasting usually some hours. It begins with the bridegroom and the bride's father, but the most impressive part of it commences when the little bride appears.

And so appeared our charming little heroine, seated on a small square wooden board, on which in Sanskrit words of good augury were written. She was clad in rose colored silk and gauze from the top of her stately head to the tip of her little crimson tinted toes.

The bridegroom stood erect facing the East, and the ladies—seven in number, all relatives of the bride—now took part in the ceremony. They walked around the bridegroom in procession headed by the bride's mother, all carrying little bundles of sticks burning with a bright flame, and looked as if they were going to set their gauzy garments on fire at any moment. But they did not, nor do they ever, for although it looks dangerous—this fire in the hands of chatting, smiling little ladies—the Indian women have such an easy way of moving about, that the Vedic fire is quite safe in their hands.

And now at last came the little bride's turn. Carried by three

of her relatives she was borne around the bridegroom seven times. Then came the great moment of her life, for now for the first time they who were to walk the road of life together, were to look into each others' eyes. A large shawl was suspended over their heads, held at each corner by an attendant. The bride's maternal uncle held a candle so that they might see each other well, and joked, of course, while he did so, for they must stand it all on their wedding-day, and neither of them dares say a word.

And how did our little Indian maiden feel at this first glance? At first she was quite timid, she dared not lift her eyes, but being urged on by him who held the candle, she looked up. Yes, she looked up, and she saw gazing into her own two deep black eyes that seemed to speak to her of ages long ago, when in other forms she had walked this earth again and again—again and again to be united to him who stood before her as her husband now. A thrill of delight went through the maiden's young heart, she saw the future stretched out before her smiling and happy, for he was no stranger to her, he was the Lord of her soul, part of her being. It was the training of the Hindu character that asserted itself. It is not a question of discovering mutual attraction by previous contact, but that love must find its own in the depth of the soul. And he who gazed at her, what did he experience? How often in after-life did he not tell her all that he had felt that moment, that he had discovered in her as she did in him, the comrade of the soul throughout all ages until the Great Silence is reached.

This ceremony over, they returned to the priest, who performed again numerous rites, each of which had reference to one of the different stages of life that are to be passed through. When they rose, their garments were knotted together, and thus they went to the inner apartment. Here they were received by the female guests who greeted them and met the bridegroom with unveiled faces, for this is the day on which there is no restraint.

This marriage is, however, only a betrothal, and the young people are not left without a chaperone during the short time that they are together, and they must observe the strictest etiquette.

Little Shikorbashini went through it all with downcast eyes. On the day following the marriage, she was taken to her new home to be formally introduced to her husband's people—now her own. Again that picturesque ride on the canopied platform, carried on the shoulders of coolies. This time they sat together, whose young lives had been joined.

A more charming picture cannot be imagined than that of a

young bride being taken to her father-in-law's house. Veiled in gauze and silk, adorned with rich jewelries, she sits on an artistic throne beside her young husband. It seems the doors of fairyland had opened—a Cinderella outfit indeed. But modesty must be her greatest jewel, and the little girl-bride looks the more charming because of her drooping lashes and slightly bent head. The band precedes as on the day of the bridegroom's coming, and slowly the procession moves.

It was nearly evening before Shikorbashini's marriage procession reached its destination, and it was her eldest sister-in-law, her husband's eldest brother's wife, who received her. The conveyance having entered the court, away from the gaze of the curious crowd, she came and carried her new little sister-in-law into the house; for the bride who enters her new home must not cross the threshold unaided. Would she be so little welcome as to have to walk into the house? Here again numerous ceremonies awaited her, all indicative of the life before her.

There were festivities and many guests in her honor, and it seemed as if the gaieties would never end. The following day the little bride sat in state, and many visitors came to see her. All blessed her and called on heaven for her future happiness, while ever she sat with downcast eyes and spoke not, her veil drawn over her pretty face.

The elder ladies had the privilege of lifting the veil; the ceremony of lifting the veil from a bride's face is a charming one. Often compliments are showered upon her who stands with downcast eyes, but the national training must here, as in all other cases, assert itself. She dare not grow vain who is thus complimented, but she must try the harder to make her heart as pure as her face is fair. And if she be plain—then there is always a time-honored story, a maxim to indicate that the face matters but little if the heart be pure. So whether pretty or plain, it is always the inner nature that gives true beauty.

"And now, daughter-in-law, look up and let us see your eyes," said her new mother to Shikorbashini. She lifted her long silken lashes, and the light of a thousand stars shone on the one who looked. "Yes, those are the right eyes," came the reply, and there was the ghost of a smile around the bride's pretty lips.

Meanwhile, the maid-servant, whom Shikorbashini's mother had sent along with the procession, sat in the middle of the room and took care that the conversation did not lag. These old factotums are great historians; they know everybody in the community to the

third and fourth generation, and can tell you all manner of details about them. Woe betide him who stinted at either his son's or his daughter's marriage, for Hori Dasi¹ will repeat it of him to the end of her days and transmit the knowledge to her grandchildren.

It is a remarkable thing that in this land of caste there exists a democracy so broad that it would put the average western socialist agitator to shame. The caste works like a great unit. Even as the different members of the body have each their function to perform and yet could never be separated from the whole, so different caste divisions each perform their work. In his place every caste member is respected, his rights no power in the land can break.

But to return to our little bride. After a few days she went again to her parental home, busy, oh so busy, telling all the new things she had seen, and the new impressions she had received. But the time of courtship had commenced, and the two young people must meet often. And oh, the excitement when the son-in-law visited, or again when the young bride went to her father-in-law's house for several days at a time.

At first Shikorbashini felt quite shy in her new home, but everybody was so kind to her, so cheerful that she soon felt quite at ease. The training commenced now in good earnest, however: the young bride dared no longer jump about, but must walk with quiet, measured step; she dared not look about her carelessly this way and that, but must walk about with drooping lashes; her head must no longer be uncovered; shoes could no more be worn, and the *shindu*, that crimson mark just above the forehead where the hair is parted, which most of all denotes wifhood, must never be omitted, it would mean bad luck to go without it. She had always to show due respect to her husband's parents, salute them with joined palms, never sit down in their presence, etc., etc.

Her husband had four brothers elder than himself, so Shikorbashini was the fifth daughter-in-law, and the five sisters-in-law had cheerful times together. Together they chatted and told each other those tender secrets that stir the heart at youth, for there is much romance behind those stern gray walls, and the zenana rings with courtship.

Of course she made numerous mistakes in her new surroundings, which did not a little to heighten the merriment of the house, while the old joined in the frolic with the young and even the father-in-law heard of it to his great amusement. There was a merry twinkle in his eyes when he spoke to her one day, but Shikorbashini saw it not.

¹ A name commonly given to the women of the serving caste.

"Well, little daughter-in-law, how do you like the ways of our house?"

A pout around her lips indicated that her little ladyship was not quite pleased.

"But remember, you are my daughter now," and Shikorbashini felt the touch of a tender palm on her head. "You know you are not your father's child any more. You will always live in my house, you must get accustomed to its ways."

This was confidence inspiring. Meanwhile, the mother-in-law gave orders that the new little daughter was not to be made to do anything that seemed as yet too new to her. "She is young, let her become used to our ways gradually." These words indeed contain mainly the reason why Hindu parents want the son's wives when they are young. Furthermore, it devolves on the mother-in-law to see that the young wife's character is moulded to suit her husband's, so there will be no cry of incompatibility of character later on.

But we have never yet seen our Shikorbashini with her young lover.

There was a long veranda that led to the family worship-room. The waning day brings darkness quickly in this land, for twilight is short in the vicinity of the equator. Our little bride reserved for herself the task of dusting this worship-room in the evening. She walked the long veranda quite fearlessly, bearing a small lantern to light the way. She opened the heavy lock, and it fell to the floor with a loud sound. But why should it fall just that way every evening? What does it mean?

What does it mean? Hark the call of the wood-dove to its mate through the quiet woodland in the evening hour; lo, the twin-stars on the nightly sky, that shed their light and seem lost in each other—what does it all mean but the call of soul to soul? Below was the study room, and from it disappeared a stately youth, soon to emerge from the stairs near the *takur ghor*.^{*} I do not know his name, nor does it matter, for Shikorbashini will never pronounce it, nor will he hers, for those names are too sacred to be pronounced. In fact, the necessity for it is absent, for husband and wife are one, and separate names need not be employed.

But he came, and they met, and it took a long time to brush the room. He dared not enter it, because before entering that sacred place one must bathe and wear a silk garment. So the little maiden had the better of him. She went inside while he sat on the threshold and dared him catch her if he could. The moonbeams glistened

* Worship-room.

through the vine-clad lattice that screened the veranda ere they returned, and at the threshold they still lingered, and then departing both went their way sedately and with downcast eyes.

And in those balmy nights when whispering winds breathe languorous love, nights such as the mystic Orient alone knows, then when the house was still and sleep rested on its inmates, often two quiet figures would steal aloft until they reached the broad terrace. And there alone by the moon-kissed leaves of the quivering vine that scaled the balconies and found its way to the very roof, they stood silently together and gazed into the outstretched world of space, and their souls soared upward until all sense of separateness was lost, and heart gave unto heart those sacred vows that youth and the moonlight know so well. And naught was near save the great Eternal Presence, and the mysterious black nightbird that soared through the moonlit stillness, was the only earthly thing that saw, or did not see. For all is so wrapt in the brooding on the eternal verity in this strange land that even beast and bird are drawn unconsciously into that which makes one forget the world below. And oft they lingered till the east shed crimson tints, and the caw of the relentless crow heralded the break of day.

But there were other and less dreamy times. There was a party which Shikorbashini and two of her sisters-in-law attended. Her mother-in-law arranged her hair and dressed her, and oh, the pride the Indian mother takes to have *her* son's wife outshine all the others. Shikorbashini, being still young, was specially entrusted to the care of her eldest sister-in-law. The reception at the party was most cordial and compliments were lavishly bestowed. "Whose pretty daughter-in-law is this?" It is never "Whose wife is this?" Ah, it is a proud position that of daughter-in-law. If fate is ever so cruel as to throw a young wife back into her parental home, her position in society is much lowered, and she becomes an object of general pity. But in her husband's father's house she rules and is honored.

In due time Shikorbashini and her sisters-in-law returned home. On entering the house they saw a youthful figure standing near, and Shikorbashini lingered behind. Would *he* not admire her in her beautiful attire; would she not tell him first all she had seen at the party? But courtship is a very private affair in India; to show affection before others would seem repulsive or even lewd in Hindu eyes. And yet romance is ever active, but the Hindu is sensitive to delicate impressions. What ecstasy the young lover feels when he sees the crimson footprints made by the newly tinted lotus-feet

of the maiden he adores! In western lands the lover sends a timid glance to the ivy-clad window, but the Hindu spies the crimson imprint of her feet, and his young heart laughs.

Over twenty minutes elapsed before she arrived upstairs, and she found the whole family awaiting her with wistful smiles upon their faces.

"What does this mean?" exclaimed her father-in-law with feigned surprise. "Did I not send you under the protection of my eldest daughter-in-law? And has she gone off and left you to come home alone?" Meanwhile the little bride stood with drooping lashes, delightfully tantalized, a charming combination of smiles and lace and gauze and blushes. One must have seen these exquisite little girl-brides, to understand the patriarch when he stands threatening at the zenana door. "We want none of your western ways, our women suit us as they are."

Thus passed the days in peaceful happiness and lengthened into months and these into years. But Shikorbashini knew it not, for youth and courtship do not record numbers; she only felt that time was passing sweet. Three years went by unnoticed, and our little heroine had entered on her sixteenth year. There was an atmosphere of dignity around her as in the twilight hour she sat on the cool veranda, and the light that shone from the midnight lustre of her glorious eyes bore witness that a new experience had stirred her soul. The hour had come to her to which the Hindu woman looks forward with most ardent anticipations, the keynote of her life had been sounded, for Shikorbashini was now a mother. How Madonna-like looked this youthful mother in her flowing robes, her infant boy resting upon her arm—the gift of the gods, who would be her mainstay through life, for between mother and son there is no separation in India. But he would more than comfort and support her; he would perform for her the sacred rites long after her soul had quitted its fleshy abode.

Two months later she dressed him in red garments and put marks of sandal wood paste upon his pretty face, for the name-giving ceremony. The feast was prepared, the invited friends and relatives arrived, and the family priest performed the ceremony, while the little one laughed and received the blessings of the elders and the caresses of the young.

Duties increased with motherhood, and every night saw Shikorbashini at the shrine, performing her religious duties, now no longer playfully as in the days of her courtship, but with earnest devotion, often spending a long time in prayer and meditation.

She took many vows—the vow of Savitri, the perfect wife, the vow of the faithful daughter-in-law, and others. On those days she ate nothing but silently dedicated her inner life to the object in view, until in the evening the priest performed the ceremony and told her that the gods had accepted her prayer.

Thus moved the days, as all zenana days do, quietly, uneventfully, with less occupation than the western woman has but more of the contemplative life.

But sorrow came, and her child, her heart's idol, became ill and grew worse from day to day. Her mother-in-law applied her own remedies, and when they no longer availed, called a physician. Still the fever abated not, and the case became more serious. Then Shikorbashini in her agony went to the temple of Kali. There she poured out her soul in ardent prayer, she wounded her chest and let the blood drop out at the feet of the goddess, and when her little one recovered, after days of tender nursing, she always felt sure within herself that it was the votive offering of her heart's blood that had saved him.

And in the course of time sons and daughters were given her whom she reared as she herself had been reared, always with tenderness and words of reason. Between husband and wife the tie grew ever stronger until their lives became so blended that separation even for a day seemed impossible to bear. He came to her for advice in all the affairs of his outer life, for woman's counsel is highly prized in this land. She attended to her many social duties, her charities and her household with strict compunction and assisted her husband in the management of his estate. In time she became the head of her house, where she ruled with quiet dignity, ever serving as she ruled. And thus she lived until her hair grew gray, and the relentless hand of time knocked heavily at the door.

And did it find her unready, did she fear to face the future? The Hindu smiles at what the world calls death. Do we not know when the shadows lengthen and the western sky grows scarlet, that even has come and night is near? And when the body feels the touch of age, knows not man that the evening of his life has come, and that sleep will heal his eyes ere long? For is it not all in accordance with Eternal Law? A child alone shrinks from the inevitable.

Thus Shikorbashini knew her time was coming. Still the prayer never left her lips, "Let me precede *him* into death." An illness seized her, she knew it was her last. Husband and sons called doctors, and remedies were given. But the strong woman smiled

and only repeated what she had told them before, "My time has come to leave this earth."

She set the day which would be her last, and calm and with unfaltering voice gave orders for the last rites to be performed. And husband and sons obeyed her bidding. They performed the religious ceremony as prescribed by their caste. The night that followed found her awake but calm and peaceful, and when the soft dawn kissed the still sleeping earth, a strong soul went hence in perfect consciousness and without struggle. It was *Purnema*^{*} day, a day auspicious for those who enter the realms of space. And ere two hours had elapsed, a body was taken to the Ganges riverside, and after the form had been cremated the ashes were committed to the Ganga's sin-laden flood, to be carried to the main.

And those who wept felt strength coming from the very tears they shed, for she who had gone hence had left them a rich legacy. She had taught them how to live, she had taught them how to die, and all who had known her prayed to be able to face that hour as she had faced it.

Thus did she live and die, this strong Hindu woman. And thus are there many who live their lives behind the gray zenana walls. The world knows them not, but they have kept a great race alive. As they live, even so do they face death, calmly ready to proceed on the great journey that leads the soul on its mysterious path through the fields of space, through many lives on many stars until the Great Silence is reached.

^{*}The day that precedes the full-moon night.

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN.

BY THE EDITOR.

LUDWIG van Beethoven was a descendant of a humble Dutch family, which hailed from a little village of that name near Louvain. In 1680, one of his ancestors moved to Antwerp, and his grandfather Ludwig moved to Bonn, where he held the position of a tenor singer at the court of the archbishop, elector of Cologne. His son Johann was engaged as a bass and finally became the leader of the Electoral Band in 1773. Johann was married November 12, 1767, to Maria Magdalena Leyn, a widow, and daughter of Mr. Keverich, the chief cook at the Castle of Ehrenbreitstein. He had several children, of whom the famous composer Ludwig was the second.

Ludwig was born in December 1770 in the house which is still called the Beethoven house at Bonn, No. 515 Bonngasse, and has been bought by admirers of the great master and converted into a Beethoven museum.

Beethoven's grandfather died on Christmas eve, 1773, but his famous grandson distinctly remembered having seen him and retained in his memory a distinct impression of his face. The young Ludwig showed signs of extraordinary musical genius in early childhood. When eight years old he played in public, and yet he was far from being a premature child. His talents were rooted deep in the musical instincts of his soul, and were not merely the result of training. When ten years old he composed his first work, published three years later under the title "Variations." Though his father had devoted his life to music he could no longer be of any benefit to the child, who even then by far eclipsed his knowledge and skill, and so the boy received instructions from the best musicians obtainable in Bonn, Pfeiffer, a member of the Bonn opera, Van den Eeden, the organist, and his successor, Neefe. He had not yet completed his eleventh year when Neefe allowed him to take charge

of the organ, and when twelve years old he was sufficiently expert to lead the opera band. In the meantime he continued publishing new compositions, sonatas, and songs. He was not at first paid for his work at the opera, but on Neefe's recommendation he was later appointed assistant organist at a salary of 150 gulden, which position he retained after the death of the archbishop, Max Friedrich, under his successor, Max Franz, in 1783. In 1784 he published a "Song to a Baby," and a rondo for the piano. In 1785 he composed the song "When Some One Goes Atraveling," and he devoted much time in studying the violin under Franz Ries. At that time Mozart was at the height of his renown and the archbishop granted Beethoven's wish to meet this great composer at Vienna. In 1787 the youth took some lessons from Mozart and presumably also from Haydn. He had reached Vienna with a recommendation to Count Waldstein, who, with the sesame of the musician's divine genius, opened to him the houses of the Austrian nobility. There he also became acquainted with the Countess Hatzfeld and Madame von Breuning, whose little daughter and youngest son he instructed in music. In 1788 Beethoven lived again in Bonn, where he played the viola in the orchestra under the leadership of Reicha. Beethoven's home conditions had in the meantime grown desperate. His father had lost his voice, and in a mood of despair had taken to drinking. The archbishop, however, kindly continued the salary, but had part of it paid out to Ludwig whose genius was fully recognized at that time. The archbishop went even further and allowed Beethoven a leave of absence with full salary for two years that he might study in Vienna with the famous composer Haydn, who was a personal friend of the archbishop. In November 1792 Beethoven reached Vienna and studied there for some time with Haydn and later on with Schenck, but his relations with Haydn, though very cordial in the beginning, for unknown reasons ceased to be amicable. When Haydn left for London, Beethoven studied counterpoint with Albrechtsberger and violin with Schuppanzigh. The former, however, had a very poor opinion of his pupil, for he denounced him as incapable of learning and said he would never amount to anything. In 1792 Beethoven's father died, but the archbishop continued his pay to the family, nor did he cut off the allowance of Beethoven until his country was invaded by the French. At that time Beethoven gained another patron in the Prince Lichnowski, who kept a quartette at his disposal and paid him an annual allowance of 600 gulden.

Three periods may be distinguished in Beethoven's creative

work. The first extends to 1800 and comprises op. 1-20; the second to 1815, op. 21-100; and the third until the end of his life, op. 101-135.

In 1795 he appeared for the first time in public at the Burg theater (March 29), where he played his famous Concerto in C Major.

In the same year, December 18, he showed one of his compositions to his former teacher, Haydn, in a concert. At that time he made a trip to Nuremberg, Prague and Berlin, and was received everywhere with great honors. In 1798 Bernadotte came to Vienna as ambassador of the French republic. He met Beethoven, and it is assumed that he infused in him an admiration for Napoleon Bonaparte, the hero of Italy and Egypt. Beethoven saw in him the ideal man and composed in his honor a symphony which he called "The Eroica,"¹ but before he could send this great composition to Napoleon the news reached Vienna that the first consul of France had made himself emperor, and this infuriated the republican Beethoven to such an extent that he tore the title page into shreds, and trampled it under foot. But the composition itself remained. Beethoven only changed its plan and conceived its object to be the aspirations of a hero, his suffering and death, and finally his apotheosis, the victory of his ideals after the completion of his life, and so he added a funeral march as a third part in a triumphal tempo.

In 1801 on March 28 and on sixteen successive evenings his ballet Prometheus was performed in the Burg theater, and then began the most fertile period of his life. He wrote an oratorio, the "Mount of Olives," to the words of Huber. He composed a number of sonatas: one for the violin in A Minor and another in F; others for the piano in A Flat and D; and the two he entitled "Quasi Fantasia," the second of which has been called the "Moonlight" sonata from a reference to moonlight in a review by Rellstab, but Beethoven had not given it the name. Soon afterwards he composed the "Kreutzer" sonata and his opera "Fidelio."

In 1805 the famous Italian composer Cherubini visited Vienna, and these two great musicians became fast friends. In March, 1807, Beethoven appeared before the Vienna public in a great concert, in which he played for the first time the sonata in F Minor, Op. 57, called by his Hamburg publisher, Crantz, "Appassionata."

At that time Jerome Bonaparte, king of Westphalia, offered Beethoven a position as orchestra leader at Cassel at a salary of

¹ See the discussion of this symphony by Baron von der Pfordten in *The Open Court*, August, 1911.

3000 gulden, but Beethoven declined. As a result of this refusal his three most eminent friends, Archduke Rudolf, Prince Carl Lichnowski and Prince Kinsky, offered him an annuity of 4000 gulden. Other patrons of the composer were Count Moritz Lichnowski, Count Rasumowski, Count Francis of Brunswick, Baron Gleichenstein and Stephen von Breuning.

Beethoven continued to compose although the symptoms of deafness irritated him and subjected him to fits of melancholia. In honor of Wellington's victory over the French at Vitoria he composed a "Battle Symphony." It was one of the two pieces of descriptive music Beethoven wrote, the other being his "Pastoral Symphony," in which is described the ideal country life whose pleasures are disturbed only by a thunderstorm. Beethoven's Eighth Symphony was first played in January, 1814, but it was not so well received as the Seventh Symphony, and this lack of success was attributed by Beethoven to its superiority.

In 1818 Beethoven wrote a grand mass² to celebrate the installation of his patron, the Archduke Rudolf as Archbishop of Olmütz, and he finished his Ninth Symphony.

In 1815 Beethoven's brother Caspar died and left a widow and one son, Karl, a boy of nine years. Beethoven had practically supported his brother's family and now took his nephew into his own home. The lad was rather a disappointment, for he only caused him cares without possessing any redeeming features. Having failed in his examinations for the University, and also for the Polytechnic, Karl attempted suicide, was arrested and warned to leave Vienna. Later on he enlisted in the army, and in 1826 he visited his uncle Johann, another brother of Beethoven, at his farm at Gneixendorf, near Krems. There he met his benefactor, his uncle Ludwig, who invited him to go back to Vienna. On the way, however, Beethoven took a severe cold, which resulted in pneumonia, and his condition was aggravated by symptoms of dropsy. Medical relief was in vain, and on March 24, 1827, he received the last sacraments, and died on Monday, the 16th, during a violent thunderstorm. The remains were buried in the Währinger cemetery with great honors and in the presence of the highest aristocracy of the Austrian capital.

Nature lavished on Beethoven only the one gift. His presence was not prepossessing, rather the contrary. He was only five feet five inches high, and a certain awkwardness of his stature

² Baron von der Pfordten's sympathetic explanation of this mass will be found in *The Open Court*, Sept. 1910, "The Missa Solemnis."

was by no means improved by his pock-marked face. His hair grew in abundance; he had to shave even up to his eyes, and his fingers too were covered with hair. Nevertheless, he was by no means ugly, for his sturdy appearance was transfigured by his bright black eyes, which betrayed the genius that lived in him. He was muscular and strong, and his strength seemed also to affect his music, so as to suggest to the sculptor Klinger to represent him as a Titan. His manners were rough and his republican ideas jarred on the aristocratic circles in which he moved. Nevertheless he remained a friend of the highest nobility of Vienna, including the emperor himself. They appreciated his genius and gladly overlooked the whims with which he frequently irritated even his best friends. With all his troubles Beethoven not only wrote compositions in the most elevated and noblest style but could also give musical expression to his humors, the best known instance of which is his sonata on the "Lost Penny," which describes his irritation while searching for a misplaced piece of money. While vexed at his failure in finding the coin, he gave expression to his feelings in this wonderful piece of music.

Another humorous incident is told of a rival composer, Steibelt, whom he met at the house of Count Fries. Beethoven had composed a trio for piano, clarinet and cello, and Steibelt gave vent to his jealousy by writing a quintette performed a week later, which contained a finale ridiculing Beethoven's trio. Then Beethoven took up the theme and turned Steibelt's composition into ridicule by playing it with variations in such a comical manner that the angry Steibelt left the house in indignation.

Beethoven attained the fullest expression of absolute music. He has remained unexcelled, and it seems as if Music herself had revealed the expression of her highest inspiration in his works. Though he holds the first rank as a composer the work of composition was by no means easy to him. He did not work with the same facility as Mozart or Haydn or Handel or Bach. His inspirations came to him as the result of much brooding, and even then he worked out his theme with great diligence. He took long walks and carried with him a note book in which he sketched down his schemes and the plans of their execution, and these sketches show how often he modified and changed his original ideas. He could extemporize with great facility, but none of his great works are the product of a moment of inspiration. All of them have been forged in the laboratory of his musical thoughts, and every detail of their melodies as well as their harmony has been considered with

greatest care. As a result we have not one of his works which does not bear the stamp of perfection. His compositions are like a revelation of the laws of music. He has not created new forms, but what his predecessors have handed down to him he has broadened as well as deepened, and in every one of them he stands unexcelled.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE TENANT.

BY G. M. HORT.

"Etenim illuc Manus Tua deducet me."—Ps. cxxxix. 10.

I am here, in the house He made, where He brought me, a blinded thing,
By a path, like a wire of light threaded into the Dark's great ring.
And I think that He led me well,—though the things I remember best
Are the weight of the guiding hand, the bruise from the sheltering breast!

So we came to the house He made, where He left me without farewell,
And whither He went, and why, there is nobody here who can tell
Save the Shadow down at the gate, with its face to the hidden way,—
And the price of the Shadow's speech is price that I can't yet pay!

For I've work in the house He made. He has given we skill and sight
To perceive that He made it well, but not nearly so well as He might!
'Tis His will I should change His will, that I open the doors He barred,
That I mar what His hand has made, and make what His hand has marred.

I am lord where my sires were serfs; I can see where He left them blind!—
'Tis His will I should change His will, and fashion *His* house to *my* mind!
But the Shadow still cleaves to the gate—a dumb dark slave with a sword!—
And so for its purpose there, I suppose He has passed His word!

The word that He cannot break; the word that is love, not hate.
When I wake in the dawn sometimes, I can hear His voice by the gate;
Where the fenceway leans to the gulf, there they stand, the Shadow and He,
And the quiet slave fingers the sword; and I know that He talks of me.

"His hand must grow tired of the work, his eyes must grow tired of the light!
It is mile after mile of the day, and, after the last mile, *night*!
You shall give him the rest he craves, you shall see that none vex his bed,
While I crumble the house that I made, like rose-petals over his head!"

So the Voice dies back to the gulf. And I rise to my work content,
And I pass where the Shadow sits, still covering the way He went!
And I plow where I may not sow, and I sow where I shall not reap,
For, if that is His will for me, it is well to be earning sleep!

But at nights there's no voice at all. I have worked to the light's last gleam,
And I sleep—like a tired beast! But 'tis seldom of sleep that I dream.
In dreams I am up, and away, I am threading the path once more;
And the Shadow's as far behind as He may be far before!

I have strangled the slave at the gate! I have broken the house He made!
 'Twas His will I should fight His will, and I'm fighting it now, unafraid!
 Yes! It's mile after mile of night, and after the last mile, *day*
 On the dawn-thing, here, in the breast, that the Slayer Himself can't slay!

THE POET-INVENTOR.

Hudson Maxim is known as an inventor of smokeless powder; but he is not only a scientist and a manufacturer, for the book before us entitled *The Science of Poetry and the Philosophy of Language*, proves that he is also a philosopher and a poet. He characterizes the intention of his book thus:

"Whatever the subject of any investigation may be, whether poetry, biology, ethics or torpedo warfare, the same scientific method of procedure must be followed. We must first unravel the complex and heterogeneous back to first principles, and then reason forward from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, from what we know to what we would learn. Such are the methods pursued by all successful inventors, scientific investigators and discoverers."

On the ground that articulate speech is not the privilege solely of man, inasmuch as parrots, the lyre bird and other creatures possess perfect organs of speech, Mr. Maxim claims that the distinctive feature of human speech is the use of metaphor or trope. He points out in his premises that language has a twofold function, namely, to express thought and to impress thought. He holds that we *express* thought by means of non-emotional sounds used as the arbitrary signs of ideas; and that we *impress* thought and stimulate and qualify the mind of the hearer for perception by emotional concomitants of the symbolic sounds.

Mr. Maxim declares that just as brass is an alloy of copper and zinc, just as water is a compound of oxygen and hydrogen, so are the forty elementary sounds of our language alloys or compounds of sounds of different tone colors, that is to say, of different tone-color blends.

There are two kinds of tone-color blends: those of meaning, which have only a symbolic use, and those which have emotional significance and no symbolic use. Consequently, the forty elementary sounds of our language may be considered as non-emotional tone-color blends, which differ from one another sufficiently to be easily distinguished and coordinated by the ear. That they are non-emotional is easily seen by a repetition of the alphabet or by counting.

Thought, then, is *expressed* by means of non-emotional tone-color blends, arbitrarily used as the signs of ideas; and thought is *impressed* and the mind of the hearer stimulated and qualified for perception by superimposing, upon these non-emotional tone-color blends, other and emotional tone-color blends. Thus we learn that the non-emotional constituents of the sounds we use as the signs of ideas to *express* thought, are entirely differentiated from the emotional constituents which give *impressiveness* to verse or music or song.

That which we distinguish as the difference between *a* and *o*, for example, is due to the difference in their tone-color blending. We can utter *a* and *o* with the same loudness and duration, and with the same pitch, but we cannot utter them with the same tone-color blending. We can also utter them with emotions indicative of pleasure or of pain.

It becomes evident, then, that all thought *expression* depends primarily

upon the non-emotional sounds used arbitrarily as signs of ideas; and also, that all *impressiveness* of thought—that is to say, all emotional properties of language—depends upon the employment of emotional sounds as concomitants of the non-emotional sounds used as symbols.

A sentence of plain, literal statement may be quite unemotional. If, however, the same thought be expressed in the form of verse, the language at once becomes emotional. Mr. Maxim defines verse as a set of specially arranged syllables, forming words used as the signs of ideas to express thought, so related to one another with respect to inflection and emphasis, on syllables and silences, as to induce by tonal impressiveness moods or emotions in harmony with the thought expressed.

Mr. Maxim is fond of new words which he coins with great boldness. He gives the name "literatry," derived from the Latin *litera*, to plain, literal non-emotional statement; and "potentry," derived from the Latin word *potens*, to indicate language more than ordinarily tonally impressive. As the basic principle of verse is time, he terms verse "tem-potentry"; and, when language is especially replete with trope or artistic figure, he terms it "tropetry." So when verse, or tem-potentry, is replete with trope or artistic figure, he terms it tro-tem-potentry.

Mr. Maxim exemplifies his theory by many poetic quotations from Milton, Shakespeare and others. Among them we find lines written by himself, and we quote one poem of his printed in full on page 215 of the present volume. He says: "When a lover has been brooding over the loss by death, or otherwise, of his Lenore, he may be aware that his visions are but hallucinations and that his thinking borders on dreaming, and reason with himself the while. To illustrate this I have written the following poem, entitled 'A Veiled Illusion.' The husband sees the wedding veil of the departed wife hanging upon the wall, and gradually the face of the wife appears in the veil, smiling as of old.

A VEILED ILLUSION.

"Only a veil she has worn,
It is but a web of gauze—
Only a touch of the real,
It is but a filmy gauze;
And yet is entangled my heart in that web—
In its mesh is entangled my soul.
A gleam of a fancy is caught in that web,
And smile that entangles my soul.

"Only the warp is the real,
The woof is the substance of dreams—
Only the veil is the real,
The face is the substance of dreams;
And yet all the tangible worth of this life
Is a tissue of only what seems—
And all of the solider webwork of life
But veils the sweet substance of dreams.

"Only a fancy in flight,
Just caught in the web of a wish—

Only a thing of the light—
A ray of the light and a wish ;
And yet has the fancy enchanted my sight,
The illusion enraptured my soul—
Enraptured, entranced and enchanted my sight,
Entranced and enraptured my soul."



HUDSON MAXIM ON PEGASUS.

The book is illustrated by William Oberhardt, perhaps the most promising disciple of Herkomer, and we here reproduce through the courtesy of Mr. Maxim and the publishers, Funk & Wagnalls, the portrayal of a ride on Pegasus, who kicks like a broncho, but is held in by the strong hand of Mr. Maxim.

Other pictures worthy of mention are: "San Francisco Doomed"; types of poor people called "Some Shadows of Toil"; "The Flight of Satan" standing before Sirius, and recalling one of the very best productions of Rodin; and "Destiny—Youth" facing page 184, illustrating a poem of Mr. Maxim on pages 219-220.

P. C.

SOTERIOLOGY.

A Poetic Study in the Work of a Personal Saviour.

BY ELIOT ROBINSON.

[Note.—These poems are a selection from twelve, written at a time when the poet, suffering from a great affliction, met a child whose sunny nature saved him from despair. Finally he made arrangements to make his home with her parents, and share the family life of his little favorite. The name under which these poems are published is a pseudonym.]

CONSTANCE ON EARTH.

Lo, 'tis August, but an odor
As of May the day perfumes,
Like the sâl-trees on the Buddha
Shedding their untimely blooms.

Evermore that fragrance haunts me
Like a sea of blossom wild,
Evermore I feel before me
One eternal Saviour-Child.

'Tis her soul that makes the whiteness
Of the foamy bloom appear;
'Tis her soul perfumes the roses,
Through the cycle of the year.

'Tis her soul so far above me,
Where no human feet have trod,
Like the tree of life in blossom
In the paradise of God.

CONSTANCE IN HEAVEN.

Will she be in heaven fairer
Than she is on earth to-day?
Will she be the radiant wearer
Of a finer form than clay?

Clay or ether, light or splendor
Could not make her soul more fair,
But the childhood sweet and tender
Shall be everlasting there.

Never more than years eleven,
Always in the bloom of spring,
That alone is home and heaven—
God can do no greater thing.

Gone, forgotten be the story
Of the heart of earth and fire,
While her eyes' immortal glory
Shall immortal love inspire.

HOME AT LAST.

Fare ye well, ye hosts of devils,
Ghosts of evil, things that were!
Fare ye well, I say, forever;
I am going to live with Her.

Fare ye well, ye lonely wakings,
Ere the household be astir;
I shall wake with love around me,
I am going to live with Her.

Fare ye well, ye wasted evenings,
Thoughts that wander, feet that err;
I have found a home, a heaven,
I am going to live with Her.

Often in the holy twilight
I shall think of hells that were—
Quenched forever in her eye-light:
I am going to live with Her.

A FLYING SHIP IN 1709.

Invention and the belief of having invented something new are very different, and we present here to our readers a curious instance. In No. 56 of the *Evening Post*, a newspaper published in the reign of Queen Anne, and bearing the date 20-22d Dec. 1709, we find the following curious description of a Flying Ship, stated to have been invented by a Brazilian priest, and brought under the notice of the king of Portugal in the following petition, translated from the Portuguese:

"Father Bartholomew Laurent says that he has found out an invention, by the help of which one may more speedily travel through the air than any other way either by sea or land, so that one may go 200 miles in 24 hours; send orders and conclusions of councils to generals, in a manner, as soon as they are determined in private cabinets; which will be so much the more advantageous to your Majesty, as your dominions lie far remote from one another, and which for want of councils cannot be maintained nor augmented in revenues and extent.

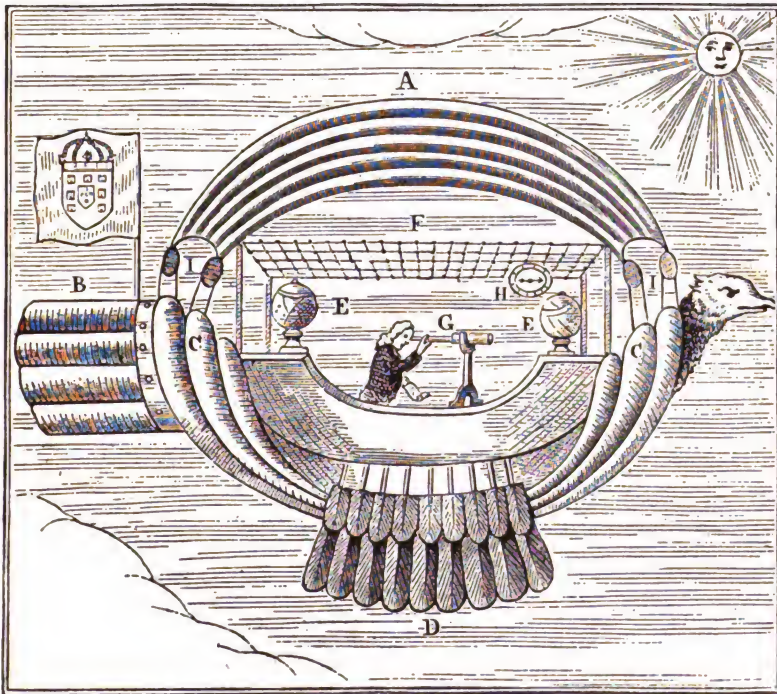
"Merchants may have their merchandise, and send letters and packets more conveniently. Places besieged may be supplied with necessaries and succours. Moreover, we may transport out of such places what we please, and the enemy cannot hinder it.

"The Portuguese have discovered unknown countries bordering upon the extremity of the globe; and it will contribute to their greater glory to be authors of so admirable a machine, which so many nations have in vain attempted.

"Many misfortunes and shipwrecks have happened for want of maps, but by this invention the earth will be more exactly measur'd than ever, besides many other advantages worthy of your Majesty's encouragement.

"But to prevent the many disorders that may be occasioned by the usefulness of this machine, care is to be taken that the use and full power over the same be committed to one person only, to command, that whoever shall presume to transgress the orders herein mentioned shall be severely punished.

"May it please your Majesty to grant your humble petitioner the privilege that no person shall presume to use, or make this ship, without the express licence of the petitioner, and his heirs, under the penalty of the loss and for-



FATHER LAURENT'S AIRSHIP.

feiture of all his lands and goods, so that one half of the same may belong to the petitioner and the other to the informer. And this is to be executed throughout all your dominions upon the transgressors, without exception or distinction of persons, who likewise may be declared liable to an arbitrary punishment, etc."

We know now that flying machines are possible, but that the flying machine of Father Bartholomew Laurent was a mere dream becomes apparent when we see a picture of it and read the explanation which, as translated from the Portuguese, reads as follows:

"A. Represents the sails wherewith the air is to be divided, which turn as they are directed.

"B. The stern to govern the ship, that she may not run at random.

"C. The body of the ship which is formed at both ends scollopwise; in the concavity of each is a pair of bellows, which must be blown when there is no wind.

"D. Two wings which keep the ship upright.

"E. The globes of heaven and earth containing in them attractive virtues. They are of metal, and serve for a cover to two loadstones, placed in them upon the pedestals, to draw the ship after them, the body of which is of thin iron plates, covered with straw mats, for conveniency of 10 or 11 men besides the artist.

"F. A cover made of iron wire in form of a net, on which are fastened a good number of large amber beads, which by a secret operation will help to keep the ship aloft. And by the sun's heat the aforesaid mats that line the ship will be drawn towards the amber beads.

"G. The artist who, by the help of the celestial globe, a sea map, and compass, takes the height of the sun, thereby to find out the spot of land over which they are on the globe of the earth.

"H. The compass to direct them in their way.

"I. The pulleys and ropes that serve to hoist or furl the sails."

A REVIVAL OF THE AVESTA AND PAHLAVI LANGUAGES,

We are indebted to the secretary of the Parsee Punchayet of Bombay, for a number of books issued during the last few years in the interest of the Parsi religion. Within the last few years the University of Bombay has introduced into its curriculum the Avesta and Pahlavi languages to be chosen by the students jointly as one of the elective language courses, of which two are required for matriculation. Avesta is the language in which the sacred books of the Parsis were originally written, and Pahlavi was the vernacular into which the sacred writings were translated during the Sassanid dynasty (third to seventh centuries). When the requirement was made by the authorities there was no appropriate series of text-books for beginners in these languages, and the trustees of the Parsee Punchayet Funds and Properties undertook to provide from the Sir J. Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund such a series and entrusted its preparation to Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha, who has written a series of three courses of *Lessons in Avesta* (Bombay, 1907-1908), and *Lessons in Pahlavi-Pazend* (Bombay, 1908-1909), suited to the needs respectively of the fourth, fifth and sixth grades of Bombay high schools. The same scholar has undertaken the publication (financed by the same foundation) of the texts of Sanskrit writings on the subject of the Parsi religion. There are to be seven parts under the collective title *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis* (Bombay, 1906). In like manner the trustees of the Parsee Punchayet Funds and Properties have arranged for the publication of "Persian Texts relating to Zoroastrianism," of which *Saddar Nasr and Bundelesh* have been edited by Ervad Dhabhar (Bombay, 1909); and also *Pazend Texts*, collected and collated by Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia (Bombay, 1909) who has also prepared a new edition of *The Vendidad* (Bombay, 1901), which is the

priestly code of the Avesta. Another line of work undertaken by this enterprising board is the reproduction of facsimiles of various Iranian manuscripts through the Photo-zincographic Department of the government. Some of these are provided from the funds of the Sir J. Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund, and others from a Victorian Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund which was raised by the Parsi community of Bombay to commemorate the jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887.

Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy was a very wealthy Parsi merchant who lavished large sums upon various institutions for the benefit of his less fortunate brethren. His charities and public munificence in the city of Bombay became widely known, and in 1842 he was knighted by Queen Victoria. The whole Parsi and Hindu population felt honored that one of their number should receive this mark of royal favor. By way of congratulation his native friends offered him 1500 pounds as a testimonial of their regard, as a subscription towards a fund "to be called 'The Sir J. Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund,' to be vested in trustees for the purpose of being appropriated to defraying the expenses of translating into the Guzeratee language such books from the European and Asiatic languages, whether ancient or modern, as may be approved by the committee, to be by them published and distributed gratis, or at a low price, among the Parsee Community in furtherance of the education of our people." The modesty and public spirit of India's first knight is shown in his reply in which he said that he felt deeply gratified that he had "unconsciously been the means of exciting so signal a mark of the good feelings of England towards the people of India." He adds: "I of course feel flattered and proud of the distinction conferred upon me, but no merely personal feeling of gratification would have given me the delight I experience in the kindly feeling towards India and her children evinced in the late gracious act of our beloved sovereign." In the same speech he announces that he will add the sum of 30,000 pounds sterling for the same fund.

Sixteen years later Sir J. Jeejeebhoy was created a baronet, and this title will belong to his descendants as long as India claims England as sovereign. The first baronet of India died a year later in 1859, leaving three sons and a daughter. The daughter is one of the few native ladies of the older generation versed in the English language. Of the 250,000 pounds given to Bombay by this one citizen for purposes of public charity and benevolence, only one institution was exclusively for the benefit of the Parsis; the rest was given to the entire community, for Hindus, Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans as well. A little biography, entitled *The First Parsee Baronet*, was published in 1866 at Bombay by Cooverjee Sorabjee Nazir. Though written in a tone of extreme adulation it makes very interesting reading.

STRANGE FATE OF IDOLS.

Reverence for statues of gods and saints which belong to a faded faith is not uncommon in the history of religion. Prof. Frederick Starr sent us some time ago the photograph of an ancient Mexican idol, which continued to be worshiped by the natives after their conversion to Christianity. Lately,

however, the bishop underwhose jurisdiction the village stands had ordered to have the idol removed. (See illustration on page 554 of the September *Open Court*.) We know that after the introduction of Christianity certain gods of Germany were worshiped as saints or, as the case happen to be, were turned into demons or devils. Odin was changed into Emperor Barbarossa, the hero of the German nation, who was believed to sleep in his enchanted mountain until some distant future when he would return. His place of retirement was attributed to be Odhinberg on the Rhine, the Kyff-



ST. ANNE IN INDIA.

häuser in Thuringia and other mountains which popular tradition has transfigured by legend.

The reverse process has also taken place where Christianity after having made some conquests among natives has given way to prior paganism. We here reproduce two Hindu idols which are now worshiped in the old pagan fashion though they have been made by Christian artists and still bear the evidence of their original destination. They are both preserved in Chandor, in the district of Nasik, India. One of them represents St. Anne, the mother of Mary, with her infant on her knees. The artistic work does

not show to advantage in the reproduction, but we can still see that it is fashioned under the influence of European art, presumably by a European.



AN INDIAN CARVING OF THE ANNUNCIATION.

The other image, however, is distinguished by a rare artistic beauty. It represents the Virgin Mary at the moment of the Annunciation.

A DIVINE CHILD OF INDIA.

From distant India there comes to us a strange communication sent by C. S. Royal, Esq., "54 L. T. House," Chittoor, Madras Presidency, Br. India, (North Arcot Dist.), which tells the story of a Hindu saint, a divine girl

who receives the worship of a certain circle of the native population. The account has been sent for publication in order to spread the gospel of this remarkable phenomenon in the religious world, and we publish it mainly for the sake of offering to our readers a genuine description of the conditions that favor the belief in divine incarnation in some form or other. Within the last century history has witnessed the origin of a new religion in Persia an-



INDIA'S DIVINE CHILD.

nounced by the Bab, "the Gate of God," and then fully proclaimed by Beha 'U'llah, "the Glory of God."

Here we have a similar occurrence on a small scale which has not yet reached a large field of influence; but the psychology of the case is as plainly seen here as in great historical movements. We have before us a circle of expectant devotees, inspired by the confidence that a certain babe has been

born to be or to become a divine incarnation, and it is touching how these simple people construe every detail in a way to confirm their hopes. The name of this new prophet is Sri Gyanamamba, and it is strange that this new saint is a girl not yet sixteen years of age.

We publish the manuscript communicated to us by Mr. Royal as it stands, only correcting obvious mistakes in English and making no attempt otherwise to polish or change it. He announces it as the "Biography of 'India's Divine Babe,'" and it reads as follows:

"There is a city in Kistna District (in Madras Presidency) known as Vizayavada or Bezwada. At this town, the southern Mahratta, the Nizam's and the East Coast railways unite. This famous city on the river Krishna has a large anicut and therefore its trade is considerable.

"Here live a pious couple who lovingly worship the Supreme Being. For many years they had no children, and one day the woman went to the temple of the golden goddess (Kanaka Dhurga) and worshiped Her with all her might and main, afterwards returning to her home. On the same night she dreamed a dream in which the goddess appeared and promised her the precious gift of a female child, stipulating that the babe must be called by Her name.

"On May 5, 1895, this woman became the mother of a divine babe, but by the flattery of senseless people she had entirely forgotten to call the child by the goddess's name, giving her a different one instead. For some time the baby would not take milk and cried unceasingly. Then the mother thought of the sacred gift and named her babe as the goddess had ordered. In the same moment the child became quiet and took her milk. After that she was praised by all and her face was gazed upon with great reverence.

"Before she was ten months old this girl began not only to walk but also to talk. While still very young she constantly played religious games (relating to God). She sang holy songs to the delight of both high and low, having fully understood the teachings of the holy books that all other creatures on earth are to be protected like one's own.

"Once upon a time she was preparing coffee at her mother's bidding, when a fly fell in accidentally and died. After seeing this mishap she felt very sorry and did not touch food for that whole day. Can there be any doubt about this girl's mercy towards inferior creatures?

"In 1900 she asked her mother to send her to school, but as the mother did not like to be separated from her pet she undertook to satisfy her desire by giving her instruction at home. In this way Sri Gyanamamba learned to read and write (Telugu) plainly within a fortnight. Her literary accomplishments were remarkable. In her twelfth year she won the favor of a pious *guru* (teacher), Sita Rama Avadhuta, and after six months she married him for the purpose of enjoying transitory pleasures, but she had already got rid of all passing vanities.

"Modesty, patience, mercy and absence of jealousy are her characteristic features. She has rooted out from her mind anger, lust and perplexity, and has entirely freed herself from any association with the living beings on earth who daily commit evil deeds. She is the holiest of the holy. Is there any one that does not honor this great girl? God save this *holy daughter* to help the poor country."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE HIDDEN SIGNATURES OF FRANCESCO COLONNA AND FRANCIS BACON. A Comparison of Their Methods with the Evidence of Marston and Hall that Bacon was the Author of *Venus and Adonis*. By *William Stone Booth*. Boston: W. A. Butterfield, 1910. Pp. 70. Boards \$1.50 net.

In this elegant quarto volume Mr. William Stone Booth explains the method current in Shakespeare's day of making public by means of a key the authorship and purpose of an anonymous book. He selects as an instance the well-established fact of a book written by a monk Franciscus who dedicates his *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* to Polia, and writes in an acrostic a confession of love which reads: *Poliam Frater Franciscus Columna peramavit*, meaning, "Brother Francesco Colonna loved Polia very much." Applying this instance to Shakespeare, Mr. Booth becomes convinced of Francis Bacon's authorship of the play entitled "Richard II." He also offers evidence from the Satires of Marston and Hall that Francis Bacon wrote "*Venus and Adonis*." The appendix contains a picture of Milton, which was so badly made that Milton considered it a joke and wrote his protest underneath in Greek.

We understand that Mr. Booth has recently published another work on Shakespeare dealing especially with the portrait problem, but we have not yet seen the book.

κ

JAKOB BÖHME. Ueber sein Leben und seine Philosophie. Von *Dr. Paul Deussen*. Leipsic: Brockhaus, 1911. Pp. 47.

This monograph appears to have been written for the purpose of serving as a general introduction to Barker's large English edition of Böhme (London, 1910). At least an English translation of this essay was published in the preface of the first volume, pp. xxxv-lxiv. It is a concise presentation of Böhme's life including all the incredible persecutions of that Lutheran pastor of Görlitz. In glancing over these tempests in a tea-pot it appears that these persecutions have only helped to call attention to Böhme's philosophy, and it may be doubtful whether otherwise he would ever have reached the prominence which he commands now in the history of mysticism. Professor Deussen obviously sympathizes with Böhme and accepts his dualism which regards good and evil as based on objective conditions. In a consideration of any philosopher he endeavors to distinguish between the external or traditional side and the truly original side of the thought presented, and finds in Böhme the nucleus of a genuine philosophical truth consisting in the change of emphasis in Christian philosophy from God to the soul. To Böhme, God is merely the extended possibility of evil as well as good, and this possibility is actualized only by the soul which from its own aboriginal freedom decides in favor of the one or the other and thus either falls a prey to wrath and darkness or enters into the triumphant kingdom of God. Both these possibilities are incorporated in God because God constitutes the quintessence of existence from which these qualities (according to Böhme, seven in number) unfold themselves.

The German original served as a lecture delivered before a gathering of laborers at Kiel, Germany, with a view to raising funds for the erection of a monument to Jakob Böhme.

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THE DIVINE CHILD IN THE MANGER.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE celebration of Christmas, or a festival like it, is of very primitive origin. Among all the pre-Christian religions of the Mediterranean people the birth of the divine child was hailed with

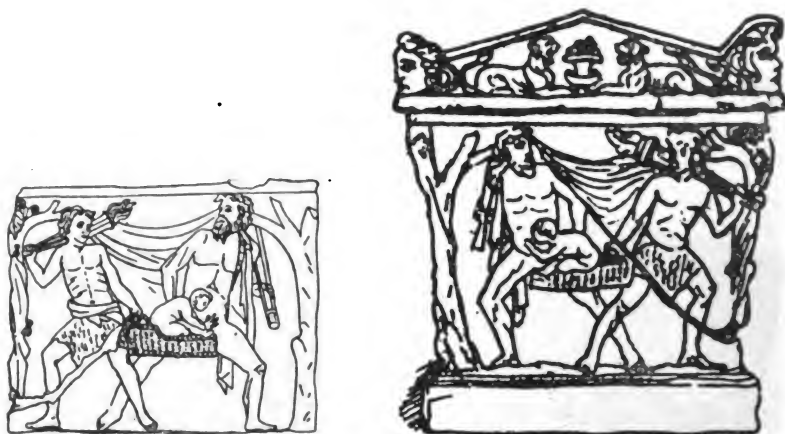


GAIA PRESENTS THE DIVINE CHILD TO ATHENE.
Painting on an amphora preserved in the museum at Athens.

joy, and it is peculiar that its birth must have been unexpected, for it was cradled in the first thing at hand among the people who dealt with herds. The legend is repeated of almost all the gods, especially of Zeus, Hermes, Dionysos and Mithras. But we meet with it

also in the mysteries, and the popularity of this rite appears from the many representations of the scene which have come down to us.

In a former article we have published some examples (See *The Open Court*, Vol. XIII, p. 710 and Vol. XIV, p. 46), and we here reproduce some additional ones, two taken from a sarcophagus and another from a vase. The latter is not quite clear because we are not sure who the divine babe might be in this case. The scene takes place in Attica, and so we are assured that it is one act of the Eleusinian mysteries. Mother Earth (Gaia) rises from the ground and lifts up the babe to Athene recognizable by her lance. Demeter and Kora, also called Persephone or with its Latin term Proserpine, stand at the left side gazing at the infant. The figure at the right



SARCOPHAGUS IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM AT CAMBRIDGE.

may be Diana as is indicated by the quiver over the right shoulder, but not having seen the original we cannot be positive. It might be a maenad, one of the raving dancers who accompanied Dionysos in his triumphal entry. On top of the Gaia we see Triptolemus, a typically Attic figure who after the invention of agriculture takes the grain of seed and ventures out on his mission to bring the bliss of civilization to the rest of mankind. The three remaining figures in the upper corners of our picture take an interest in this mission of Triptolemus. To the left sits Venus, to the right a priestess, temple key in hand, and an attendant with one foot resting on a box which may contain the paraphernalia for initiation.

Two bas reliefs on a sarcophagus show two men carrying out the divine babe in a fodder basket, presumably again Dionysos. The

younger of the two carries a torch, indicating that the birth took place in the night. A curtain veils the place of birth which is commonly a cave.

The term "cradled in a food measure" (in Greek *liknites*, from *liknon*, food measure) has become a common appellation of Dionysos or Bacchus. The food measure, in Latin *vannus*, was also used as a winnowing fan. But the main thing is that the divine child's cradle is a basket used for the food of the cattle, and we see at once that the Christian tradition that Christ was cradled in a manger is a recollection of a very ancient pre-Christian belief.

We know nothing of the birth festival of a saviour-god among the Teutons, but the return of the sun was celebrated at Yuletide in the same days of the year with much rejoicing and merrymaking. Many of the old pagan customs have survived paganism, and even to-day the sacred mistletoe is not missing in the Christian homes where Saxon influence is predominant.

In a former number of *The Open Court* (August, 1909), the frontispiece was a reproduction of a painting by the Russian artist I. A. Djenyeffe representing the barbarous custom of laying the foundation stones of important buildings in human sacrifices. But the life of prehistoric man was not savage throughout; it had also its bright aspects. Mme. Virginie Demont-Breton, in a picture reproduced for the frontispiece of this number, has succeeded in bringing out the beautiful side of the life of our primitive ancestors. Her painting represents a priestess holding in her left hand a sickle and in her right a bunch of mistletoe, the plant which grows on holy oak trees from seeds supposed to have been dropped from heaven symbolizing the mysteries of the ancient faith. And since the mistletoe lasts into mid-winter it has become a symbol of the divine life which may die but reappears, of the sun which in northern lands seems to be vanquished by winter but returns and finally conquers the powers hostile to humanity.

THE OUTSKIRTS OF THOUGHT.

BY ELIA W. PEATTIE.

ALTHOUGH there is no philosophic mandate which man is fonder of quoting than "know thyself," yet no man of all the limitless procession has been able to obey it. He has not been permitted to comprehend the real source of his life, to understand his gestation, or to dig—however assiduous his excavations—to the origin of thought. His own personality remains a mystery to him, and nothing extraneous surprises him more than do certain of his own impulses. Nor is it alone his dim beginnings nor his ultimate destiny which he is forced to class as "unknown"; his very "now" is encased in mystery.

Though he may apprehend certain processes of the physical and intellectual departments of life there still remain links between them which intrigue and baffle him; and although he might at least be supposed to be at ease with himself, there are moments when, standing upon the rim of "the secret abyss of the unconscious self," he is not startled merely but appalled. He is aware at such moments that there lie within him potentialities of demonic force. If he escape great moral catastrophes as by a hair's breadth, by as close a hazard does he fail of sublimities. Playing habitually upon the middle octave of his key-board, he is made aware, nevertheless, by the overtones which thrill his listening ears, of an unused gamut of powers.

Man has, however, been keenly alive to the value of certain mental qualities. His ingenuity and his opposition were among the first to win his self-respect. That he could contrive to feed, clothe and house himself, and to defend himself from his enemies, stirred in him the pride that lifted his upper limbs from the ground and taught him to stand erect. When the powers of reflection, benevolence and economy came, later, he found himself pledged to the privileges and penalties of civilization. And though it is true

that in hours of great stress he drops these more recently acquired mental habits as if they were superfluous garments likely to hinder him in his struggle, yet with the return of safety and ease he resumes them with added assumptions of dignity.

Power—primordial power—is as much appreciated to-day as it ever was, but it has taken some new forms even while retaining many of those which are immemorial. The power of ideas lying behind aggressive action has been honored for centuries beyond record, but since the birth of that new science, psychology, the force of direct ideas has come to engage the attention of innumerable students of the mind. It is not alone in the universities and among scholars with academic confirmations of their ability that this inquisitiveness is felt. It forms an increasingly large part of the conversation among men and women who make no claim to specialization, and though some of the theories they advance may appear absurd enough, they are at least offered in good faith and without dogmatism. But there remains a vast mass of brain emission to which we pay no attention. Though the thread of our thoughts unwinds as long as life lasts, we have been accustomed to casting two-thirds or three-fourths of it from us as of no value. This enormous proportion—and the estimation of its relative quantity has not been made without much inquiry—consists of half-thoughts. So negligent have we been concerning these curious and fleeting wraiths of thought that it is not unlikely that many persons have not so much as observed their existence. That they differ in each human being is as certain as that the complete and impelling ideas of each individual differ. Yet as the completed thought or the definable emotion may be relied upon to possess a recognizable similarity in a given set of circumstances, antecedent and otherwise, so these half-thoughts may prove to be susceptible of classification.

By way of making these dark sayings more understandable, the mind may be compared to a kaleidoscope. A figure of compact and fascinating beauty holds us for a moment. Its completeness and its static charm win our approval; but the next second, the revolution of the toy shatters the figure, and we behold only scattering fragments. Conjoining each arrested figure, the constituents of which as to color, shape and contrast, we are able to apprise, are the broken and dissolving forms—the makings and the ruins of the completed thing.

Or, to take another illustration, let us suppose that we behold in a laboratory a colloidal mass of indefinable, liquified stuff without any visible differentiation of particles. Suddenly it crystalizes and

we see its singular beauty. It has form ; it has fixity, and we are able to give it a name and to estimate its value to us.

The experimenter who wishes to scrutinize his own half-thoughts will have excellent opportunity to do so in the drowsy period when sleep approaches, or during the moment of semi-stupor when he passes from the shadowy chambers of sleep into the clear room of waking. Sometimes these flying thoughts seem like the disembodied spirits of our own actions—little teasing, flitting regrets, fragmentary anticipations, swift yet ill-defined realizations of sorrow or joy ; but oftener they bear no relation to anything we consciously have thought or done. It is as if we heard the beatings of the wings of an invisible bird ; or as if our ideas were creatures of form and substance awaiting to appear before us, shuffling and pushing, and with only a minority finding place in our cognition. Sometimes they are so charming that in our effort to grasp them we awaken completely ; sometimes they are so menacing that the sane mind voluntarily repudiates them. It may be suggested that these things are but the fringe of dreams—the spume and spray of the waves of sleep-thought. But such a classification is not an explanation, and there are, moreover, reasons why it seems as if these half-thoughts ought not to be so classified. The chief of these is that frequently these half-thoughts bear no more relation to the things we dream than to the completed ideas which we think in our more controlled moments.

A large proportion of the little scudding visions which precede sleep or dismiss it, may be described as hauntings. Kipling gives a memorable description of the hauntings to be found in real sleep in his "Brushwood Boy," and Du Maurier has described them even better in *Peter Ibbetson*, but the hauntings of sleep, however telepathic or given to repetition, are not to be confused with the illusive half-thoughts which fly like bats about the margin of unconsciousness, and which are, like true and completed thought, considerably influenced by habit.

A lady who has found some diversion in observing the involuntary processes of her mind contributes the confession that she has had three "hauntings." They have not, she says, come to her every night, but they have recurred so frequently that they have made themselves a part of the warp and woof of that curious fabric of

through a wood. Her short blue skirts could be followed by her sleep-seeking observer as she flitted among the trees, and as the little vision went deeper and deeper into the wood, sleep came nearer and nearer. At last the dream-child vanished, and sleep shut down completely upon the watcher. Later the little girl left the lady entirely and gave way to another "haunting"—a dark, rich, glowing masculine face, Arabian in its aspect. Beturbanned and bejeweled, implacable, with hot, valorous brown eyes, he gazed out of the darkness as the sign and token that sleep was nearing. This luxuriant visitor was uncongenial to his hostess, and she was relieved when he vanished to give place to a slender skater, clothed in black, who, like the first little visitor, never turned his face. The lady could see him winding down the dark ice of a river, watch him swing around the bend, note the fine vigorous rhythm of his form—made very small by distance and could follow him as he approached the shining path of a large star. If she could, so to speak, get him across that bright path, she slept; if he could not be coaxed to go so far, sleep held off from her, and she had to will him onward again and again before she could attain the kind oblivion she sought. Whether such hauntings are the particular characteristics of persons shadowed with insomnia or not, is something that cannot be theorized upon without much inquiry.

It may be that these hauntings should be classed with habits of the mind—those perplexing habits which tempt a person to fall into the same conversation over and over again with a certain person; and to drop from the lips involuntarily, upon the recurrence of a given occasion, the same phrase; or which trick the mind into dwelling upon certain foolish stories or tunes, when the same provocative incidents occur. Concerning these teasing mental bypaths, the psychologists have written a considerable amount, but they have not investigated the crepuscular little semi-sleep paths.

Now and then some whimsical and observant friend will offer a confession which will add to one's knowledge concerning this vague stuff, this trifling gray chiffon of the mind, but as a general thing folk are reluctant to speak of these subterranean mental processes, evidently regarding such caprices of the mind as abnormal, whereas they are in reality transitional. A very interesting contribution of personal experience came from a little boy of eleven who sometimes writes verses. He offered for criticism a curious rhymed composition which he called "Little Windows." It described eery casements opening on crooked little streets which ran through twilight land, and from these windows looked the faces of dwarfs and

elves, weeping or grinning, and the faces of foolish babies with bald heads, and old, old men, very wrinkled, with toothless gums. These hung from the windows for a second's space and were gone.

"Have you any idea what I mean?" asked the boy.

"Perhaps," was the reply, "you mean to describe the five minutes after you get in bed and before you fall asleep."

"That's it!" he said, honestly relieved that another fellow-creature should share his elf-land with him. "I couldn't find words for the things I really see, so I made up these little symbols. I didn't quite see the streets and windows, but I saw something that made me feel as if I had seen them."

He was told about the saying of Arthur Symons, who averred that the poets of the future would write about the things they discovered in themselves. Symons said that the external views appeared to have been taken. The epics were done with, the ballads written, nature described, and that all that now remained for the poets to do was to delve in themselves—in the misty mid-region of Me, he might have phrased it. Symons expressed it as his opinion that the reason Verlaine made so great an appeal to discriminating lovers of poetry was because he had the art of putting wordless things into words. Verlaine describes the Chimera as lending her back to the little lost children of his mind—the vagrant, runaway, dream-horde, the "little flies," of his "black suns" and "white nights," and he shouts "*Ite, aegri, somnia*" after them as he sees them departing. Again, however, he sees possibilities of goodness and beauty in these vanishing visions.

"Glimmering twilight things are these,
Visions of the end of night.
Truth, thou lightest them, I wis,
Only with a distant light,

"Whitening through the hated shade
In such grudging dim degrees,
One must doubt if they be made
By the moon among the trees,

"Or if these uncertain ghosts
Shall take body bye and bye,
And uniting with the hosts
Tented by the azure sky,

"Framed by Nature's setting meet,
Offer up in one accord
From the heart's ecstatic heat
Incense to the living Lord."

The note of worship struck in Verlaine's verse seems the fitting culmination of his poem, for the reason that religious perception appears not infrequently to come in some such mysterious way as he describes. A person may go for days with a sense of something bright gleaming down in the subconscious self, just as the eyes, busied about their necessary seeing, may be aware of the glitter of frozen snow without the window. Suddenly there comes a refulgence. Beauty bursts upon the eyes with something akin to violence. And in the same manner some spiritual joy shines, mystical and gleaming as the sun-lit snow-field, before the eyes of the spirit. It would be profoundly interesting to know to what extent the visions of the devout are the materialization of the wraiths of thought.

One of the most coherent things written upon the subject of half-thoughts came from the pen of Dr. Otto Weininger, who called them "henids." He writes: "A common example from what has happened to all of us may serve to illustrate what a henid is. I may have a definite wish to say something particular, and then something distracts me, and the 'it' I wanted to say or think has gone. Later on, by some process of association, the 'it' is quite suddenly reproduced, and I know at once that it was what was on my tongue, but, so to speak, in a more perfect state of development." Later, in trying to make clear his meaning, he says that henids are distinguished from thoughts by a lower grade of consciousness, by the absence of relief—the blending of the *die* and the impression, and he concludes, "one cannot describe henids; one can only be conscious of their existence."

He thinks that all of the thoughts of early infancy are henids, and suggests it may be that the perceptions of plants and animals partake of this character. He thinks that women are more indecisive than men, and concludes that women therefore are more subject to henids than are men. Other observers, less obsessed than Weininger with the idea of the ineptitude of consummate femininity, are of the opinion that men like women, are indecisive in certain directions. Each is so in dealing with unfamiliar work and situations. It may be inquired if the henid as it appears in the normally developed mind, is not the result of an instinct for recuperation. Reverie is a dim room into which one withdraws for rest, and a temperate indulgence in such a relaxation makes for the rebuilding of brain and nerve. When a man lights his pipe, or a woman takes up her crochet needle, the obvious occupation is really secondary to the pursuit of the gentle henid, who, however much

he may defy definition, has a little globule of peace hidden somewhere within him, even as the unresistant bivalve conceals his pearl.

No place is more propitious for the hunting of henids than a comfortable seat in a railway train. The flying scene arouses a horde of half-thoughts from their lair in the undiscovered self. A house, a gate, a path, seems to hold the very essence of familiarity. Birds picking at the wild rice, a windmill trembling half around its circuit and falling back, two spires announcing an unseen village beyond the hill, release from invisibility swarming schools of henids which gleam fish-like beneath a swift-flowing stream, and are gone before one can say whether they show the tawny-gold fin or the gray-blue luster, to tell if they be redsides or trout.

It will not do to say that the railway traveler merely has given the imagination play. Imagination involves ideas. These impressions do not attain the stature of ideas. They are a rout of sympathetic henids through which the traveler comes into fleeting touch with hundreds of previously unknown men, landscapes and habitations, at no cost to himself—beyond the railway fare. These lightning-swift adventures have the effect of elongating the journey, and yet, curiously enough, they help to pass the time. Hashish, it is said, has similar but much more emphasized effects. The long waves of thought that break upon the mind as it is submerged beneath an anesthesia, must bear some resemblance to the hashish visions. The tempo of the intoxicated man's thought, however, is much quicker. The figures in the mental mirage follow each other swiftly, breaking into shapes which pass from the fantastic to the appalling.

It will be remembered that Weininger spoke of the mental processes of animals and plants. It seems likely that the thoughts of the domestic animals are, for the most part, placid henids, arising in moments of excitement to the importance of thoughts. Many dogs and some horses appear to have clear ideas and indications of genuine character. A cat finds it more difficult to shake off the impersonal attitude of the jungle than do these other animals, but even pussy is not without her acumen and humor. Fleas, as is

eyes, the cat follow his master hundreds of miles, the dove recognize an old-time friend in the streets of a thronged city. Here indeed, are far-reaching fields of conjecture but little explored.

John Burroughs does not accord reasoning powers to animals. Probably he would grant them no more intellectual force than is included in many henids and some lucid cognition. His chapters on *What Do Animals Know?* are worth perusal by those interested in the rudiments of thought.

The theory that plants have initiatory thoughts is not singular to Weininger. Darwin pointed out that the divisions between plant and animal life are imperceptible at certain points of conjunction, and he discerned as much perception in the sensitive plant as in the sponges. The biological theory of consciousness is that plants and animals, but not minerals, possess consciousness. Ernst Haeckel in *The Riddle of the Universe* has conceded consciousness to the very lowest forms of animal life and also to plants, and Max Verworn believes that the protists have developed self-consciousness, but that their sensations and movements are of an unconscious character—in other words, that their henids are of the vaguest sort. As for the poets, they have, regardless of the age or the country in which they lived, attributed aspiration and enjoyment to flowers and trees, and that teller of tales who gives individuality to animals—providing he does it well—is certain to win the applause of children old and young; for incontestibly the world seems to be a happier place when the little brothers of the air and field think, act and communicate according to laws in consonance with those that obtain among humans.

Henids have been spoken of as a means of recuperation, as an amusement, as a link between man and the lower forms of life, and may now be considered as the refuge of the tortured or too exalted mind. Suppose that a man is brought face to face suddenly with a great catastrophe. Does he devote himself to adequate reflections upon the disaster, weighing the suffering to be borne, and carefully estimating the changes it will bring to him? No; his mind shudders away from these gaunt realities and takes refuge in half-thoughts, observing immaterial things vagrantly, and permitting these fragmentary notions to drift away like motes in the sunshine. Or supposing that a supreme joy arrives. Does it bring with it the power to measure the felicity? Not at all; it in its turn is tempered to mortal use by these innumerable little semi-thoughts, these useful buffers between fact and perception. The victim who is led to the executioner's chair, the martyr who walks unprotestingly to his

death, alike are comforted by these shadowy ideas, and scenes and circumstances which else would overwhelm by their strangeness are made to approach familiarity by these curious little emanations from oneself.

In Mr. William James's *The Nature of Truth*, considerable is said about the thoughts that lie between thoughts—the conjunctive ideas, as he terms them. He speaks of these swift-moving half-thoughts as the short cuts or the by-paths which lead from one experience to another, and give to them an economical value. "In a general way," he writes, "the paths that run through conceptual experiences, that is, through 'thoughts,' or 'ideas,' that 'know' the things in which they terminate, are highly advantageous paths to follow. Not only do they yield inconceivably rapid transitions; but owing to the 'universal character' which they frequently possess, and to their capacity for association with one another in great systems, they outstrip the tardy consecutions of the things themselves, and sweep us toward our ultimate termini in a far more labor-saving way than the following of sensible perception ever could. Most thought-paths, it is true, are substitutes for nothing actual; they end outside the real world altogether, in wayward fancies, utopias, fictions, mistakes. But where they do re-enter reality and terminate therein, we substitute them always; and with these substitutes we pass the greater number of our hours."

This is a respectful tone to assume toward the thought-debris. But Mr. James has mined deep in the human soul; he has assayed the metal again and again, and he is too skilled a chemist not to estimate at the right value the dump of "tailings" which the less experienced operator casts aside.

Greater claims may be held for this thought-detritus, however, than that of labor-saving. Its value is far from being all negative. It is not too much to aver that it is a clew to our hidden and unrecognized selves. Much has been learned the last few years concerning the dual, and even the multiple personality. Many neurotic persons have developed two or more personalities often of the most oppositional qualities. In one state, a man afflicted with these warring individualities will be unconscious of all he experiences in the other state; and even the outward demonstrations of his personality will undergo a change, so that the tones of his voice, his gestures and smile, as well as his principles and tastes will suffer a sea-change. To determine which is the really normal, or the more desirable state, is no mean task, and beneficent and efficient

pathologists have succeeded in more than one instance in merging these seemingly antagonistic personalities, providing the restored neurotic with a character of excellent durability and worth. Fortunately, few are called upon to endure so confusing a partition of self, but in all of us there are undeveloped potentialities.

It is permissible for us to inquire the source of the swift impulses for sacrifice and heroism which leap into our consciousness now and then, startling us from our tepid goodness. We may well wish to know the meaning of the swift temptations which assail us and which are as unrelated to our usual customs and thoughts as a dodo to a thrush. How is it that we struggle all our lives between opposing influences—not necessarily classifiable as good or bad, but differing in tendency and destination. Why does the sight of a gypsy band tug at our domestic and suburban souls? Why does the sound of a blacksmith's hammer stir us as nothing within our well-ordered offices can do? Why have we unaccountable homesicknesses for the things we never have seen? Why does a picture of the yellow desert grip our imaginations? What are these cryptic sympathies which follow our obvious and explainable sympathies, as the gradations of the spectrum follow its primal colors? Are not these haunting, nameless wraiths of thought the shapeless guardians of the doors of understanding? We look through them into the houses of other souls and provide ourselves with synthetic experiences. The social pariah wrings from us the admission: "There but for God's grace go I," and, no less, the man or woman of great achievements and benevolences forces from us the confession: "There but for fears and doubts and haltings, go I."

May it not be admitted that we owe no inconsiderable portion of our most delicate happiness to our half-thoughts? Not to go further than the mere matter of recognitions and familiarities, we shall find infinite sources of satisfaction. The sense of home which rises to meet us at the creak of our own gate, the gleam of our own fire, the scent of our own roses, flooding us with vital at-homeness, with beautiful, inarticulate awareness, though compacted of nebulous and evasive thoughts, is nevertheless a superfine delight. And a perfume, a voice, a gesture, will call up memories which, piling higher and higher, finally obscure the sky of the present with tossing thought-cumuli.

The most illusive and transfigured of all the half-thoughts is, however, that which flutters into oblivion at the moment of awaking. It seems to be some essence of self, yet something dearer and more

desirable than self, and when it vanishes—as it invariably does when consciousness asserts itself—one seems to have parted company not only with an inner and secret core of being, but with the friends who companioned the hidden spirit. It is as if one turned from a door more truly one's own than any material door ever can be; or as if, in stepping out from that silent place upon the streets of life, one had quitted what was familiar and contenting for what was alien. The reality appears impoverished and the mind is suffused with a poignant wistfulness, for the half-glimpsed things lie beyond the barrier of sleep. It seems as if one had caught a hint of unknown glories of sight and sound, of peace and love, and of correspondence with the source of things which, in more self-directed and limited hours resolve themselves into a feeble and faint surmise.

No experience with half-thoughts can be universal, for no experience in action or in ideas completely repeats itself in this world of perpetual change and illimitable variety. Yet, because they are a part of the universal possession of thinking man, they will command the increasing attention of the psychologist beyond a doubt. The enormous proportion of time occupied by them in the mental life, makes such a result inevitable. More mysterious than thoughts, they make an appeal to all who are interested in the origins of our moralities, our inherent defects and our presciences. Uncontrolled as they are by the exercise of will, they fascinate by their freedom, their winged spontaneity; or—lest that figure of speech be thought too light—they may be compared to those unformed yet potential creatures which palpitated from the stones Deucalion hurled from his life-giving hand. They lift their strange faces but a little way above the earth, yet in each one lives the promise of life and achievement.

Massed and permitted to sink into a blue of subterranean brooding, these half-thoughts assume a curious and comforting quality like that of an incoherent lullaby, or the distant sound of the ocean, or the low breathing of the plains. But Arthur Symons has said it as no one may say it in prose. He rhymes it after this fashion:

"O, is it death or life
That sounds like something strangely known
In this subsiding out of strife,
This slow sea-monotone?

"A sound, scarce heard through sleep,
Murmurous as the August bees
That fill the forest hollows deep
About the roots of trees.

"O, is it life or death,
O, is it hope or memory,
That quiets all things with this breath
Of the eternal sea?"

GOETHE'S PERSONALITY.

CHARACTERIZED BY INCIDENTS FROM HIS LIFE.

BY THE EDITOR.

GOETHE was of a fine stature and a prepossessing noble face. He had large bright eyes and generally wore a serene and kindly expression. We know from many reports of his contemporaries that his appearance was striking, although we may fairly well take for granted that most of the portraits made of Goethe are idealized, and this is especially the case of the bust made by Alexander Trippel (born 1744 at Schaffhausen, died September 24, 1793 at Rome). He met Goethe in Rome, and the bust he made of the poet is commonly called Goethe's Apollo bust, because it bears an unmistakable resemblance to the Belvidere statue of the god of music and poetry. Goethe wrote of this piece of art under September 14, 1787: "My bust is very well executed. Everybody is satisfied with it. Certainly it is wrought in a beautiful and noble style, and I have no objection that posterity should think I looked like this."

As a rule Goethe enjoyed good health, but when a child he not only passed through all the usual children's diseases but also the dangerous black pox. In his eighteenth year at Leipsic he suffered from a hemorrhage of the lungs and remained for some time in a critical condition. In later years he observed the rules of hygienic living and only once afterwards underwent a dangerous disease. Slight disturbances of his health he would not allow to interfere with his work, for he exercised his will power and was firmly convinced that a man could overcome the danger of infection by courage, while fear of a disease rendered the system liable to succumb to it. He said to Eckermann (April 7, 1829):

"It is remarkable what the moral will can accomplish. It pervades the body, so to speak, and puts it in an active condition that throws off all injurious influences. Fear, on the other hand, is a



Gift of the Verein der Freunde

Dr. E. Albert

THE APOLLO BUST OF GOETHE.
By A. Trippel.

condition of cowardly weakness and susceptibility which makes it easy for every foe to gain possession of us."

He repeated this opinion in the last year of his life (March 21, 1831):



GOETHE IN HIS 83D YEAR.
After an engraving by Schwerdgeburdt.

"I often suffer from abdominal trouble, but a determined will and the powers of my superior parts keep me going. The spirit

greater exertion to overcome the evil effects of the low barometer, and I succeed very well."

Goethe's genius consisted mainly in what may be called "ob-



FRIEDERICH VON MÜLLER, 1797-1849.
Drawing by Schmeller.

perfect mirror which reproduced his surroundings with great correctness and impartiality. He was conscious of this himself. Whenever his genius was praised in his presence he used to explain it in some such words as these, recorded to have been spoken to Chancellor von Müller: "I permit objects to make their impression upon me quietly. I observe the effect and endeavor to reproduce it faithfully and without vitiation. That is the whole secret of what men are pleased to call genius."

In the same way he spoke to M. Soret, the tutor of the young princes: "By no means do I owe my works to my own wisdom, but to thousands of people and things around me that have furnished the material. There came to me fools and sages, bright minds and narrow, childhood and youth as well as mature age. All told me their opinions, how they lived and worked and what experiences they had gathered, and I had nothing else to do but get to work and reap what others had sown for me."

The objectivity of Goethe's character enabled him to work out the *dramatis personae* of his great dramas with great perfection. It is true that the main characters always reflected one or another trait of himself, and mostly in an exaggerated degree. Goethe was Werther himself, and he experienced the pathological condition so marvelously described in his book; but Goethe possessed sufficient strength to diagnose his own case and as soon as he had worked it out in good literary form he had rid himself of the disease.

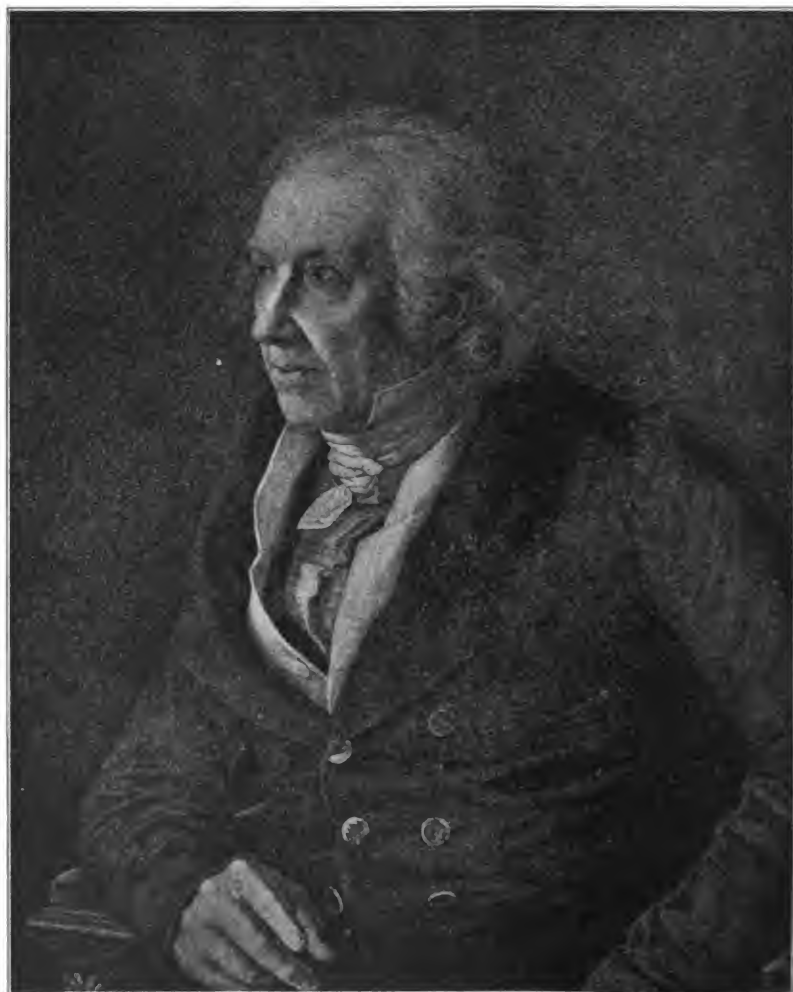
It is for this reason that Goethe's novels are by no means characteristic of Goethe's genius, and we deem it regrettable that in certain circles they are read more than his other works. Goethe has incorporated in all his works the pathology of his own development, but his novels, "Werther," "Elective Affinities," and "Wilhelm Meister," contain much that would better have been relegated to oblivion. It is true that problems are treated in them which will always command the interest of the student of psychology, but this being the case we must remember that the book should not be taken by the broad public as ideal literature, but should bear a warning sub-title, such as "Studies for the Pathologist." It takes a deeper knowledge of the human mind to appreciate the genius here displayed, which as in all of Goethe's works reflects the objectivity of his mind.

This same objectivity in Goethe's character enabled him to understand persons who were different from himself, and to be just to every one. Part of his success in life is due to his marvelous faculty of treating persons in the proper way, avoiding unnecessary

conflicts and making friends of enemies. This is illustrated in an incident which occurred to him in 1774 when he was still a young man in the period of Storm and Stress.



While traveling with Lavater he sat at the dinner table at Duisburg together with several guests of the hotel, one of whom was Rector Hasenkampf, a pious but tactless man. While Goethe and the rest were carrying on a jovial conversation, Herr Hasenkampf



KARL FRIEDRICH ZELSTER.

interrupted them by asking, "Are you Mr. Goethe?" Goethe nodded assent. "And did you write that notorious book, 'The Sorrows of Young Werther'?" "I did." Then I feel in duty bound to express my horror at that infamous book. May God change your perverted

heart! For woe to that man by whom offense cometh." A painful silence followed, for all present expected the young poet's temper to be aroused, but Goethe answered calmly, "I understand that from your point of view you must judge me as you do, and I respect the honesty of your reproof. Remember me in your prayers." In this way Goethe disarmed the pious rector and won over every heart. The conversation continued merrily, even the rector taking part in it.

Goethe could sympathize with others because he had experienced in his own life much of the fate common to all men. Thus we have a letter from him to Karl Friedrich Zelter, a musician of Berlin with whom he carried on a long correspondence, and to whom he looked up as his musical adviser. Zelter's son had committed suicide, and Goethe wrote to him in these words: "About the deed or misdeed itself, I know of nothing to say. When the *tedium vitae* attacks a man it can only be regretted, not censured. That the symptoms of this wonderful disease, as natural as it is unnatural, once took possession of my inmost being also, 'Werther' leaves no one in doubt. I know right well what exertion and decisions it cost me at that time to escape the waves of death, just as I have also with great trouble rescued myself and laboriously recovered from many a later shipwreck."

* * *

Goethe's father was a patron of painters, and so the love of art was naturally instilled into the poet from his earliest childhood. We have many sketches by the young Goethe which betray considerable talent, and even though he never became a real artist he did not cease to exercise his eye in seeing beauty and his hand in reproducing on paper the impression received. He never traveled without taking paper and sketch-book with him, and we have innumerable drawings from his hand which, though by no means perfect, possess some interest even for great artists.

Goethe collected all the sketches which he made in his early youth in a portfolio which he called *Juvenilia*. The *Goethe-Gesellschaft* has published the most characteristic of these drawings, and we here reproduce some of them. Most of them are artistic in conception and drawn with a firm yet delicate hand. Take for instance the watch-tower of Sachsenhausen and the church of St. Leonhard, and consider that they were made by a boy in his 15th year who had no special artistic education.

In another drawing the young poet has sketched himself, and we notice his intention to display the characteristic interests of his life. He himself is seated at a table writing, and on the wall in the

background hang his hat and coat together with his sword, and probably a guitar. At the left upper corner of the window is his sketch of his sister, Cornelia. Behind his chair stands an easel with

THE YOUNG POET, DRAWN BY HIMSELF.
From the portfolio *Juvenilia*.

an unfinished landscape upon it. Tradition does not betray the contents of the bottle on the table behind him. In spite of some technical mistakes, the conception of the sketch is admirable and shows both thought and taste. How much Goethe trained himself in



THE WATCH TOWER OF SACHSENHAUSEN ON THE MAIN, OPPOSITE
FRANKFORT.

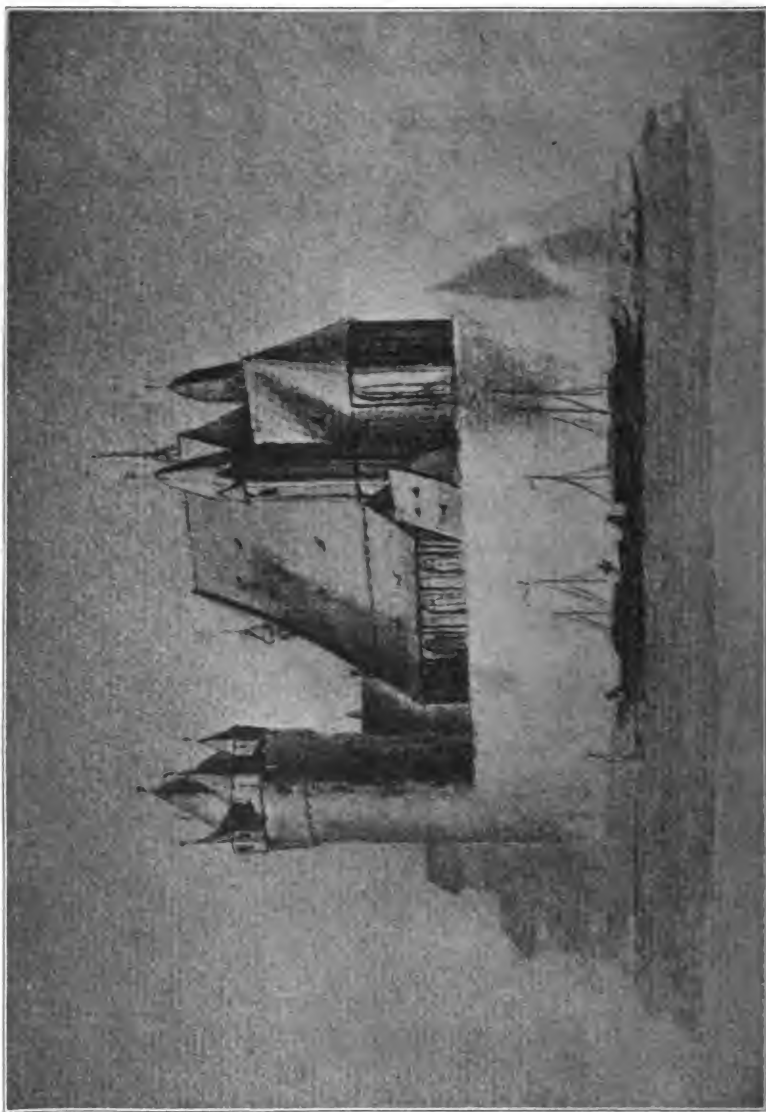
Drawing by Goethe contained in the portfolio *Juvenilia*.

artistic observation appears in the following sentence in "Truth and Fiction": "I saw no old castle, no old building, which I did not reproduce as closely as possible."

Goethe's own home at Weimar was comfortable and betrayed his love of art, but there was no show of luxury, and his study

presented the appearance of Spartan simplicity. In his talks with Eckermann (March 23, 1829) he said:

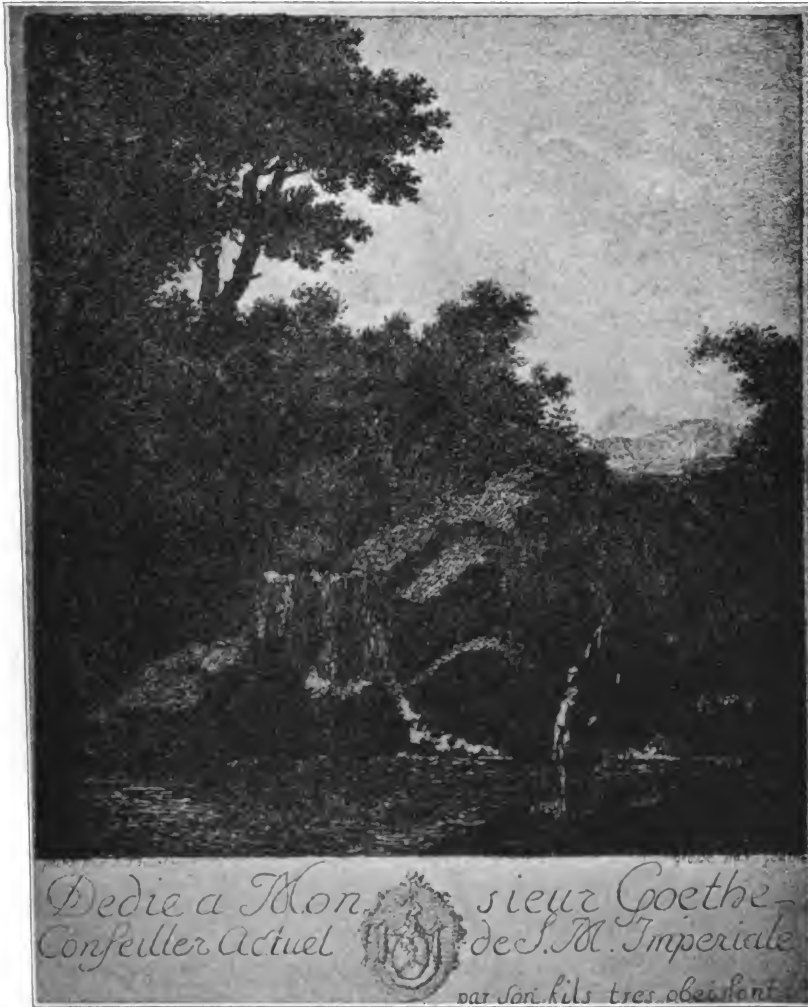
"Magnificent bulidings and rooms are for princes and kings.



THE CHURCH OF ST. LEONHARD.
Drawing by Goethe in 1764. From the portfolio *Juvenilia*.

He who lives in them feels at ease; he is contented and wishes for nothing else. It is quite contrary to my nature. In a splendid dwelling such as I had at Karlsbad I am lazy and indolent. Narrow

quarters on the other hand like this poor room where we now are, in somewhat disorderly order, a little Bohemian, are the right thing for me. They permit my nature entire freedom to be active and to make something of myself."



AN ETCHING BY GOETHE.
 From the portfolio *Juvenilia*.

Two days later he touched on the same subject:

"You see no sofa in my room; I always sit in my old wooden chair and only in the last few months I have arranged a sort of

rest for my head. Surroundings of comfortable, tasteful furniture dull my thought and reduce me to a passive condition."

While Goethe's study was simple and serviceable his home was large and comfortable and did not lack a display of art. One of his friends, the naturalist-philosopher Karl Gustav Carus of Dresden, describes Goethe's house at Weimar thus:

"Immediately upon entrance into the modestly large house, built in a simple antique style, the inclinations of the owner were clearly indicated by the broad easy stairway as well as the decoration of the banisters with the hound of Diana and the young fawn

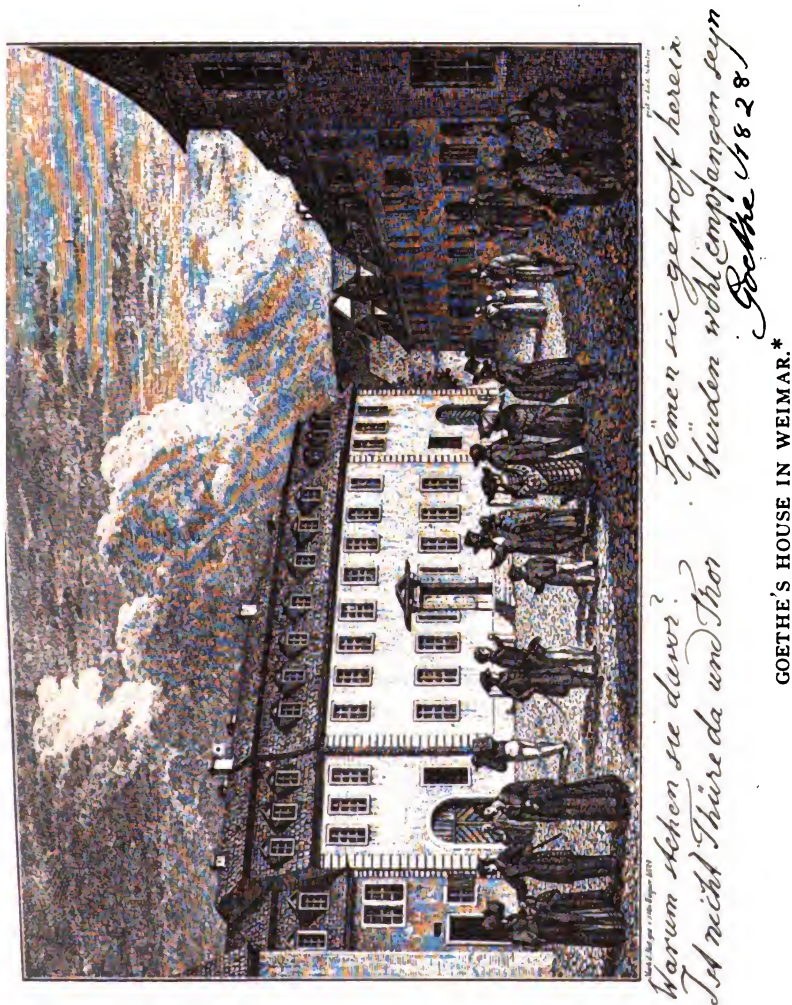


GOETHE'S STUDY.

Drawn by O. Schultz after a photograph by L. Held.

of Belvidere. Farther up a group of Castor and Pollux agreeably surprise the eyes, and on the main floor the guest was greeted by a hospitable "Salve" in the hall. This room itself was richly decorated with busts and engravings, and towards the back of the house opened through another hall of statuary upon the gaily entwined balcony and a stairway leading into the garden. Conducted into another room the guest found himself surrounded anew with works of art and antiquities. Beautifully burnished vessels of chalcedony stood around on marble tables; above the sofa green hangings half concealed a large copy of the old mural painting known by the

ne of "the Aldobrand Wedding";¹ while the selection of pieces of art kept under glass and in frames, and mostly representing subjects of ancient history, deserved the closest attention."

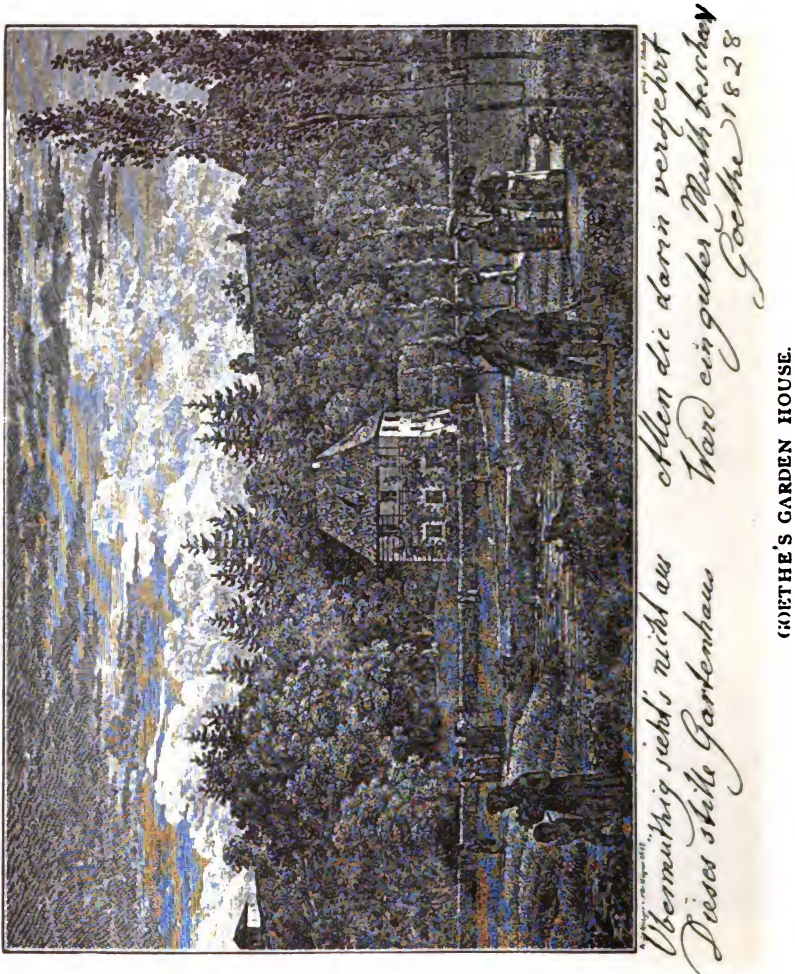


GOETHE'S HOUSE IN WEIMAR.*

¹ The Aldobrand Wedding is a picture dating presumably from the age of Augustus, which has been discovered (1606) near the Church of St. Maria Maggiore at Rome, on the grounds which formerly belonged to Mæcenas. It represents the preparation for a wedding, consisting of three groups. It was named after Cardinal Aldobrandini, its first owner, and is now kept in the Vatican library.

* A gift from Duke Karl August, 1792. Johann Walther Goethe, the poet's grandson and the last of the family, bequeathed it to the state of Saxe-Weimar at his death, April 15, 1885. Now the seat of the Goethe National Museum.

Goethe loved traveling. He journeyed along the Rhine, through Switzerland and Italy, and frequently visited Karlsbad and Teplitz; but he was always glad to return to his home in Weimar, and in one of his letters to Christiana Vulpius, his faithful consort, he wrote:



GOETHE'S GARDEN HOUSE.

"From east to west,
At home is best."

[Von Osten nach Westen—
Zu Hause am besten.]

He always dressed as occasion demanded. At court or when receiving guests he would appear in a somber black court dress with

his decorations on his breast, but he did not hesitate to be seen by his intimate friends on hot days in his shirt sleeves, or in his comfortable woolen gown in winter.

Goethe enjoyed gardening, and his philosophical as well as scientific interest in plant life is sufficiently proved by his poem on the "Metamorphosis of Plants." He stayed frequently in his little garden house outside the city and loved to meet his friends there.

A humorous incident is told by Goethe of Gottsched,² who was considered a kind of dictator of German literature. While Goethe was a student at Leipsic Gottsched still basked in the glory of his fame though he had long since passed the zenith of his significance. He was a pompous man of the old style belonging to the period of the full-bottomed wig, the French allonge periwig, and Goethe criticised him with impartiality as an author in the second book of his



"Truth and Fiction." When Schlosser visited Leipsic Goethe called on Gottsched in company with his future brother-in-law, and gives an account of this interview. We quote from Oxenford's translation of "Truth and Fiction":

"I cannot pass over the visit we paid Gottsched, as it exemplifies the character and manners of that man. He lived very respectably in the first story of the Golden Bear, where the elder Breitkopf, on account of the great advantage which Gottsched's writings, translations, and other aids had brought to the trade, had promised him a lodging for life.

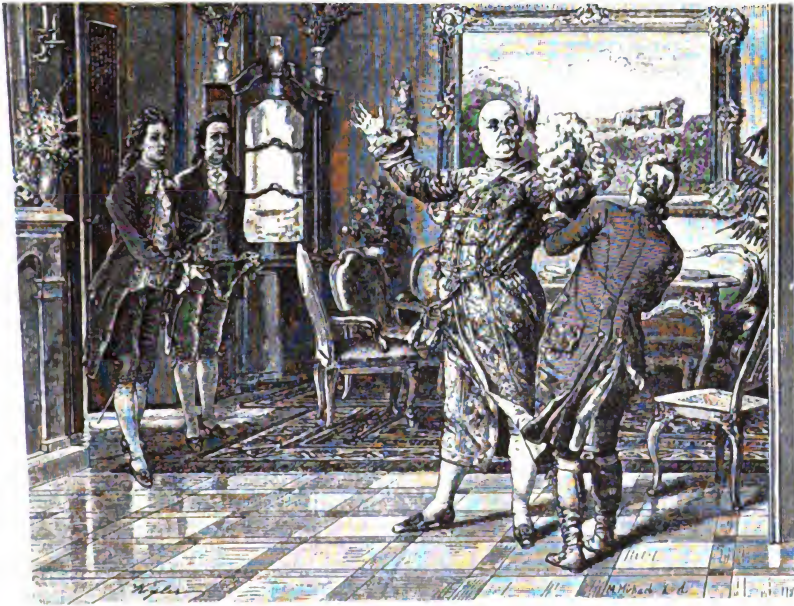
"We were announced. The servant led us into a large chamber, saying his master would come immediately. Now, whether we misunderstood a gesture he made, I cannot say; at any rate, we thought

² Gottsched was born February 2, 1700, at Juditten in Eastern Prussia, and died September 12, 1766, at Leipsic, where he had lived since 1724. In 1730 he became professor of poetry, and in 1734 professor of logic and metaphysics.

he directed us into an adjoining room. We entered, to witness a singular scene ; for, on the instant, Gottsched, that tall, broad, gigantic man, came in at the opposite door in a morning-gown of green



mask lined with red taffeta; but his monstrous head was bald and uncovered. This, however, was to be immediately provided for. The servant rushed in at a side-door with a full-bottomed wig in his hand (the curls came down to the elbows), and handed the head-ornament to his master with gestures of terror. Gottsched, without manifesting the least vexation, raised the wig from the servant's arm with his left hand, and, while he very dexterously swung it up on his head, gave the poor fellow such a box on the ear with his right paw, that the latter went spinning out at the door, as is often seen in comedies; whereupon the respectable old grandfather invited



GOTTSCHED REBUKES HIS SERVANT.

us quite gravely to be seated, and kept up a pretty long discourse with good grace."

* * *

Goethe was a man of the world. It is true that in his youth he passed through a period of fermentation in which, Titan-like, he could rebel against authority in any form, but when he saw more of the world he followed the behests of common sense and respected rank and power even when due merely to heredity. He was a poet by nature, but in Weimar he had become a man of affairs and a courtier. In this respect he was different from Beethoven who re-

mained an outspoken democrat all his life, at least a non-respector of rank, preserving this tendency even in the presence of his imperial friend, the liberal-minded Emperor Joseph, who not only distinguished him frequently with marks of personal friendship, but also humored his often rude independence. Bettina von Arnim tells a story which illustrates this contrast between Goethe and Beethoven.

One day during their stay at Teplitz Beethoven and Goethe were walking together when they met the whole coterie of royal personages. Beethoven went so far as to show a certain disrespect



CARICATURE OF GOETHE.

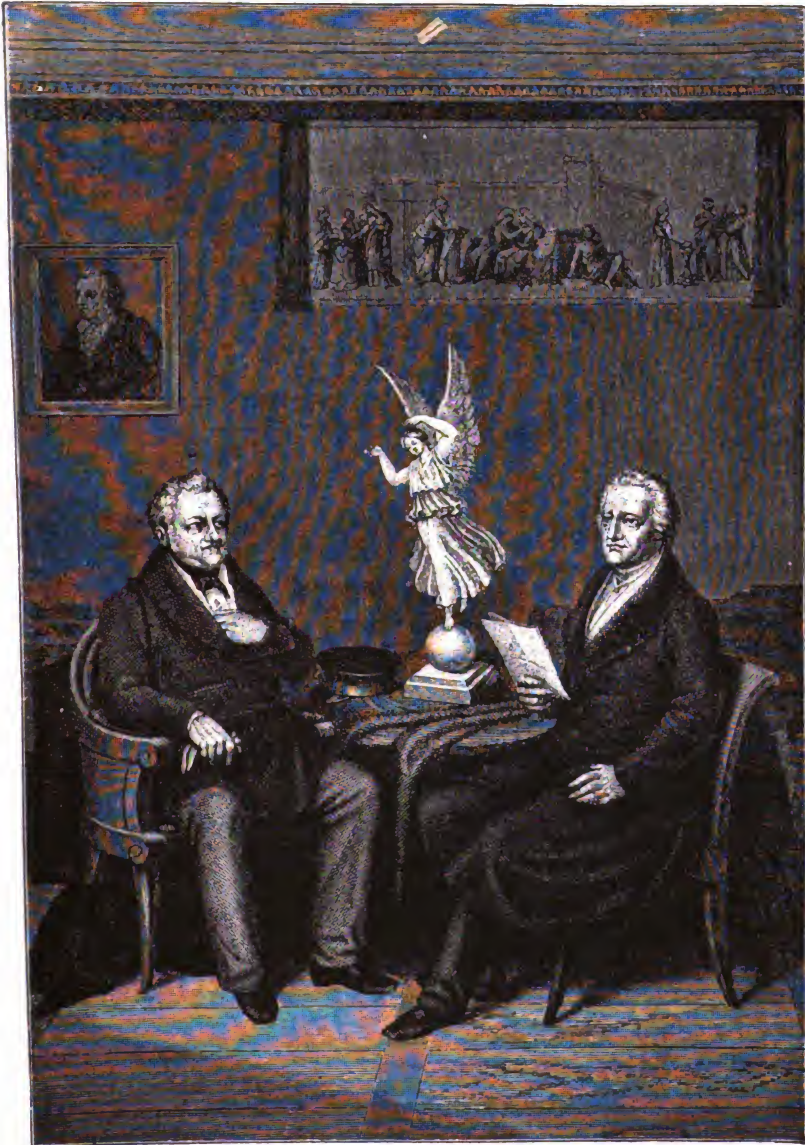
By Daniel Maclise after a similar caricature by Thackeray.



A CARICATURE OF BEETHOVEN.

by passing through their midst regardless of their rank, while Goethe modestly doffed his hat and made room for them to pass. Bettina tells us that Goethe was somewhat perplexed by the "quite untamed" personality of the great composer, while Beethoven blamed Goethe for his courtier-like behavior and on the next day following vented his indignation in these words: "Kings and princes can indeed bestow titles and orders, but they can not make great men, who therefore must be held in respect. When two come together such as Goethe and I, then these great gentlemen must observe what it is

that counts for great with such as we. Yesterday we met the whole imperial family [of Austria], and Goethe disengaged himself from my arm in order to stand aside. I pressed my hat down on my head



DUKE KARL AUGUST AND GOETHE.
After an engraving by Schwerdgeburst.

and went through the thickest of the crowd with my arms hanging at my sides. Princes and courtiers drew up in a double line, the Duke of Weimar took off his hat to me and the Empress greeted me first. Much to my amusement I saw the procession file by Goethe who stood at one side bowing with his hat in his hand. I took him roundly to task for it afterwards."

This makes Goethe appear in a rather unfavorable light, but we must consider that Beethoven also went too far in his brusque



JOHANN FRIEDRICH COTTA, BARON COTTENDORF.
Goethe's publisher and founder of *Die Horen*.

manner, and he might perhaps on second thought have granted that even royalty ought to be treated with gentlemanly behavior.

To complement this trait of Goethe's character we ought to say that while he admired his own sovereign, Karl August, and while he respected his rights even in punctilious formalities, he was by no means a pliable courtier, but in his official duties whenever he thought that his own judgment was better than his sovereign's, he insisted on his point with great tenacity so that the Duke is reported to have

complained sometimes of his obstinacy. Once while disagreeing about filling a chair at the university of Jena, the Duke finally broke off the conversation by saying in a tone of comradeship, "Thou art an odd fellow and canst not stand contradiction."

* * *

Though Goethe was upon the whole very simple in his habits of life and in a way frugal, he spent much money, partly for his travels, partly for books and art treasures, and also for his wines. Further we have good reason to know that neither his wife Christiana nor his daughter-in-law Ottilie were good housekeepers. He drew a very good income from his books and received many gifts from home. When his mother died he inherited the fortune of his parents which was not inconsiderable. Payments made to him between 1795 and 1832 by Cotta alone, his main publisher, amounted to 401,090 thalers; and between the years 1832 and 1865, until the expiration of the copyright, his heirs drew the additional amount of 154,824 thalers. He kept a faithful account of his expenses, and yet his pecuniary affairs were never prosperous, and he frequently complained of being short of funds.

* * *

Goethe loved jovial company and wrote several jolly drinking songs. In his younger years especially he drank wine rather freely, but when he grew older he became suspicious of all stimulants. He drank no tea and very little coffee, deeming both to be poisonous, and also abstained from the use of tobacco. He took beer or strong liquors only as an exception, but being a Rhinelander it was difficult for him to give up wine even when he began to doubt its wholesomeness. Once he wrote (in 1780): "I drink almost no wine at all and gain daily in insight and ability to lead an active life." In 1786 he wrote from Italy: "I am very moderate. The red wine of this country I can not stand, and like St. Louis I drink it mixed with much water." But these moods did not make him a total abstainer. He continued to drink a glass of Madeira for his forenoon lunch and a bottle of Würzburg wine for mid-day dinner, while in the evening he enjoyed either a punch or a glass of champagne. It is remarkable that he could stand so much, but it is noteworthy that he recommends moderation to his son while a student at the university of Heidelberg. In a fatherly letter he writes in 1808: "We are living on in the same old way, quietly and busily, especially, too, as far as wine is concerned, with regard to which it pleases me to learn from your letter that you beware of drinking which has



GOETHE (BY RUMPF).

become so very much the fashion although it militates more than one thinks against a prudent, cheerful and active life."

An anecdote from the poet's sojourn in Karlsbad is told in Goethe's own words by Professor Luden of Jena as follows:

"Walking up and down as was my habit, I repeatedly came across an old man of perhaps 78 or 80 years of age, who leaning on his gold-headed cane passed along the same street coming and going. I learned that he was a very deserving retired general of a prominent old family. I noticed several times that the old man looked at me sharply, even standing still and looking back at me after I had passed. I paid no special attention to this at the time because I had had similar experiences before. Once, however, I started to take a stroll on the side path in order to look at something or other more particularly. The old man came up to me in a friendly manner, slightly lifted his hat, to which of course I suitably responded, and addressed me in the following fashion: 'Your name is Mr. Goethe, is it not?'—Quite right.—'From Weimar?'—Right again.—'You have written books, haven't you?'—Oh yes.—'And made verses?'—That too.—'They are said to be fine.'—Hm!—'Have you written much?'—Some might think so.—'Is it hard to write verses?'—So so.—'It depends a good deal on one's mood I fancy? Whether a person has eaten and drunk well, doesn't it?'—It amounts to about that.—'Now see! You ought not to waste your time in Weimar, but in my opinion you should come to Vienna.'—I've often thought of it.—'Now see! It's fine in Vienna, they have good things to eat and drink!'—Hm!—'And they make a lot of such people who can write verses.'—Hm!—'Yes indeed, such people—if you are a good fellow, you see, and know how to live—are received in the first and finest houses.'—Hm!—'Do come and try! Let me know when you come, for I have a wide acquaintance, relatives and influence. Just write: Goethe from Weimar, met at Karlsbad. The last is necessary to remind me because I have so much on my mind.'—I'll not fail to.—'But tell me though, what have you written?'—All sorts of things from Adam to Napoleon, from Ararat to Blocksberg, from the cedar to the bramble bush.—'They say it is widely known.'—Hm! Unfortunately.—'Too bad that I have never read anything of yours, and never heard of you before! Have new revised editions of your writings appeared?'—Oh yes, probably.—'And perhaps more will appear?'—Let us hope so.—'Well, but see! then I will not buy your works. I only buy final editions. Otherwise one always has the annoyance of owning a poor book or else one must buy the same book the second time. Therefore in

order to be secure I always wait until the author is dead before I buy his books. It is a principle with me, and I can not depart from this principle even in your case.'—Hm!"

* * *

Another encounter of a humorous kind is reported of a captain of hussars, Franz von Schwanefeld, who happened to cross Goethe's path in Teplitz in 1833. The gallant officer had reached the place at the end of June and could not get a room except in the basement of a garden house situated on the promenades. One morning the light of his room was darkened by the figure of a fine old gentleman who sat on the bench just outside his window and drank a mug of water which the servant brought him. This was repeated so frequently that our hussar was annoyed and yet he was attracted by the fine features of the stranger. He opened his window and called out, "Good morning!" but received no reply except a glance of rebuke. Undaunted the captain continued, "Are you a hypochondriac?" No answer. The question was repeated in a voice of thunder. Finally the old gentleman spoke: "Strange!" said he. "Indeed it is strange," replied the captian, "here you are sick and sit out in the cold fog drinking your water alone in solitude and silence. I would rather drink ink in company with others and would be cured the sooner. Do you know, I would be disposed to come to blows with you."

Goethe's eyes opened wide in amazement, and the captain continued: "No danger! I like your hero face too much!"

The stranger was pleased with the aggressive soldier who clothed his offensive language so adroitly in flattery. They entered into conversation and soon were walking together arm in arm. They talked about Schiller and Goethe, about the Duke of Weimar and the war, and the captain said he was very fond of "Tasso" but disliked "Werther." The stranger called the hussar his doctor because he had cured him of his attack of hypochondria, and on the following day they met again, but this time the patient was in company with another gentleman whom the doctor took to be a forester or the tenant of some large estate, and he tried to instill into both a more joyous conception of life. After a few days Herr von Schwanefeld was informed that his acquaintance was Goethe, and the latter's companion whom he had addressed so unceremoniously, the Duke Karl August.

* * *

A curious incident is reported by Dr. G. Parthey, of a Berlin woman who may be characterized as a German Mrs. Malaprop.

He quotes her as giving the following account of her meeting with the famous poet:

"I had made up my mind to visit the great Goethe just once, and so one day when I rode through Weimar I went to his garden and gave the gardener one dollar so that he would hide me in an arbor and give me the wink when Goethe came along. Now when he came down the path and the gardener beckoned to me, I stepped out and said: 'Worshipful sir!' Then he stood still, put his hands behind his back, looked at me and asked, 'Do you know me?' I answered, 'Great man, who is there that does not know you?' and began to recite,

"Firmly bound, the mold of clay
In its dungeon walls doth stand."

At that he made a bow, turned around and went on. So I had my way and had seen the great Goethe."

* * *

It was characteristic of Goethe that he was opposed to all gossip, and whenever slander was reported to him he resented it strongly. Once he said to Chancellor von Müller, "Through such malevolent and indiscreet inventions one makes enemies and embitters one's own existence. I would rather hang myself than be constantly negative, constantly in the opposition, constantly ready to shoot at the faults and shortcomings of my fellows and neighbors. One must be very young and frivolous to tolerate such things." On another occasion he replied very sharply to a visitor who related some scandal, "Keep the sweepings of your dirt at home, and do not bring it into my house."

Once while passing through a park at Weimar his attention was called to a couple of lovers who thought themselves unobserved. They were known in Weimar, and when asked whether he had seen them Goethe answered, "I did, but I don't believe it."

* * *

Goethe was lenient in judging harmless joys and insisted especially upon the protection of the liberties of children. He used to complain that the police disturbed the people in some of their innocent enjoyments. Eckermann reports the following remarks under the date of March 12, 1828:

"I only need look out of the window in our dear Weimar to become aware of how things are with us. When recently the snow lay on the ground and my neighbor's children wished to try their

* This is the beginning of Schiller's best known poem "The Bell."

little sleds in the street, a police officer was immediately on the spot, and I saw the poor little things run away as fast as they could. Now when spring sunshine entices them out of the houses and they want to play some little game with their companions in front of their doors, I see that they are always uneasy as if they were not sure and as if they feared the arrival of some police tyrant. No boy can crack a whip or sing or call out but the police is on hand at once to forbid him. In our town everything tends toward making young people tame before their time and to drive out of them all naturalness, all originality, and wildness, so that in the end there is nothing left but the Philistine."

When the ancient custom of burning up old brooms on St. John's day was prohibited by a regulation of the Weimar police, Goethe wrote down the following lines to be circulated as a propaganda against this interference with boyish merry-making:

"St. Johns-day fires shan't be forbid,
Nor hindered harmless joys;
For of old brooms we must be rid,
And boys will still be boys."

[Johannisfeuer sei unverwehrt,
Die Freude nie verloren!
Besen werden immer stumpf gekehrt,
Und Jungens immer geboren.]

SONGS OF JAPAN.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY ARTHUR LLOYD.

POEMS BY PAST EMPERORS.

A Prosperous Country.

[This is the poem to which the present emperor alludes in his second poem "Prosperity," *Open Court*, Sept., 1911, p. 532.]

From the high roof of my imperial hall
I gaze upon the city, and behold
The rising smoke from many a lowly cot,
And know that all is well within the land.

Nintoku.

Birth 290, accession 313, death 399.

Pity for the Poor.

The thatch upon the cottage is so thin
That the rain penetrates it, drop by drop,
And as he works at indoor winter tasks,
The farmer's hand is wet.

Tenchi.

Birth 626, accession 662, death 671.

The Vanity of Human Life.

[The Emperor Shujaku may be taken as an illustration of the bad custom which prevailed during the Dark Ages of forcing the emperors to abdicate at an early age so as to prevent their acquiring any real power in the state, which was thus left at the mercy of the ambitious Fujiwara family. The Buddhist clergy of the time, for purposes of their own, aided and abetted the Fujiwara in their treacherous policy.]

How profitless a thing is this same self,
That I should think of it!

A few more months,
And, lo! 'tis scattered to the winds that blow,
And all resolved into nothingness.

Shujaku.

Birth 923, accession 931, abdication 946, death 952.

Pity for the Poor.

[Go-toba was one of the weak emperors of the Middle Ages, a mere puppet in the hands of the ambitious nobles and priests. He must have been very happy to be relieved from the cares of state.]

The night is cold, the mournful sighing wind
Howls through the chamber door. And then I know
How great must be the sufferings of the poor.

Go-toba.

Birth 1179, accession 1184, abdication 1198, death 1239.

There is Safety in Retirement.

The towering peak catches the rising sun,
And all men see it: but the dried up stick,
Hidden beneath the brushwork in the glen,
Escapes the ken of man.

Go-toba.

The Ideal of a Sovereign.

[During the whole of his reign Godaigo was troubled by the usurping rival dynasty of the North, which, commencing in A. D. 1313, did not end until 1392.]

My people's peace, the welfare of my land,
What an unending theme for thought is here!

Godaigo.

Birth 1287, accession 1319, death 1338.

Social Equality.

The whole world is but Buddha. Then to draw
Invidious bars and lines 'twixt high and low,
'Twixt rich and poor, how great a sin were this.

Kwanzan-Iu.

The Three Religions

[The restoration which was being prepared during Kōkaku's life, if not his reign, was mainly the work of Shintoists, aided by Confucianists. The

Confucianists were constant supporters of the Shōgunate, and consequently never in favor with the imperial court in the 19th century.]

Shinto.

The winds of heaven dispel the lowering clouds
From the blue sky, and lo! the glorious moon
Shines with an undimmed luster o'er the earth.

Confucianism.

A truly glorious faith. But all its charm
Comes from our nation's garb wherein 'tis dressed.

Buddhism.

A creed of emptiness, a lotus-plant
In autumn-time, when flower and fruit are nought.

Kōkaku.

Birth, 1780, Accession 1816, Death 1840.

Dislike for Foreigners.

[Emperor Komei was the father of the present ruler. He was a consistent opponent of the policy of allowing foreigners to enter Japan, and it was not until the accession of his son in 1867 that a more progressive policy became possible.]

Perish my body 'neath the cold, clear, wave
Of some dark well; but let no foreign foot
Pollute the earth around me with its tread.

Kōmei.

Birth 1831, accession 1847, death 1867.

POEMS BY MEN OF ACTION.

Images of Life.

[Sanetomo was the third and last of the Minamoto line of Shoguns at Kamakura.]

- a The cold spring wind is fragrant with the scent
Of the first flowering plum, and as it blows,
The fragrance lingers in my garment's folds.
- b The world's a dream, a cherry flower that blows,
And sheds its petal-snow and is no more.
- c Spring verges on to summer, and the bloom
That pleased my eye in April is no more.

d At midnight, when the glistening drop of dew
 Shines on the lotus-petal, thou mayest see
 The moon's bright face reflected wholly there.
 Minamoto Sanetomo.
 1192-1219.

Practical Religion.

Better a man should wrestle with his sins
 Then build a temple to the holy gods.
 Minamoto Sanetomo.

A Layman's View.

These priests, they labor not to save men's souls,
 They only preach to fill their money bags.
 Anon.

A Want of Common Sense.

[A celebrated patriot and loyalist, Masashige fought for the emperor Go-daigo (see above) against his usurping rivals. He has been a very popular hero in Japan ever since the restoration.]

"Deep water and thin ice,"—the man that sees
 This notice by the frozen lake, and still
 Ventures upon the ice, call him a fool.
 Kusunski Masashige.
 1294-1336.

Depth of Character.

[The chief claim of Ota Dōkwan to renown to-day is that he built the Castle of Yedo, which is now the imperial palace at Tokyo.]

Deep-channeled streams sweep silent to the sea,
 But shallow brooks go babbling o'er the stones.
 Ota Dōkwan.
 1432-1486.

The Thought of Death.

How sad it is to leave one's life just now!
 Yet, when I think of it, this life is nought,
 And leaving nought behind me can't be sad.
 Ota Dōkwan.

That Which Changes Not.

[A well-known figure in the history of the Civil Wars, Takeda is always looked upon by the Japanese as a paragon of knightly virtues.]

We watch the changing phases of the moon
 From crescent back to crescent. Thus the world
 Fixes its gaze upon the transient show
 And change of this material world of ours,
 Nor heeds the unchanging Truth that dwells beneath.

Takeda Shingen

1521-1573.

Death in Exile.

To die an exile in a far-off land
 Is no such great misfortune, so it be
 Faith or my country's weal that sent me there.

Zoshi.

The Vanity of Life.

[Toyotomi Hideyoshi, generally known as Taikō Sama, was without doubt the greatest man that Japan has ever produced, a warrior, a statesman and a man of intellect. He was no lover of the corrupt Buddhist priesthood of his time.]

Life's but a dew that sparkles on the leaf
 And sparkling melts, and all my mighty deeds
 In camp and castle but as images
 Reflected in the dewdrop, dreams that pass,
 With him that dreamed them, into nothingness.

Hideyoshi.

1538-1598.

Worthless Priests.

In stole and scarf the counterfeiting priests
 Of this decadent age go round the streets,
 Deceiving men with outward pomp and pride.
 But, see, the fox peeps out, for all their clothes.

Hideyoshi.

Light in Darkness.

[Date Masamune, *daimyō* of Sendai, was at one time a great patron of the Catholics. He sent an embassy to Rome and Madrid, and was even very

much inclined to embrace Christianity. The fear of the Shōgun kept him from this step, and he finally became a persecutor of the Christians. It is possible that this poem was written by him in his pro-Christian days.]

The world is dark, yet can I see to walk,
The silver moon illumining my path.

Date Masamune.
1566-1636.

To-Morrow's Hopes.

O fool! that, with misguided confidence,
Bragg'st of to-morrow and to-morrow's hopes!
To-morrow's hopes? What are they but refrains
Still trembling in the air from yesternight?
—And yesternight has gone.

Minamoto Ietaka.

The Whispers of Conscience.

"Thou has a devil," says my friend to me:
And I, indignantly, give him the lie.
But when my conscience whispers me and says,
"Thou hast a devil," what can I reply?

Abe Suruga no Kami.

NEW VISTAS OF IMMORTALITY.

BY THE REV. RICHARD B. DE BARY.

"VISTAS" is the fitting word for describing the latest revelations of science from the viewpoint of religion. Not every one perhaps has remarked the startling similarity between these vistas of science and the latest amended conceptions of the significance of Christ's doctrine of the heavenly sovereignty, of the Fatherhood of God, of his own unique claim of sonship, and of the destiny of humanity.

In Dr. William Osler's Ingersoll lecture on "Science and Immortality," surprise was expressed that science, "knowing nothing of an immortality of spirit" should have "put on an immortality of the flesh." But amid the revolutionary discoveries of current physics and biology it is precisely this conception of a reversionary immortality which makes the scientific vista and the teaching of Christ almost identical.

A brief survey of the amended conception of scholars,¹ about Christ's teaching, compared with the most recent scientific views on matter, energy, and life, will make this point clear:

1. God is Father to man, Christ taught, through *reversion*; through a "subtracting from" rather than by an "adding to," human nature. This view, it will be noted, affords sanction to Wordsworth's dictum,

".....by grace divine
O Nature, we are thine!"

2. Christ always implied that he was the unique son of God, in the sense that he alone had experienced "naturally" a reversion to the Origin of life. This "intimacy with the Father" was thus, to him, the "natural order." His sonship was unique and natural.

3. Christ knew that other men had not experienced this natural reversion to their Father, the Origin of their being. An alien and

¹ G. Dalman, N. Schmidt etc.

evil power separated them from him. Their "Father" was unknown. Christ undertook the mission of removing, of taking away, of "subtracting" this evil and alien power. The result was *conversion*, that is, reversion by his own personal initiative—by divine grace.

4. Physical nature, including the stars, was the "heavenly sovereignty," the kingdom prepared from the beginning, into which he who strictly disciplined himself should enter, or towards which he should revert; but "in possession," that is, constructively rather than destructively.

The voice of the people, it may be added, has gone further than Dr. Osler in making the most material of all objects, namely the stars, the true symbol of immortality. Dr. Osler stated in a popular form the conclusions of August Weismann that life was naturally immortal, death being an accident incidental to the evolution of many-celled animal life, and the single-celled animals experiencing no death in the normal sense of the word. More radical still than this was Christ's teaching that the coming of the divine sovereignty was man's reversion, maintaining his individuality, to the stellar universe; or, might we say, the possession of the kingdom was the absorption of life by morality and through faith, hope and love, not into the reputed "higher" or metaphysical sphere, but into the reputed "lower" or physical sphere, with the one single new phase that in this reversion to the physical individuality was preserved.

A few years ago the statement of this view would have sounded too absurd to need consideration. A brief survey, however, of the most modern conceptions of science will show that the gospel merely states *religiously* what physics and biology imply *scientifically* in the vistas of life that these sciences now afford.

It is noteworthy that the more radical the investigators are and the more they eschew the metaphysical, the more substantial support they apparently give to the view of a divine reversion towards immortality.

1. In physics, J. J. Thomson, Rutherford, and Soddy—in fact every leading physicist, carrying on the noble line of mathematical conceptions of Faraday, Maxwell, and Hertz—openly admit a parallel to the stellar universe in the composition of matter itself and of its atoms. There is here both the parallel gravitational or *directive* force, and the parallel radiating or *expressive* force to that which reigns in the stars.

2. In biology the radical views of Professors Loeb and Matthews are now well known. Life, says Prof. Albert Matthews, in brief, is a ferment in which the directive force called the "difference

of potential energy" becomes operative in cells and complexes of cells. First of all this sounds shockingly materialistic, but on more careful inspection the same vista recurs of reversion to "stellar" immortality within the individual.

In evolutionary studies a recent noted work on *Evolution by Atrophy* stated that there were actual multicellular organisms reputed among the "dying" which had "degenerated into immortality," that is, reverted into the natural immortality of the unicellular organisms.

3. In psychology and psychical research the significance of the fact should be noted that the so-called psychic phenomena have been clearly identified with protoplasmic activities of the brain and nerve cells. Prof. S. N. Patten recently showed the importance of the fact that the germ cells in their extreme responsiveness and adaptivity have more extraordinary powers than any other more specialized cells. Loeb himself admits that brain and nerve cells retain the original powers of the unicellular organisms. Since "personality" may be physically defined as a specific tuning of memory waves, why may not each man possess a manifold existence among the memory cells of all those whom his personality has influenced? In genuine modern science there are no metaphorical, only real existences, nor are considerations of "great" or "small" to be accounted philosophical. In the shrine of our memories therefore the deceased may really live. The attuned memory waves *are* the person of the deceased, and in no mere pleasantry of speech or metaphor.

Again, may not each vital memory, say of the deceased individual A, itself retain the wave rhythms of all whom A himself knew,—say his parents—but whom his living friend did not know?

A goal to evolution on the vista of the psychical might then be set as the reversion of humanity to the complete consciousness of all its vital memories, with the corresponding emergence of these individualized memories into a new consciousness which would be equivalent to a resurrection.

Since it is now admitted that directive force is as universal in atomic existence and in cellular life as it is admittedly also universal in the stellar universe under the name of gravitation; and since directive force and gravitation are both manifestations of the same single law of the "difference of potential of energy," it becomes conceivably within the reach of mathematical demonstration that the goal of humanity is the reversion to a state of exact counterpart to the stellar equilibrium of forces, but interrelated in individual careers. Would not such a reversion be identical with Christ's con-

ception of a heavenly sovereignty towards the possession of which humanity tended as to its birthright?

The ministry of Christ in the world from this viewpoint would not lie in "adding to" humanity, an idea which is inconceivable to evolution; but in "subtracting from" humanity an evil influence, or power, which blocked its reversion into these immortal ways. Christ's teaching of God's universal Fatherhood cannot coincide with any other view of "conversion" than that included in this conception of a "restoration to nature." The new vistas of life revealed by science, no less than Christ's own intensely pious regard for the kingdom of nature, both call for a new reverence on the religious man's part for the physical world. The physical truth of things is not only not evil, but rightly interpreted, it becomes the "heavenly sovereignty" itself, the reign of the stars in individual life. The discovery, lamented over by Dr. Osler, that the physical alone was immortal, was in truth then, a good augury of the advent of the kingdom of heaven. Unless the spirit of man enters into the immortality of the physical world, it cannot see nor possess the heavenly sovereignty of God; for this is nothing else but the eternal law of give and take in the cosmos.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE PEACE IDEA.

Prof. L. Michelangelo Billia, of Turin, an enthusiastic supporter of the peace movement, sends to *The Open Court* an open letter addressed to M. Frederic Passy, one of the chief champions of peace in France. M. Passy is well known in his own country and among the adherents of the cause of peace in all parts of the world. As early as 1867 he was one of the founders of the International and Permanent League of Peace (later entitled "The French Society for Arbitration Among Nations"); in 1888 he established with W. Randal-Cremer the Interparliamentary Union for Arbitration and Peace. In 1892 he was a member of the committee of the International Bureau of Peace at Berne, and in 1901 he was the recipient of the first award of the Nobel Peace Prize. To show how strongly Professor Billia feels the justice of his country's cause in connection with the present troubles in Tripoli, we shall first quote in an English translation a personal letter from him to the Editor:

"Nothing more senseless and intolerant can be imagined than the unfairness with which some English and German journals deride and slander Italy. Their information is gained from the destroyers of peace and from slave dealers. According to these writers we Italians are bandits and thieves because we dare to oppose a domination which turns men into brutes and makes the land sterile. You know that I am an idealist of old, but I am convinced that nothing but bad faith of the worst kind could defend the rights of Turkey.

"I enclose for *The Open Court* a letter which I have addressed to my honorable friend, M. Frederic Passy. You will see how I have succeeded in conciliating the good right of my country with respect for the man who is too noble to array himself on the side of the enemies of Italy and of justice.

"You have a broad mind, dear Dr. Carus, and I think you will recognize that the Anglo-American world ought to know that Italy is conscious of having a lofty mission to accomplish, and that those who are given to understand that we are risking and sacrificing the blood of our heroic youth for petty commercial interests are dupes of a gross error. In this hour Italy represents Right, and Reason goes to battle!

"Therefore I hope you will publish the enclosed letter. I am drunk with enthusiasm; I am working myself to death; my strength is failing."

Professor Billia's letter to Frederic Passy, translated into English, reads as follows:

be on the side of peace, especially those who give instructions to break the heads of workmen who refuse to strike. They pretend to be unaware of the massacres which occur from time to time, of children's heads held up on pikes under the windows of the consuls, of very recent assassinations for which Turkey has refused us reparation, in order that the restoration of law, the performance of the duty of human responsibility in which Italy sets an example should pass as an act of violence and theft. To consider Turkey as a state and to pretend that there is no question of a domination which is a disgrace and scourge to humanity, is simply dishonoring the cause of peace and denying its fundamental principles. The rights of Turkey! The right to keep men in bondage, to forbid agriculture and civilization, to prescribe carnage, to destroy populations! Ah it is not violence to give free rein against the disarmed, against women and children, the wounded and the sick in the hospitals—yea, even the dead in the cemeteries! Violence they call the behavior of the Italian soldier who spares others' lives as much as possible and risks his own to burst the fetters of slaves, to return the land to cultivation and men to human life; who can lay aside his gun to become a laborer, judge, physician, farmer—to nurse even his most obstinate enemy. Oh were not Tartufe so intelligent, men would call him an imbecile!

"But Italy is winning! Would that all the nations of Europe had won in this manner, to this title, and in the same degree!

"I admit that disputes may arise about the financial and political phases of the enterprise, but let us not speak of violation of rights because then the word "right" would lose its significance.

"Now you have always labored so nobly to set forth ideas clearly, to make the truth understood; you have so often borne testimony with your example and your work that next to covetousness the greatest cause of the evils that afflict humanity lies in the confusion of ideas and in lying words.

"Therefore I appeal to you to say a word to set right the deceived, to unmask the deceivers, to declare that there is no right which opposes the supreme right of the human being and his advance, that the idea of peace is not the idea of lax and selfish toleration of all that is most disgraceful and cruel, but the idea of human solidarity; that nothing works better for the establishment of peace than force directed by intelligence and conscience against the state of injustice; finally that the action of civilized nations against Turkish control is not war waged by well meaning men in place of arbitration, but it is police duty which every individual and every community with a conscience ought to perform against brigands and monsters if it would not become their accomplice.

"I await this word from you, that I may repeat it to Italians, and that I may have the pleasure of telling you for the hundredth time how much admiration, appreciation and veneration we feel for Fredeic Passy.

"Yours sincerely,

"L. MICHELANGELO BILLIA."

AN EXAMPLE OF THE MELIKERTES MOTIVE IN MODERN ART.

A modern artist, Mr. Theodore Baur, has utilized the Melikertes motive (see *May Open Court*, pages 275-278) in a beautiful tile which was published in *The Century* of April, 1882, illustrating an article by Frank D. Millet on "Some American Tiles." Here it is simply called "Boy on Dolphin"



BOY ON DOLPHIN.
Tile by Mr. Theodore Baur.

and it is quite doubtful whether the artist was at all familiar with the myth of ancient Greece. It seems that he has taken up the ornamental motive as deserving reproduction because of its beauty. As on many of the ancient coins Melikertes is here represented as a young child, producing an almost feminine type quite in agreement with the ancient legend.

DIES IRAE.

The fine article of B. Pick on the text of this grand hymn (Vol. XXV, No. 10) suggests the question, how are we to write and understand the first two lines. The article is quite correct in saying (p. 584):

"The author takes the beginning and the keynote of his poem from Zephaniah i. 15, 16, where the text of the Vulgate reads: *Dies irae, dies illa*, etc., which may be thus translated: 'That day is the day of wrath, etc.'"

Quite right; but then we must strike out, according to our modern system of punctuation, the comma after *dies irae*; we no longer separate subject and predicate by a comma. And then we must translate the first two lines of the hymn: "A day of wrath is that day, *it* will dissolve the world."

But that is not the common way to write and understand the hymn. Generally *dies irae* is taken as in apposition to *dies illa*: "That day, the day of wrath, will dissolve the world;" no comma standing after *irae*.

The text in *The Open Court* combines both constructions, putting a comma both before and after *dies irae*, a way of punctuation not to be imitated.

MAULBRONN, Germany.

EB. NESTLE

CHINESE COURTESY.

During these times of rebellion and turmoil in China, it will be interesting to have a glimpse of private life into the sentiment of a Chinese scholar who has been visiting an American friend acquainted with Chinese civilization and literature. Mr. James Black of Denver, Colorado, the author of several publications on the literature of the Celestial Empire, had as his guest one of his Chinese friends who on his return to his home in Asia, sends him a letter of thanks in the form of a poem. Literally translated it reads thus:

"In former years when I sojourned in America it was a pleasure to me to meet you in the afternoons to discuss literary topics. Together we discriminated doubtful literary meanings, and I felt ashamed that my mind seemed like an empty basket, while you were quick to discern. As we chatted pleasantly, the shadows lengthened, for the meanings were hard to understand. In my own country, the old learning is decaying, but here in another land I found a student acquainted with Confucius and Mencius and knowing the writers of Han and T'ang, who not only turned his mind to poetry, but, looking higher, contemplated the former wisdom. When you rose to leave I could not bear to see you go because good friends are hard to find. Great labor obtains rich prizes and every effort brings the goal nearer. For three years we have been far apart, but correspondence has not ceased. You have bought the works of Han (Yu) and Ou (Yang Hsiu), and your translations have been published. Dwelling on the mountain, I see little company, and the old, rainy time comes back to my mind. Seated by the south window, I think of the distant, and hum over poetry to myself without ceasing. When shall I see you again? How much a cheerful talk would brighten me. And so taking paper I use my leisure to write you this from here.

"In the year Hsin Hai, the 5th month, the middle ten days, being unoccupied, and forgetting the mud outside, I write this to amuse my elder brother Lai-ko."

Note.—It should be explained that Mr. Black's surname has been sinicized into *Po-lai-ko*, so in the epistolary style all that is left is the second and third syllables, *Lai-ko*; also that the title which was given him is *Shih Yin*, "the private individual living in the city."

A better acquaintance with the best minds of other countries is the best way to establish peace and good will on earth, and for the sake of characterizing a Chinese gentleman and scholar, we take pleasure in publishing this poetical letter. It goes without saying that if we could add to it the zest which the original possesses it would be still more appreciated by our readers.

P. C.

JAPANESE ABROAD.

The *Japan Mail* of April 15, 1911, translates from the *Jiji* a list of advisory regulations given by the Minister of State in 1871 to Count Togo and eleven fellow students when leaving home to study in England. The paper is still in the possession of Count Togo, and the *Mail's* translation reads as follows:

"1. Every clause of the provisions contained in the treaties with various countries shall be kept in your mind.

"2. When you see or hear of things, no matter what they may be, which you think conducive to the interests of this empire, cause a thorough investigation to be made thereinto with all your might and main and report them in writing to the Foreign Office or the officers in charge of foreign affairs at Kanagawa, Osaka, Hyogo, Niigata and Hakodate, when the mail service is available, or otherwise send in such report after your return home.

"3. Now that you are going to leave the land of your parents for a foreign country, I feel confident that you have all formed your resolutions. You must, nevertheless, be very careful in your deportment and be always mindful not to do even the slightest thing that might disgrace the honor of this empire. Never borrow money from foreigners unless you can back it up with security. If you perchance contract a debt abroad for traveling expenses and other unavoidable necessities, you must clear it off by all means before you leave for home, and must not under any circumstances leave your debt unpaid. In case you return home without paying the money you owe to a foreigner and disclosures are made thereof, not only yourselves but your master and all your relatives will be held responsible according to circumstances and be called on to pay off the debt.

"4. If you happen to meet your own countrymen during your sojourn abroad, you must befriend them even if they are parties unknown to yourselves, and you must give them sound advice if they be found in fault. You must also give them relief if they are in sickness or in distress.

"5. Even if you happen to owe foreigners a grudge you must show the utmost patience, and appeal, if unavoidable, to the government of the land to have your wrongs adjusted. However exasperating the case may be you must refrain from either killing or injuring foreigners.

"6. The seals entrusted to you must be treated with great care and handed back to the authorities after your return home. The seals may, however, be returned to the offices mentioned above to suit your own convenience.

"7. You are strictly prohibited from becoming naturalized or proselytized.

"8. The term of your sojourn abroad is not specially fixed but you are permitted to extend your stay for about ten years.

"9. When you come home at the expiration of your term you must produce a report of the particulars of your journey."

THE QUACK IN FORMER CENTURIES.

The articles on Christ as a physician and apothecary published in *The Open Court* for October and November of last year, recall the prominent position held by quacks in social life in former centuries. They appeared at fairs and on other public occasions, traveling from place to place and recommending their cures. The subjoined picture with its explanation is reproduced from the *Book of Days*.

* * *

The Earl of Rochester whose eccentricities made him famous in the days of Charles the Second, on one occasion personated a mountebank doctor, and



A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY QUACK.

delivered a speech which obtained some celebrity. His example was followed by the legitimate comedians. Thus Leveridge and Penkethman appeared at fairs as "Doctor Leverigo and his Jack-Pudding Pinkanell," and the still more famous actor Joe Haines as "Watho Van Claturbank, High German Doctor." His burlesque speech was published as a broadside, with an engraving representing his temporary stage, which we here copy.

The scene is Tower-hill, then a rendezvous of mountebanks: Joe is represented delivering his speech, medicine in hand; beside him is a harlequin; behind, his "Jack-Pudding" sounds lustily on the trumpet to call attention to

his work. A gouty patient is seated in the operating chair; behind are boxes of medicines and phials for "retail trade." Patients on sticks hobble towards the stage; an itinerant vendor of "strong waters" keeps up the courage of one waiting his turn on the stage for cure. A mass of all kinds of people are in front, among them a juvenile pickpocket. It is a perfect transcript of the genuine mountebank's stage of the days of Queen Anne; his speech burlesques their high-flown pretensions and inflated verbosity. He calls himself "High German Doctor, Chymist, and Dentifricator, native of Arabia Deserta, citizen and burgomaster of the City of Brandipolis, seventh son of a seventh son, unborn doctor of above sixty years' experience.

"Having studied over Galen, Hypocrates, Albumazar, and Paracelsus," he says, "I am now become the Æsculapius of the age; having been educated at twelve universities, and traveled through fifty-two kingdoms, and been counsellor to the counsellors of several monarchs.

"By the earnest prayers and entreaties of several lords, earls, dukes and honorable personages, I have been at last prevailed upon to oblige the world with this notice. That all persons, young or old, blind or lame, deaf or dumb, curable or incurable, may know where to repair for cure, in all caphalalgias, paralytic paroxysms, palpitations of the pericardium, empyemas, syncope, and nasities; arising either from a plethory or a cachochymy, vertiginous vapors, hydrocephalous dysenteries, odontalgic, or podagrical inflammation, and the entire legion of lethiferous distempers.

"This is Nature's palladium, health's magazine; it works seven manners of ways, as Nature requires, for it scorns to be confined to any particular mode of operation; so that it effecteth the cure either hypnotically, hydrotically, cathartically, poppismatically, pneumatically, or synedochically; it mundifies the hypogastrium, extinguishes all supernatural fermentations and ebullitions, and, in fine, annihilates all nosotrophical morbid ideas of the whole corporeal compages. A drachm of it is worth a bushel of March dust; for, if a man chance to have his brains beat out, or his head dropped off, two drops—I say two drops! gentlemen, seasonably applied, will recall the fleeting spirits, re-enthroned the deposed archeus, cement the discontinuity of the parts, and in six minutes restore the lifeless trunk to all its pristine functions, vital, natural and animal; so that this, believe me, gentlemen, is the only sovereign remedy in the world. *Quacrenda pecunia primum.* Down with your dust."

* * *

A famous quack flourished in London at the same time. This was Dr. Graham, who opened what he called a "Temple of Health," in the Adelphi, in which he expatiated on the advantages of electricity and magnetism. He says in one of his advertisements that he will explain "the whole art of enjoying health and vigor of body and mind, and of preserving and exalting personal beauty and loveliness; or in other words, of living with health, honor, and happiness in this world, for at least a hundred years."

One of the means for ensuring this was the frequent use of mud-baths; and that the doctor might be observed to practise what he preached, he was to be seen, on stated occasions, immersed in mud to the chin; accompanied by a lady to whom he gave the name of Vestina, Goddess of Health, and who afterwards became celebrated as the wife of Sir William Hamilton, and the great counsellor and friend of Nelson. At this time she had only recently ceased to be a nursemaid; but her beauty attracted general attention in Lon-

don. It is to be remarked that while she remained in the mud-bath, she had her hair elaborately dressed in the prevailing fashion, with powder, flowers, feathers, and ropes of pearl; the doctor appearing in an equally elaborate wig.

From the Adelphi, Graham removed to Schomberg House, Pall Mall, which he christened the "Temple of Health and Hymen," and fitted up with much magnificence. The admittance was five shillings, yet the place was crowded by a silly audience, brought together by his audacious puffs and impudent lectures.

BUDDHIST SOCIETIES IN EUROPE.

It is interesting to notice that Buddhism begins to take a strong hold on the minds in Europe, especially in Germany and in England. In Germany there are two Buddhist societies, the Pali-Gesellschaft and the Maha Bodhi. The former publishes in German the *Buddhistische Welt*, the latter the *Buddhistische Warte*. The Maha Bodhi society has the endorsement of Mr. Dharmapala and favors a more progressive conception of Buddhism. It is a secession from the former for various reasons, some of them of a personal nature, and represents a great number of well-known thinkers and authors, among them Professor Zimmermann, who is the author of a Buddhist Catechism, published under the name of Subadra Bikshu; Mr. Charles T. Strauss formerly of New York; Mr. Karl Seidenstücker, translator and publisher of many Buddhist books, and others.

The Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland, who publish a periodical under the name of *The Buddhist Review*, have of late published an appeal in which they characterize the present situation thus:

"For the past three and a half years the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland has been laboring in London, in order to present to the western world a more definite knowledge of the precepts of the Buddha, enunciated by him on the banks of the Ganges just twenty-five centuries ago. Born in an age of ritual, that profound philosopher, who 'preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine,' and had 'no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher who keeps some things back,' boldly swept aside the refinements of speculation which obscured the path of righteousness, and proclaimed for all mankind his Four Noble Truths, the last of which laid down the Noble Eightfold Path of right views, aims, speech, conduct, livelihood, effort, mindfulness and concentration.

"Anticipating the very latest discoveries of western science, he saw on all sides transience and the working of the law of cause and effect, and thereon he based his plain and simple teaching.

"Within a comparatively short space of time his system overspread the continent of Asia, winning its way without the exercise of force or the shedding of a single drop of blood. His message of universal compassion and destruction of suffering turned countless thousands of barbarians into marvels of patience, and to-day nearly one-third of the human race look to his word for guidance.

"The Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland, entirely unsectarian in its constitution, seeks not to make mere converts, but to proclaim the truth and beauty of this grand religion, and is confident that Buddhism properly and systematically understood offers a remedy for many of the evils of our western

life. Working amid many difficulties, it has organized nearly one hundred and fifty public meetings and issued eleven numbers of the *Buddhist Review*, totalling nearly to nine hundred pages. The time has arrived for an increase of the society's usefulness, and its most pressing need is a hall, a library, and a retreat in central London, whither persons of all races and creeds may resort for a knowledge of the Buddha's teaching. The society seeks in no way to combat other religions, but to strengthen all who appeal for personal and national well-doing. Membership is open to all. The officers are unpaid and are inspired by the example of him of whom Prof. E. W. Hopkins has said: 'It was the individual Buddha that captivated men; it was the teaching that emanated from him that fired enthusiasm; his magnetism that made him the idol of the people. From every page stands out the strong, attractive personality of this teacher and winner of hearts. Arrogating to himself no divinity, leader of thought but despising lovingly the folly of the world, exalted but adored, the universal brother, he wandered among men, simply, serenely; the master to each, the friend of all.'

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN. By *Laura Stedman* and *George M. Gould, M. D.*, New York: Moffat, Yard, 1910. 2 volumes.

No monument to the life of a man of letters could be more comprehensive or a more worthy tribute to a long and well spent life than this biographical work. Miss Stedman, the editor upon whom has devolved most of the responsibility and detail work, has performed her task most faithfully, following out her grandfather's expressed tastes and wishes to a remarkable degree. Mr. Stedman considered an autobiography as the only really satisfactory biography, saying, "There can be no real biography when the real actor is banished from the scene." Though he left no such definite autobiographical record for this purpose, thousands of letters, papers, and personal data were at the editors' command so that the result is to all intents and purposes autobiographical, and in this case the "real actor" cannot be said to be "banished" even by death. Relatives and friends have contributed generously from their store of letters and personal notes.

A very complete bibliography of Stedman's works in their various editions from 1850 to 1910 has been prepared most painstakingly by Miss Alice Marsland. The index is very thorough and satisfactory. It was prepared by Dr. A. C. Durand, and even here care was taken that it be "made after the pattern set by Mr. Stedman." That the work should have the benefit of the advice and help of Dr. Gould was one of his latest expressed desires. The last chapter, "The Man," is entirely Dr. Gould's.

Mr. Stedman had a wide friendship with the leading literary characters of England and the United States. His letters have been justly valued and preserved, and now throw interesting sidelights on the personality of many other people of note. His personal comments on life and literature are often illuminating.

The world at large rarely realizes that Stedman was a banker, a member of the New York Stock Exchange for thirty years. But his heart was in his literary work and he refused advantageous partnerships and remunerative offices when hard pressed financially because he could not induce himself to give up his "freedom." When he finally sold out his interest he wrote in his

diary: "It is the first chance, in seventeen years, for retiring with honor, though half the money goes to liquidate my debts to my dear comrade who has carried me through evil times," and nearly a month later an item in the Diary shows not only his constant struggles with the details of life but also his modest spirit: "Am quite a sufferer in the cardiac region from the necessary work. Am almost humiliated in my own feelings by the eulogies lavished upon me by the press. I suppose I am honest in many matters—but such adjectives as "stainless" make me feel almost a hypocrite. Then, too, they all speak of my "fortune." I would it existed. They think I am to have perfect leisure to write fine books—whereas, I am frightened at the prospect.—What do we know of one another, anyhow? But I am out of debt for the moment: and I am glad to be liked—whether I deserve it or not. Still, on reflection, it seems to me a big 'Stedman myth.'"

p

WILLIAM JAMES. Par *Emile Boutroux*. Paris: Colin, 1911. Pp. 142. Price 3 francs.

Perhaps no man is better fitted for the task of paying an appreciative tribute to the memory of William James in the name of France than M. Emile Boutroux. He realizes that in James more than in almost any one else the work and personality of the man are almost inseparably connected, and he expresses the wish that that remarkable psychological analyst of character, Professor James's brother Henry, would give the world, as no one else is able to do, an adequate portrait of this rich and charming personality. Of Professor James's view of philosophy and life, M. Boutroux says: "He believed that philosophy had its roots in life, not in the collective or impersonal life of humanity—to his mind an abstraction of the schools—but in the concrete life of the individual, the only life that truly exists. And as the flower torn from its stalk begins at once to wither, James thought that philosophy even in its toughest speculations, must maintain its connection with the thinker's soul if it would not degenerate into a vain assemblage of words and concepts lacking actual significance." M. Boutroux's treatment divides naturally into chapters according to the different phases of James's mature activity. The first deals with the external details of his life and personality. His philosophy is then discussed under the captions Psychology, Religious Psychology, Pragmatism, Metaphysical Views and Pedagogy, easily suggestive respectively of his books in chronological order.

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SOME NEGLECTED FACTORS IN EVOLUTION. An Essay in Constructive Biology. By *Henry M. Bernard*. Edited by *Matilda Bernard*. New York: Putnam, 1911. Pp. xx, 489. Price \$3.00 net.

This volume consists of two long essays, one pointing out that a net-work is the typical feature of all organisms, and the other insists on the significance of rhythm in the development of life. Mr. Bernard worked under Professor Haeckel in 1889, and published his investigations on the retina in the *Quarterly Journal of Microscopic Science* (Vols. 43-47). His studies led him to the conclusion that the retina consists of a net-work, that what appeared to be cells are nodes of the net, and generalizing his experience he discovered that all organized structures follow the same plan. This is set forth in a very elaborate essay on pages 3 to 265 of the present book. "The Cosmic Rhythm" (pages 269 to 481) explains higher organisms as colony formations. After a

short introduction on rhythmic evolution the author points out the inadequacy of the cell doctrine, and proceeds to point out the successive origin of units in evolutionary periods corresponding to what biologists call the cell unit, the gastræal unit, the annelidan unit, man as a unit, etc. He includes a consideration of the *psyche* as a faculty of perception. The editor has been helped in her work by Mr. Randolph Kirkpatrick of the Natural History Department of the British Museum, Professor Blackman of the University of Leeds, and Dr. John Cameron of the Middlesex Hospital Medical School, who is an expert on nerves and the retina.

BUDDHIST AND CHRISTIAN GOSPELS. Now First Compared from the Originals. By *Albert J. Edmunds*. Edited by *Prof. M. Anesaki*. Fourth edition. Philadelphia: Innes & Sons, 1909. Pp. 315. Price, \$5.00.

We have not heretofore called attention to the publication of the second volume of this important work, although it appeared almost two years ago. The Tokyo edition, of which this two-volume work is an enlarged revision, was fully reviewed in *The Monist* of October, 1906, and the first volume of the present fourth edition which appeared in 1908 was reviewed in detail in *The Open Court* of August, 1909. The former volume contains a thorough analytical table of contents of the whole work, and so the present volume begins at Parallel 33, with no preliminary matter whatever except an additional prefatory account of the author's debt to Dr. Anesaki, the Japanese editor of the third edition.

LE PHILOSOPHE MEH-TI ET L'IDÉE DE SOLIDARITÉ. Par *Alexandra David*. London: Luzac & Company, 1907.

Madame Alexandra David has contributed two interesting works on the philosophy of the Orient. One of these under the general title *Chinese Socialism* (*Socialisme Chinois*) treats of the Chinese philosopher Meh-Ti and the idea of solidarity. The author's object at first was to publish a translation of Meh-Ti's treatise on universal love, but she finally abandoned that project, thinking that she could bring her Chinese author more clearly before Western readers by selecting the suitable fragments of his writings, and connecting them with her own comments. In characterizing his work, she says in her preface: "The Christian precept 'Love your neighbor as yourself' represents part of Meh-Ti's message, but he has given it an absolutely utilitarian motive, a motive directed towards the nature and legitimate egoism of the individual. 'Love your neighbor as yourself,' says Meh-Ti, 'for the advantage of both.'" Her notes on Japanese philosophy deal first with the Confucianist and then with the Buddhist schools.

THE RELIGION OF THE CHINESE. By *J. J. M. DeGroot*. New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. 223. Price \$1.25 net.

Dr. DeGroot is professor of ethnography in the University of Leyden, Holland, and is recognized as one of the most reliable authorities on matters pertaining to the Chinese. Besides some very comprehensive works on different details of Chinese religions, his *Religious Systems of China* is a remarkably thorough and painstaking discussion of the evolution, history and present aspect of the religious system of China, together with the manners, customs and social institutions connected with it. The general reader is therefore very fortunate to have a treatment of the same subject by the same

author compressed into a small volume and written in popular style. He owes this opportunity to the foundation of Hartford-Lamson lectures delivered at Hartford Theological Seminary. The treatment deals first with polydemonism, struggle against specters, and ancestral worship, before taking up in turn Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism as they are found in China. P

The Agassiz Association has recently suffered a blow so severe as to endanger the continuance of this laudable enterprise. In answer to his appeal the president of the Association, Mr. Edward F. Bigelow, has received contributions to the extent of \$1200 in three weeks from those friends who are familiar with his work. But in order to establish the society on a permanent footing the sum of \$10,000 is needed, and Mr. Bigelow will be glad to inform lovers of nature-study with regard to the details of his method and the history of the Agassiz Association, whose headquarters are at Sound Beach, Conn.

Through a widely known and exceedingly influential National Committee, the American Institute of Social Service is reaching a large public with its *Studies in Social Christianity*, edited by Dr. Josiah Strong. They make a careful study of the themes presented carrying each to its proper application in the line of practical remedies for evils or the better development of the useful. One class in Brattleboro, Vermont, was instrumental in the passing of child-labor legislation and improvement of industrial conditions. The subject recommended for the first quarter of the ensuing year is that of a working religion for man, and a citizen's responsibility to his country and his fellows. The subject for the second quarter is woman's relation to the community in the home, in industry, and in public activities. The third quarter is to be devoted to the home and the family, marriage and divorce and training of the children. The lessons of the fourth quarter deal with the causes, growth and prevention of crime and the treatment of criminals both juvenile and adult.

These lessons are published by the American Institute of Social Service, Bible House, Astor Place, New York. P

Science no doubt discovers "new vistas of immortality," and the Rev. Richard B. De Bary proceeds in the right direction when he attempts to harmonize the results of science with traditional religion. He escapes the error of twisting the facts presented by naturalists and puts a new interpretation upon the old texts, discovering a deeper sense in the traditional formulations of religious doctrines. We would avoid some of his favorite expressions, such as "memory waves," reminding one too much of the thought vibrations which in occultist circles are supposed to be communicated through ether in some mysterious manner, and are introduced as an explanation of telepathic phenomena—reason enough to be careful in the use of the term. Further when Mr. De Bary speaks of the universality of "directive force known under the name of gravitation" we would hesitate to accept the identification. Nor does the use of the term "reversion" which underlies his Christology appeal to us; it is not a happy name for the highest ideal of mankind. But the article as a whole is full of suggestions, and coming from the hand of a minister of the Anglican church will be of sufficient interest to our readers because it characterizes the fermentation which the leaven of science works in religious minds. P. C.

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PRESS NOTES—Continued

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"In recommending Professor Cumont's work to the attention of students, not only of religious but likewise of ecclesiastical history and theology, the reviewer would suggest as collateral reading the highly illuminating essays by C. C. Martindale, S. J., in the second volume of the series, *The History of Religions*, edited by him (London, the Catholic Truth Society, St. Louis, Mo., B. Herder.); also the first volume of Professor Dufourcq's *L'Avenir du Christianisme* (Paris, Bloud et Cie). Both these authors pay a merited tribute to M. Cumont, to whom they are much indebted.

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PRESS NOTES—Continued

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PRESS NOTES—Continued

quirers into the pagan world have been struck by the general state of preparation for Christianity in other oriental creeds which had found their way to Rome besides that of the Jews. In particular, the spread in the second century of the cult of Mithra has been shown to have been a formidable rival to Christianity and to have had many elements resembling its more popular features. The savant who first drew the attention of the learned world to this phenomenon is M. Cumont, a Belgian professor who has collected together all the material relating to the cult of Mithra, and has now extended his survey over the whole problem in his recent work, "*The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*," a translation of which has just been issued. This deals with the various religions current in Asia-Minor, Syria, Persia and Egypt during the first two centuries insofar as they may have affected the progress of Chris-

tianity by preparing the popular mind for the more mystical and democratic forms of religion. M. Cumont has few occasions to deal with Jews or Judaism, but draws attention to the influence of Parseism on the Jews which is now recognized on all hands, and has occasional references to the spread of Jews in Asia Minor as affecting that amalgam of Judaism, Orientalism and Romanism which ultimately took form as Catholic Christianity. He has, however, a learned note in which he seeks to prove that the idea of God as a "Spring of Life" was derived from Egypt. He also seeks to take the conception of the grave as "An Eternal Home" from the same source though the expression is found in Sirach. Even more curiously, he finds the etymological origin of our modern term "refreshment" from the Egyptian theological writ that their dead might find a cool resting place."

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